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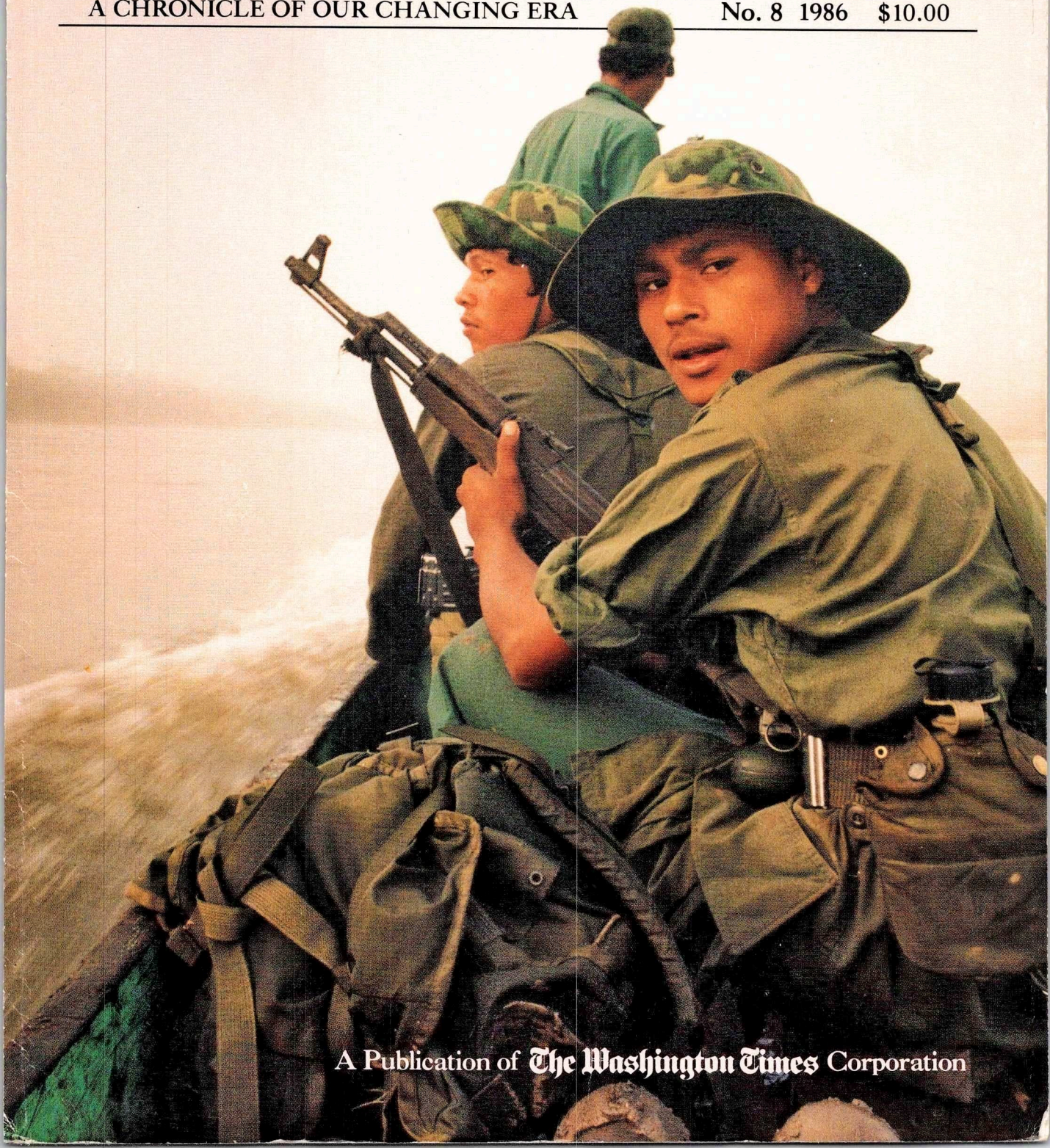

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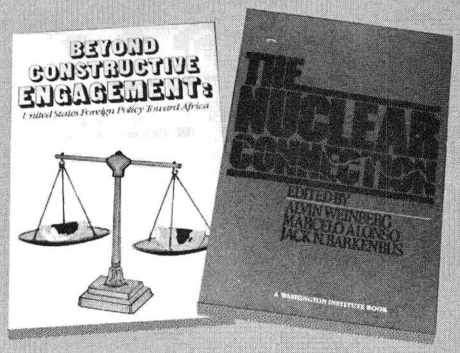

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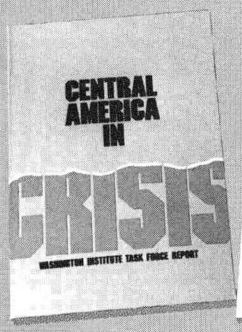

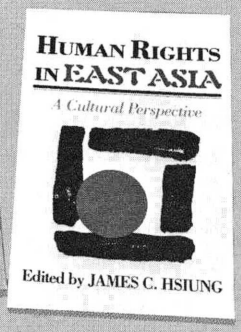

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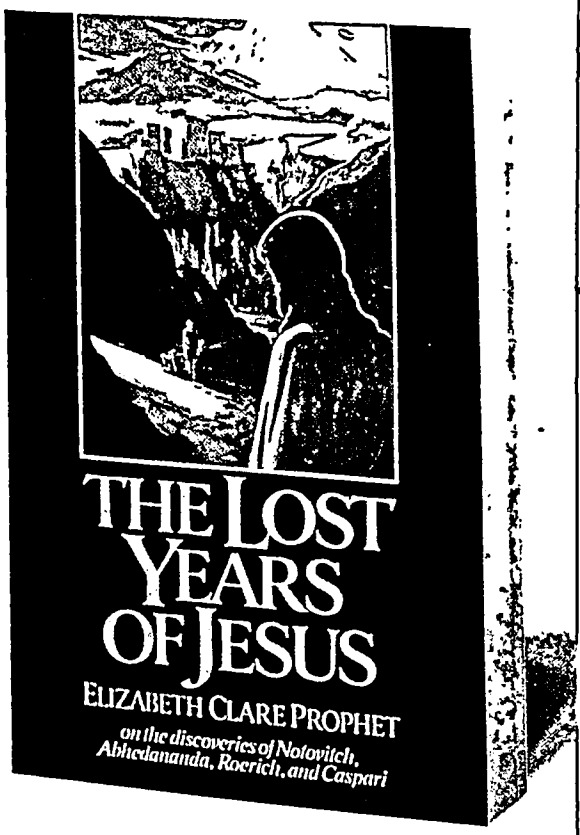

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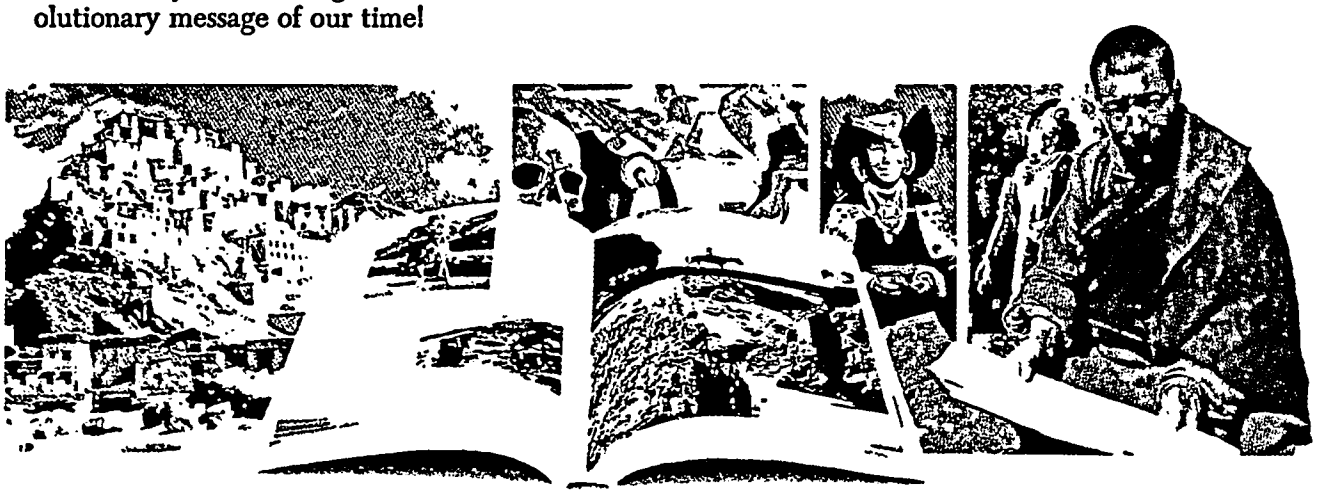

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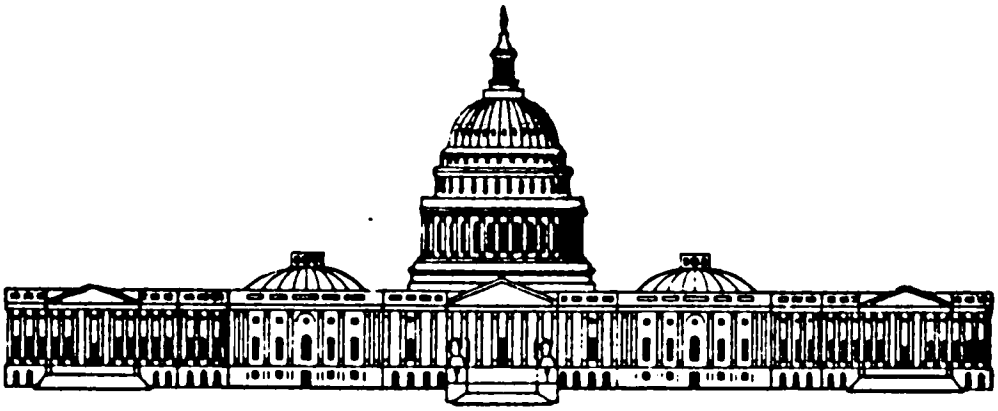

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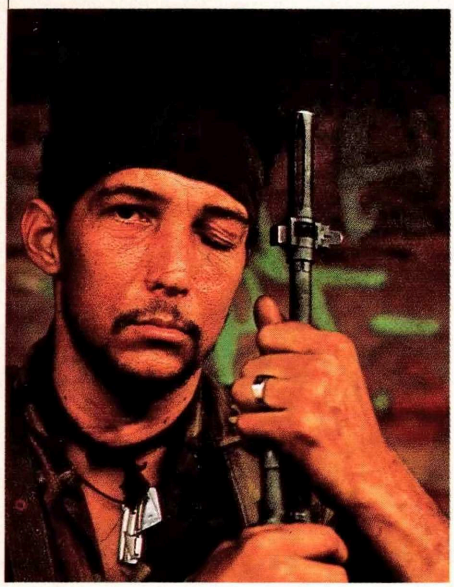

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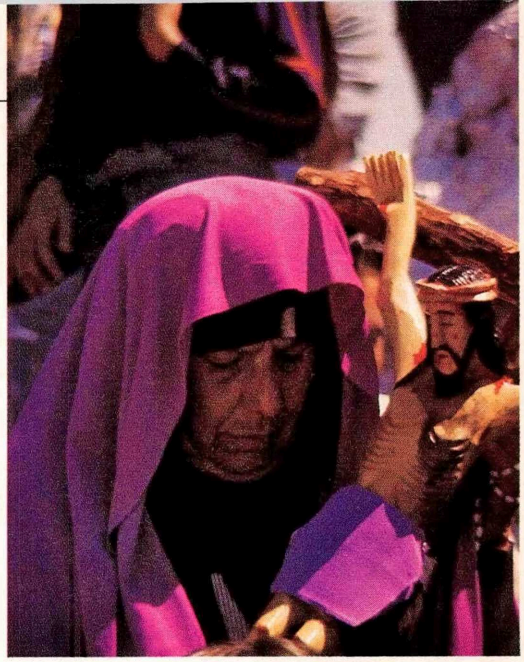

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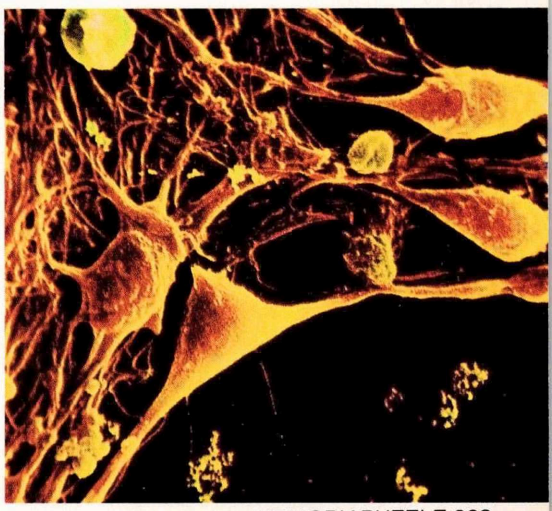

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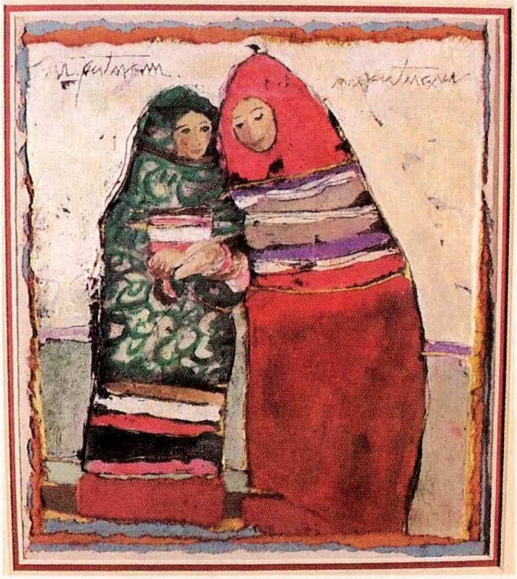

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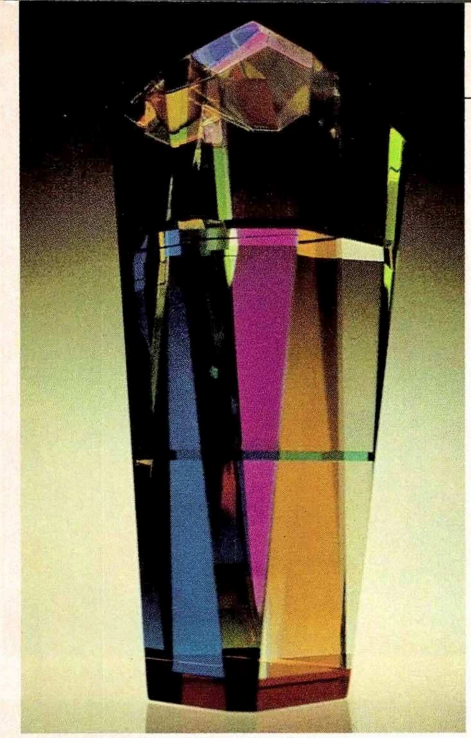

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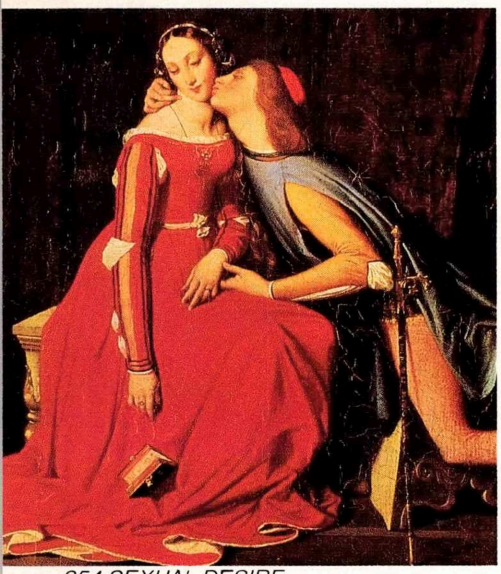

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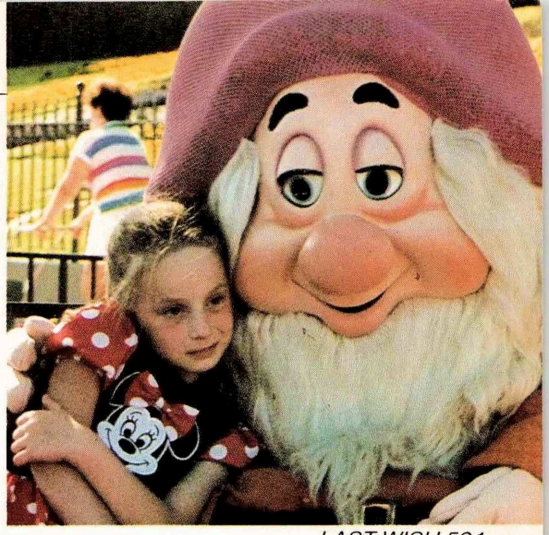

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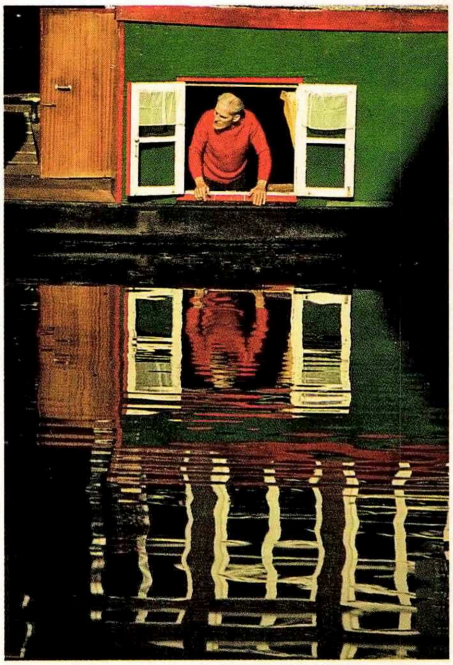

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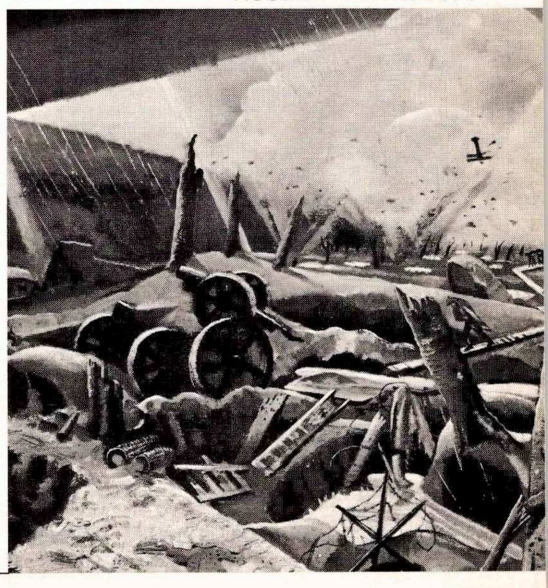

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Cover Photo: Ready to battle the Sandinistas to recover their lost villages, Miskito Indians cross the Coco River into Nicaragua, leaving behind their refuge in Honduras.

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SPECIAL REPORT

NICARAGUA

A New American Revolution?

After many bitter battles in the U.S. Congress, a bill to supply the rebel forces in Nicaragua with $100 million in aid was finally successful in the House of Representatives.

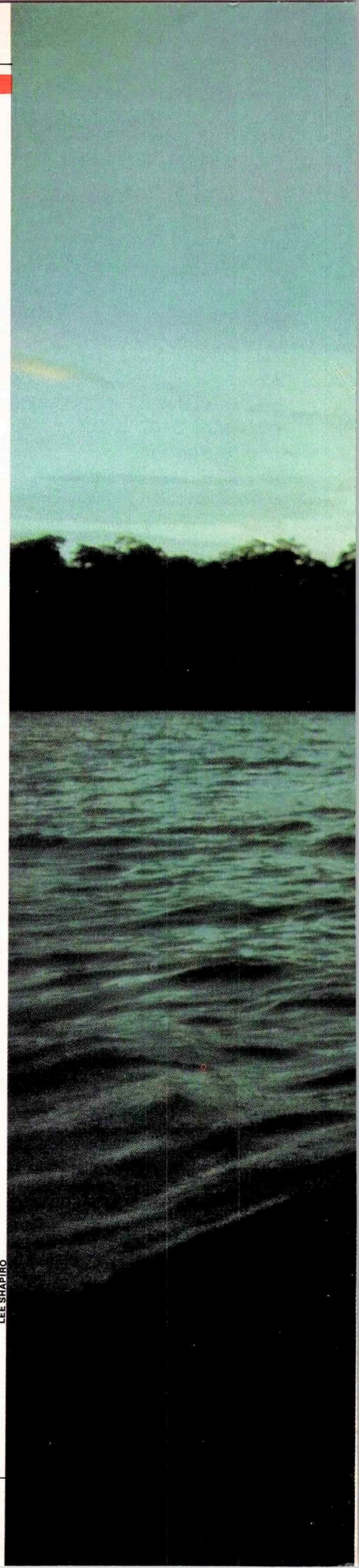
Following the U.S. commitment to the Contras, Nicaragua exiled several critics of the government, closed the only semi-free newspaper, *La Prensa,* and wrung a negative judgment on the United States from the World Court. In addition, the pitch and volume of anti-U.S. rhetoric has soared, to both the Nicaraguan and the world audience. Sandinista spokesmen have made it clear that, in retaliation, they will accept aid from any government that wants to give it.

Why has Nicaragua become the focus of such heated attentions?

Strategically, Nicaragua is positioned between two oceans, and in the epicenter of the arc of land creating the Gulf of Mexico. It could hardly be a more perfect trigger for a domino-like toppling of democratic governments up and down the spine of Central America.

Any discussion of the future of Nicaragua must address certain key questions: What is the status of the present Nicaraguan regime? What chance, if any, do the Contras have of defeating the Sandinistas? Is the Contadora process relevant or workable? How true are the allegations of human rights violations against the Miskitos and other Nicaraguan indigenous groups? Finally, what do the people of Nicaragua want for themselves?

THE WORLD & I asked some of the leading experts on Nicaragua to address these issues. In the cause of freedom for all the world's peoples, it is important to study the controversy surrounding Nicaragua. It may be as important historically as that other revolution, some 200 years ago, that declared ". . . when any form of government becomes destructive of these ends [life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness], it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."



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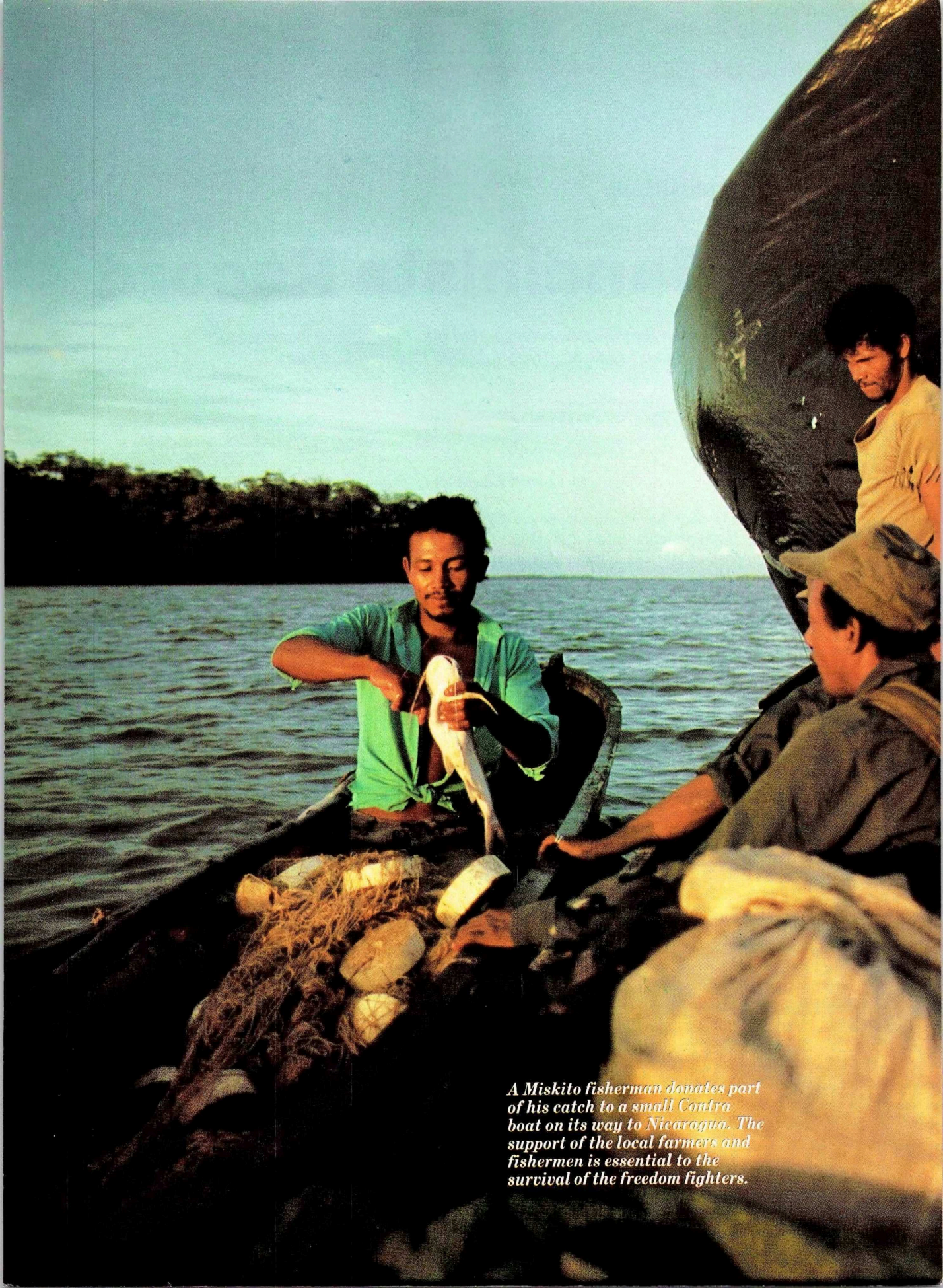


A Miskito fisherman donates part of his catch to a small Contra boat on its way to Nicaragua. The support of the local farmers and fishermen is essential to the survival of the freedom fighters.

SPECIAL REPORT-NICARAGUA

The Sandinista Record

Have the Sandinistas been goaded into their military and social agendas, or have they followed their original plan?

by Colonel Lawrence L. Tracy

Few governments that have come to power by force have enjoyed as much international goodwill and support as did the Sandinistas when they seized power in Nicaragua on July 19, 1979. They were seen as young Davids who had vanquished a brutal Goliath.

The fall of Anastasio Somoza seemed to usher in a new dawn for Nicaragua, a country with little history of representative government. The Sandinistas were generally viewed as populists, determined to open the political process and let the Nicaraguan people select their own leaders.

By 1986, only the most politically biased—or naive—still judge the Sandinistas as social democrats. Nicaragua's rulers are now seen, even by critics of the Reagan administration's Central American policy, as Marxist-Leninists, dedicated to imposing a dictatorship even more total and brutal than that of Somoza. Sandinista Nicaragua is considered to be firmly in the camp of the Soviet Union and its hemispheric client state Cuba.

ALON REININGER/CONTACT

After the Sandinista takeover, an FSLN soldier gleefully takes aim at a poster of Somoza adorned with FSLN graffiti.

Has there been a sharp turn to the left by the Sandinista leaders? Have they been forced to adopt draconian internal control measures because of U.S. hostility, including support of a "counterrevolutionary" army? In short, is the communization of Nicaragua the fault of the United States?

A look at the record of the Sandinista leaders prior to 1979, and their statements and actions since coming to power, shows conclusively that there was no change in Sandinista political views. The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) was Marxist-Leninist from its beginnings. As Pulitzer Prize winner Shirley Christian, in her book *Nicaragua: Revolution in the Family,* has written:

> The leaders of the Sandinista front intended to establish a Leninist system from the day they marched into Managua . . . . Any indication the Sandinista leaders gave of wanting something other than a Leninist sys-

WENDY WATRISS/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOCIATES

The long-promised "free" elections in 1984 proved a mockery. Non-FSLN candidates couldn't campaign.

tem in Nicaragua was, as they admitted several times, for tactical or strategic purposes, not for reasons of substance.

The Sandinista front was founded in July 1961 by a group of upper- and middle-class student activists who had been inspired by Fidel Castro's revolution in Cuba. The last survivor of these founders is Tomás Borge, today the Sandinista minister of interior.

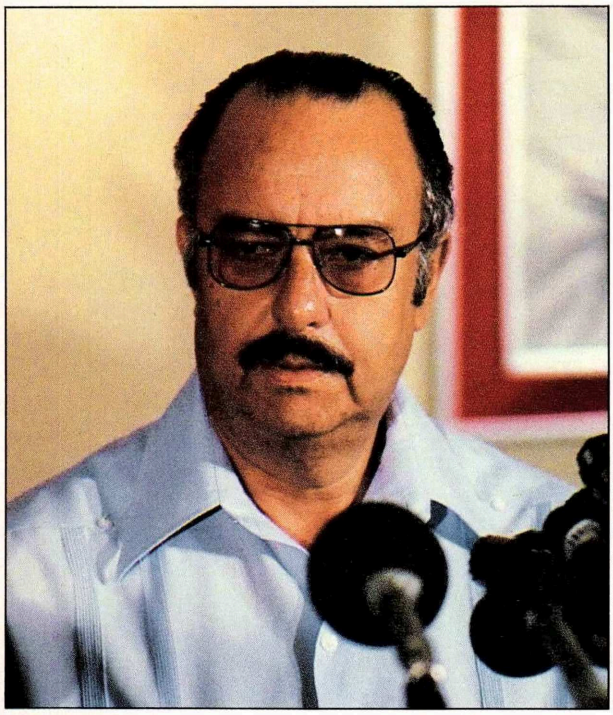
Despite the growing unpopularity of the Somoza dynasty, the Sandinistas could never attract many to their cause. Castro's continuous support, however, enabled them to remain a nuisance to Somoza.

When Somoza critic Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, editor of *La Prensa,* was gunned down in January 1978, things started to change. The brutal murder triggered popular outrage, and the Sandinistas were quick to capitalize on the mounting resentment. This was the beginning of the end of the Somoza regime, and the Sandinistas maneuvered themselves to the forefront of the anti-government coalition.

By late 1978, the ranks of the FSLN had swelled, from just a few hundred hard-core militants who had comprised the front during most of its existence, to almost 1,000 combatants. By the following summer, this number had risen to about 5,000. While numerically smaller than Somoza's 14,000-strong National Guard, the Sandinistas benefited from increasing opposition to Somoza's repression, and they were receiving large quantities of matériel from abroad. A large percentage of the arms and ammunition came from Cuba. Venezuela and Panama also provided the Sandinistas with large numbers of weapons, while Costa Rica allowed its territory to be used as a sanctuary by the Sandinistas.

In contrast, Somoza's National Guard was isolated from the Nicaraguan people and was facing difficulties in obtaining supplies. The United States had cut off military assistance to Somoza in October 1978. In June 1979, the Organization of American States (OAS) took the unprecedented step of supporting the overthrow of a member government, calling for the "definitive replacement" of the Somoza regime.

With no hope of external support and having lost control of much of the nation's territory, Somoza fled Nicaragua on July 17. The National Guard disintegrated literally overnight; many guardsmen, including the majority of high-ranking officers, fled into



OLIVIER REBBOT/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOCIATES

Former Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza: Since his exile and assassination, political prisons and the standing army have both multiplied tenfold.

exile, while about 3,000 others, many enlisted men, were imprisoned by the new government.

Only a minority

The Sandinistas were instrumental in the armed struggle, but the FSLN still represented only a minority of those opposed to the Somoza dictatorship. Businessmen, farmers, workers, students, and Nicaraguans of all stripes worked for and supported the overthrow of the dictator. The near unanimity of the struggle against Somoza, and his indiscriminate use of force that resulted in widespread destruction and killing, had captured world headlines, with the Sandinistas getting the lion's share of the publicity.

The leaders of the FSLN had publicly pledged themselves to political pluralism, a mixed economy, and a non-aligned foreign policy. Since these pledges were thought to reflect the official position of the new Government of National Reconstruction, it enjoyed broad international support, and the United States took the lead in the assistance effort, providing $118 million of economic aid and humanitarian assistance during the following 18 months. This was more than

ALON REININGER/CONTACT

Sandinista soldiers take a bath in Somoza's palatial bathroom directly after the 1979 takeover. Today the luxurious mansion is home to Daniel Ortega.

any other country provided the new regime and more than the United States had provided Somoza in the previous four years combined. European and Latin American countries, notably Venezuela, also rushed aid to impoverished and war-wracked Nicaragua.

These Western leaders realized that the Sandinistas were avowed communists who were closely linked to Castro. But it was thought that the Marxist-Leninist zeal of the youthful Sandinista leaders would be tempered by the more moderate members of the coalition.

There was one thing wrong with this assumption. The Sandinistas had the guns and were not about to relinquish them or the power that military victory had brought the FSLN. The *comandantes* believed Nicaragua's salvation lay in Marxist economics and Leninist politics. Castro cautioned them, however, not to move with the same speed he had in the early 1960s in declaring the political orientation of the new regime.

Castro wanted the Sandinistas to establish a communist dictatorship similar to his own, but he advised them to do so with a subtlety that would induce the Western countries to provide the financial aid so necessary for the new government. As a leading member of the FSLN, Bayardo Arce said a few years later in a memorable secret speech:

> Our strategic allies tell us not to declare ourselves Marxist-Leninists . . . . [Nicaragua will be] the first experience of building socialism with the dollars of capitalism.

Over the past seven years, in addition to following this advice, the Sandinistas have emulated the steps taken by their "strategic allies." Like the leaders of the Soviet Union, the countries of Eastern Europe, Vietnam, and Cuba, the Sandinistas have now invoked press censorship, established a powerful secret police apparatus, mounted systematic attacks on organized religion, and developed a large military force.

Nowhere has the alignment with the Soviet Union been more evident than in the military sphere. Today, Nicaragua has the largest, most powerful armed forces in the history of Central America. The intense buildup got under way at the very time the United States was providing Nicaragua with millions of dollars in economic aid. This Soviet-bloc-supplied military machine certainly was not built in reaction to threats from neighbors, or from ex-Somoza National Guardsmen: the Sandinistas had the largest military in Central America more than a year before serious armed opposition to the regime commenced.

Not militarily threatened

That the Sandinistas did not consider themselves militarily threatened at the time they were building this large military force was inadvertently revealed by no less an authority than Carlos Tunnermann, Managua's ambassador to the United States.

In the March 30, 1985, *Washington Post,* Tunnermann attempted to blame the United States for all of Nicaragua's woes. He wrote that prior to November 1981 (the date he claims that the United States decided to assist the Nicaraguan armed resistance) Nicaragua was confronted by "only a few hundred ex-GN [Somoza's National Guard] soldiers staging sporadic raids on farms along the border. Their principal occupations were cattle-rustling and extortion."

From these remarks made by an official of the Nicaraguan government, it is clear that the Sandinistas certainly perceived no military threat. But by November 1981, the response to these few hundred "cattle rustlers" included a Sandinista army of almost 40,000, as well as Soviet-made tanks, artillery, and armored personnel carriers.

A look at the record of the Sandinista leaders prior to 1979, and their statements and actions since coming to power, shows conclusively there was no change in Sandinista political views.

The Soviets are now increasing their military support to Nicaragua to enable the Sandinistas to consolidate their Marxist-Leninist beachhead in Central America. Soviet supply of military equipment through the first six months of 1986 is greater than the total military supplies delivered by Moscow in all of 1985. While other Soviet clients, such as East

Germany, also provide the Sandinistas with military equipment, 90 percent of the 1986 deliveries have come from the Soviet Union itself.

The powerful Sandinista armed forces and security forces have now grown to 75,000 on active duty, with another 44,000 in the militia. Additionally, the Soviet Union has provided Nicaragua with more than 25 Mi-8 HIP troop-carrying helicopters that also can be used effectively as gunships. The most devastating weapons in the Sandinista aerial arsenal are approximately six Mi-24 HIND D attack helicopters, the "flying tanks" of the Soviet Union that have been employed with brutal effectiveness in Afghanistan. In Nicaragua, these deadly Soviet aircraft are taking a serious toll on the outgunned and outnumbered democratic resistance, the Contras. Moreover, Cuban pilots are flying gunships in combat.

The Sandinistas also have 350 tanks and armored personnel carriers, compared with Somoza's 28.

While the Sandinistas say they have been forced to build a huge military to defend themselves, the truth is they are merely following the formula of other communist regimes. Of the various governments in the world that describe themselves as Marxist-Leninist, virtually all, like Nicaragua and Cuba, have a far higher percentage of their population under arms than do their non-communist neighbors.

While sovereign states certainly have the right to defend themselves, Nicaragua's claim that it has created a purely defensive force is particularly transparent. In September 1979, the Sandinista leaders held a three-day secret meeting to plan the consolidation of the revolution.

The report of the meeting, intended for internal FSLN use, surfaced a few weeks later. This "72-Hour Document" was the blueprint for developing a communist state. In addressing the military situation, this confidential assessment stated that "at present there is no clear indication that an armed counterrevolution by Somocista forces beyond our borders is going to take place and jeopardize our stability." Yet Cuba and the Soviet bloc were already arming and training what was to become Central America's largest standing army.

Lacking a legitimate military threat, the probable reason the Sandinistas built such large armed forces was explained by Moscow-educated Comandante Henry Ruiz in 1982 when he said:

> The revolution's honeymoon is coming to an end. By this I mean the romantic idea among those who believed that the Sandinista people's revolution was an idyllic revolution in which the interests of a group of traitors and the interests of the real working people could be fused—a short-sighted point of view from which the revolution-

SIPA-SPECIAL FEATURES

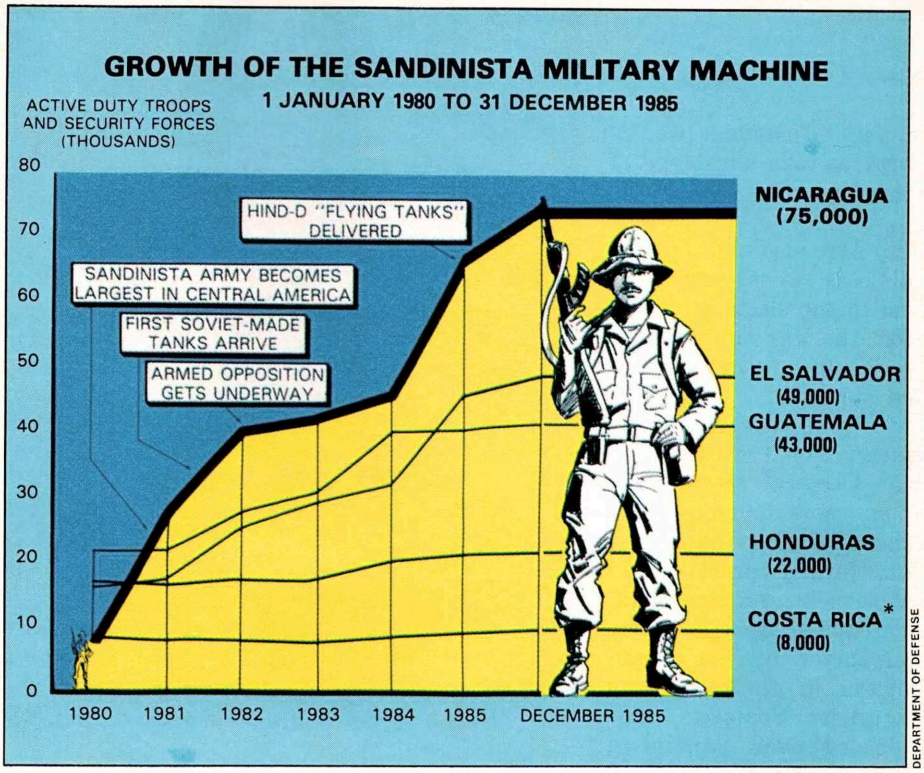
A Soviet freighter off-loads cargo in the Nicaraguan port of Corinto. The USSR has given more than $1 billion in aid to the Sandinista government—most of it military.

ary directorate never suffered.

Guaranteeing power

Not burdened with such an "idyllic" view, the Sandinistas realized they needed a means to subjugate the Nicaraguan population once the bloom was off the revolutionary rose. In classic Marxist-Leninist style, they proceeded to build an imposing military to guarantee a monopoly of power.

Christian accurately describes Nicaragua less than a year and a half into the Sandinista regime in these words:



The Sandinistas had by the end of 1980 declared themselves the owners of the truth, and that truth told them something different. It told them that Nicaragua's correct path was one laid out by the nine comandantes—the Vanguard. They were the new elite, an elite based not on land and money and guns, but on ideological formation, party discipline, and guns.

The Sandinistas were indeed forming a police state. They were controlling information, implementing surveillance measures, and, of course, increasing dramatically the military and police apparatus to limit political competition. They were engaged in a systematic destruction of even the positive aspects of traditional Nicaraguan society and culture. What they offered as replacement was a Marxist-Leninist dictatorship. Their ideology of "revolutionary internationalism" legitimized for them the provision of arms and ammunition to their communist allies in El Salvador and elsewhere who were fighting to seize power and form Marxist-Leninist governments.

In addition to establishing a dictatorship more oppressive than the one they replaced, the Sandinistas also reneged on their promises of free elections and a non-aligned foreign policy.

The elections of November 5, 1984, were held in an atmosphere of political and psychological intimidation. Food was used as a political weapon by the Sandinistas. Because access to government food stores rested with the local Sandinista Defense Committee (CDS), it was widely perceived that not voting would mean not eating. That the Sandinistas viewed the elections as more a public relations device than a true political test was revealed by the comandante in charge of the FSLN electoral campaign. In the May 1984 secret speech noted earlier, Arce said:

The leaders of the Sandinistas had publicly pledged themselves to political pluralism, a mixed economy, and a non-aligned foreign policy. Thus they enjoyed broad international support.

We see the elections as one more weapon of the revolution to bring its historical objectives gradually into

reality. Therefore, we intend to take advantage of them.

Arce also said the Sandinistas would not have called the elections except for "the war situation imposed upon us by the United States."

There was widespread international criticism of the electoral process, but none more damning than that of Carlos Andres Perez, former president of Venezuela. As president, Perez had been a strong supporter of the Sandinistas in their struggle against Somoza. Displeased over Sandinista conduct of the elections, Perez refused to attend the inauguration of President Daniel Ortega on January 10, 1985, explaining his disappointment with the Sandinistas in an open letter to Ortega:

> Those of us who believe we have done so much for the Sandinista Revolution feel cheated, because sufficient guarantees were not provided to assure the participation of all political forces. Sadly, the limiting in this way of true political pluralism weakened the credibility of the elections.

Far from non-aligned

Another of the promises made by the Sandinistas in seeking OAS support in their struggle against the Somoza regime was that their government would follow a "non-aligned" foreign policy. Just as they have betrayed the other promises to the OAS and the Nicaraguan people, so too have they broken their commitment on their foreign policy orientation.

Even at the moment they were seeking and accepting economic aid from the West (particularly the United States), the Sandinistas were clearly moving Nicaragua into the Soviet orbit.

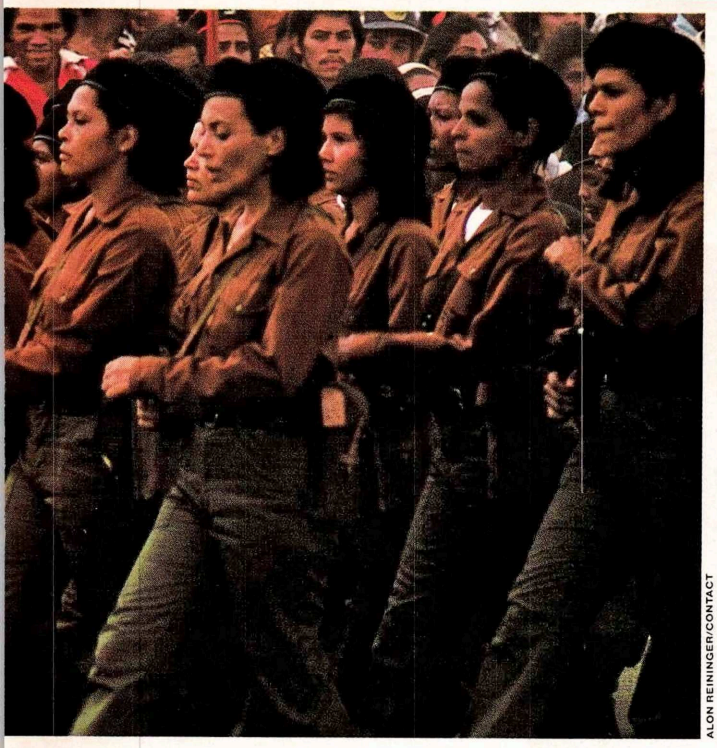
While on a visit to North Korea in June 1980, Borge said that "the Nicaraguan revolutionaries will not be content until the imperialists have been overthrown in all parts of the world . . . . We stand with the . . . socialist countries."

Probably nowhere is a nation's political alignment more evident than in its voting record in the UN General Assembly. During the 38th General Assembly (1983–1984), the Sandinista representative voted the Soviet-Cuban position 96 percent of the time. This included support for ousting Israel from the General Assembly. In the 39th General Assembly (1984–1985), the Nicaraguan government remained in the Soviet-Cuban camp. For example, on the vote on the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, all Latin-American nations, except Nicaragua and Cuba, voted against the Soviet Union. Nicaragua abstained, while Cuba voted in favor of the Soviet position.

Refugees and political prisoners

More than 200,000 disillusioned Nicaraguans have fled their country since 1979 rather than live under Sandinista rule. Many of the poorest of these unfortunate Nicaraguans have chosen the hardship of life in refugee camps in Honduras and Costa Rica over the cruel reality of life under the Sandinistas. Moreover, Nicaragua now has the dubious distinction of having more political prisoners—about 9,000—than any country in Latin America except Cuba.

Nicaraguans of all social classes have had their hopes dashed as Ortega and his fellow comandantes have betrayed them. The Sandinistas, however, attempted to hide their Marxist-Leninist goals while



ALON REININGER/CONTACT

The Sandinista militia, now 75,000 strong, dwarfs every other Central American army. However, the Sandinistas insist they need 250,000 military personnel—one-tenth of their population—and they are already receiving the weapons for that number.

consolidating their power. They realized that even the most naive foreign supporters would find it difficult to align with a government that openly declared its dedication to communism. The Sandinistas, therefore, created the facade of an open, pluralistic system to deceive foreign visitors. This is not a new phenomenon. Communist governments throughout the twentieth century have excelled in obscuring their own brutality while exploiting the noble desires of foreigners that the poor achieve a better future and greater dignity. It is a tragedy that communism, with its essential inhumanity, has been unwittingly aided in seizing and maintaining power by those who wish only to help the downtrodden.

With regard to today's visitors to Nicaragua, Professor Paul Hollander of the University of Massachusetts wrote in *Commentary* (August 1985):

The credulousness of the pilgrims to Nicaragua remains staggering. Not only do they ignore the lessons of similar pilgrimages and tours in the past, they also blind themselves to the abundant information and testimony available about Nicaragua, much of it coming from Nicaraguans untainted by any association with the Somoza regime and who were in fact supporters of the revolution which deposed him, that belies the image projected by the Sandinistas and carefully cultivated through the tours.

The Sandinistas were not always so careful to hide their determination to establish a communist regime in Nicaragua. In November 1977, when few in the United States had ever heard the term "Sandinista," the FSLN spelled out clearly the political path it intended to follow. In their "General Political/Military Platform," the Sandinistas declared:

Once the People's Sandinista Revolution has achieved its purpose of ousting the dictatorship and installing the People's Democratic Revolutionary Government, *we will be able to develop openly along progressive Marxist-Leninist lines.* We will be a party of iron, forged and tempered in the same process to enable us to fully organize and mobilize the masses. [Emphasis added.]

The Soviet-bloc-supplied military machine of the Sandinistas certainly was not built in reaction to threats from neighbors, or from ex-Somoza National Guardsmen.

Although the Sandinistas have not lived up to the promises they made to the Nicaraguan people, they have certainly been faithful to the pledge they made to themselves.■

Colonel Lawrence L. Tracy (U.S. Army, retired) has been deeply involved in Central American policy formation since 1980, in assignments in the Office of the Secretary of Defense (1980–1983) and in the State Department's Public Diplomacy office (1984–1986). He was the principal writer of the Departments of State and Defense publications The Soviet-Cuban Connection in Central America and the Caribbean *(March 1985), and* The Challenge to Democracy in Central America *(June 1986), from which much of this article was derived.*

VIEWS FROM INSIDE NICARAGUA VIEWS FROM INSIDE NICARAGUA

TIM GOODMAN

La Prensa: Censorship, Followed by Oblivion

"Without a free press, there is no freedom." This motto of *La Prensa* newspaper has been a powerful force in Nicaragua for 60 years. But it came to an end when President Daniel Ortega shut it down within hours after the U.S. House of Representatives passed a $100 million Contra aid package on June 26, 1986.

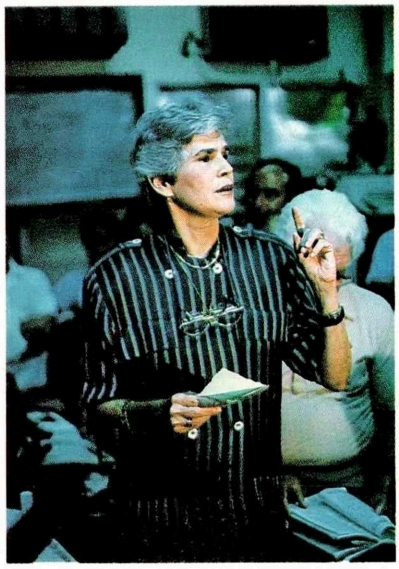
Just eight years ago the mysterious assassination of the founder of *La Prensa,* Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, a powerful and outspoken critic of Anastasio Somoza, inflamed the opposition and sparked the revolution that overthrew the dictator on July 19, 1979.

Recently, Xavier Reyes Alba, associate editor of *La Barricada,* the official organ of the Sandinista Party said: "*La Prensa* is an institution that *has* to exist—it plays a dominant role in the revolution."

Interviewed in Costa Rica, exiled Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, Jr., the son of the founding editor, said: "I finally left Nicaragua in 1984 when it became impossible to please the government censors. I was not printing a newspaper; every issue had big empty spaces where the news should have been. Even public information such as food shortages were censored. People confused *La Prensa*'s existence with 'freedom of the press'. I finally became so ashamed that I left."

Chamorro reminisced, "Once I wrote an article entitled 'We are all Contras.' Contras means 'against,' and the real Contras are the Sandinistas—they are against all freedom of speech, movement, the church, their neighbors, and many more things."

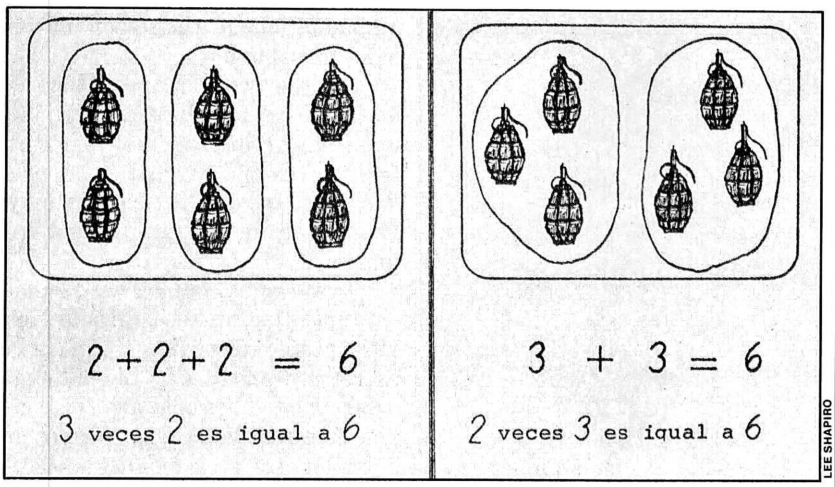
The newspaper struggled on, enduring threats and violence, but had to shut its doors on June 26, 1986.



BLACK STAR

La Prensa ***would post the articles censored from that day's edition on a bulletin board outside its offices. Violeta Chamorro, editor, announcing the government closure of the paper.***

Reported by Gay Johnson



Nicaraguan schoolchildren learn mathematics with textbooks that picture grenades and guns.

Textbook Terror

On a recent trip to Nicaragua, a group of Americans were shown text books that are being used in government-run schools.

Ministry of Education officials said, "These are special texts which are more expressive of our realities." I pored over twenty texts, and I found them to be radical and subversive: Math books used AK-47s, grenades, and tanks; spelling books used the words 'Blood', 'yanqui', 'hate', 'kill', and 'strike'. All were printed in East Berlin. The primer textbooks are used to educate Nicaraguan children.

Children educated in this new system have very recently formed gangs and killed four teachers because they hadn't been given good grades. They continue to threaten other teachers and have attacked buses. These events appear to be sanctioned by the new government.

While in Managua, I visited friends who trusted me enough this time to tell me how they felt about the repression by the Sandinistas. They also complained that the country could no longer produce food for its people, but said, "We dare not complain, *to anyone,* or we could be seriously punished." One relative recounted this incident, "One day I passed a group of slow-moving cars when one of them pulled out after me and machine-gunned my car, barely missing me. I had not known that they were government cars."

Our conversation came to an abrupt stop as someone whispered the well-known Spanish phrase, *"Los Moros estan en la costa"* (the Moors are on the coast), and we fell silent as their Sandinista granddaughter walked into the house.

The Sandinistas are masters at using terrorist tactics to instill a fear in the people so great that it produces an insidious, creeping paralysis. The possibility of torture, imprisonment, kidnapping, rape, and murder, strikes at the heart of the entire nation.

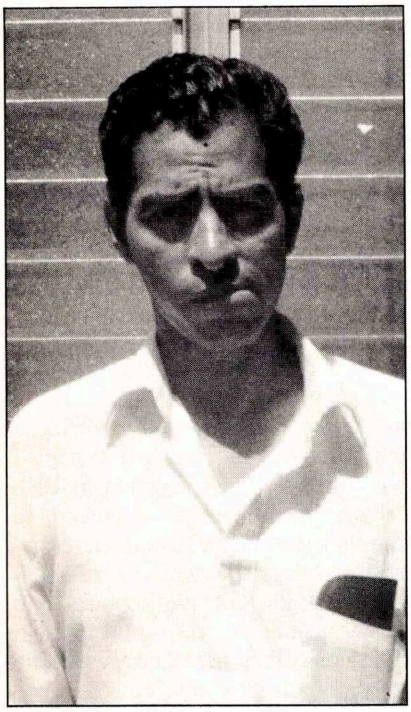
Scarlet Cuadra of Managua, an official of Sandinista Womens Organization (AMNLAE), drove us through major neighborhoods while explaining how they copied the Cuban Block System (CBS). "Every movement is reported to the 'block chief' who has the power to control the issuance of food-ration books. This same power can force people to vote and attend political rallies that charge up the propaganda machine."

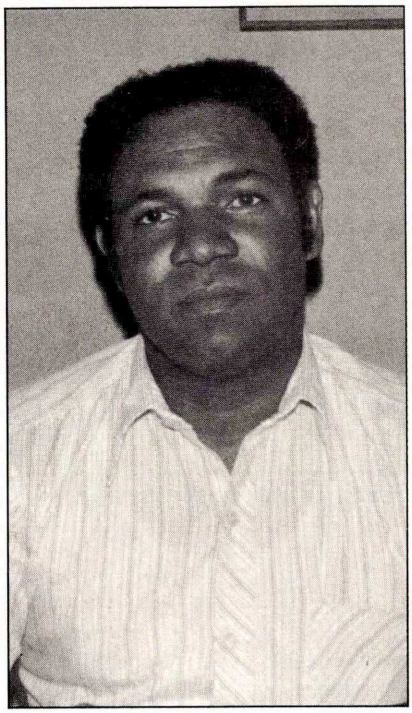
While having dinner another evening with the opposition, the CBS block chief kept passing by and looking in to see who we were and what we were doing. They let us know that we were being watched.

Contrary to reports, the Nicaraguans *do not trust Americans* because 99 percent of Americans who visit Nicaragua support and sympathize with the Marxist-Leninist government. When and if they really trust Americans, they might tell them exactly how it is.

Every day the outspoken opposition in Nicaragua wonder and pray that they will be alive the next day, so that they can leave a free and democratic future for their children and grandchildren.

VIEWS FROM INSIDE NICARAGUA VIEWS FROM INSIDE NICARAGUA





PETER LA BARBERA

Free unions are illegal in today's Nicaragua.

Labor Unions' Death Rattle

Persecution of labor and trade unions is part of the Sandinista strategy of totalitarian control. Carlos Huembes and five other union leaders from the opposition described their plight with a preface: "Carlos here was brutally beaten by Sandinista thugs while government troops looked the other way. We have no right to strike, to organize, or to bargain collectively."

There are two different labor worlds in Managua—the workers who are protected and privileged by the Sandinistas, and the members of private unions, the working class for whom the revolution was supposedly fought. The nongovernment union workers often end up in jail, lose their jobs and their ration cards, and are harassed and beaten, for simply being union members. "None of us here at the labor syndicates have avoided incarceration, either in a clandestine basement, or in a maximum security prison," said one member. "The Marxist-Leninists want to convert unions into organizations that will serve the purposes of the state rather than the purposes of the workers. The Sandinistas would not allow Lech Walesa to speak in Managua about the labor movement in Poland."

Another worker said, "There is no incentive for the workers. We must buy from the government at their prices and we cannot import. Whatever belongs to us today may be claimed by the government tomorrow."

Low wages coupled with runaway inflation make it difficult for most people to survive, and food is extremely scarce. In the national salary system, people are "pigeonholed" into 28 categories. Wages of a janitor are $7 a month, a secretary $15, and a lawyer-judge $35 to $40. In January the official rate at the airport was 28 cordobas to the dollar, but the black market is now 2,500 cordobas to the dollar. There is little to buy at the stores and the lowest wage earner has little purchasing power. Only those who have friends in high places can buy on the black market or obtain extra ration stamps.

At the Co-op Rural Workers Association, the government union, Luis Avelo parrotted the Sandinista propaganda line about improvements in the lives of the workers under their regime. Behind him hung an eight-foot-high picture of Joseph Stalin along with the 14 rules of Mao Tse-tung. These included:

We must obey orders and not consider our own opinions important.
We must report incorrect views and counterrevolutionary remarks.
We must conduct propaganda and agitation among the masses.
We must also not forget that we are communist.

 VIEWS FROM INSIDE NICARAGUA

WENDY WATRISS/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOCIATES, INC.

Farmers report repression and decreased production under the Sandinista government's policies.

Agrarian Reform or Broken Promises?

Out in the Nicaraguan countryside a farmer made it clear why the Sandinista agrarian reform was not working. "The people are afraid," he said in the privacy of his dirt floor farmhouse. He recounted a horrifying array of incidents of torture, death, and repression directed at those who expressed opposition to the Sandinista regime, and which too often resulted in the confiscation of their property.

A rice grower said, "The only reason we stay here is because this is *our* country. The Sandinistas were good guerrillas, but very poor managers. We expected them to comply with the resolutions they signed. Their methods of agrarian reform are not working because the government has not redistributed the land to the peasants as promised. They are constantly changing their goals to serve their own best interests." It is common knowledge that President Daniel Ortega lives in former President Anastasio Somoza's palace and most of the homes of the upper class who have fled the country have been expropriated for use by high party officials.

A secret government study documented the drop in the country's agricultural output since agrarian reform: Coffee was down 60 percent, sugar cane down 44 percent, and rice down 25 percent. An industrialist complained, "It's even worse, now that we have to buy our corn from Guatemala. Our problem is not consumption, but production, which is the same today as it was 17 years ago. Now, quality, production, and enthusiasm is impossible to achieve."

Another farmer said, "Bull about Somocistas; Somoza is dead and gone. I was against Somoza, but now I don't think that he was so bad—especially when I see so many of the abuses going on today."

"Not too long ago," added another, "sitting in this very chair was Jorge Salazar, the president of the agricultural union. The Sandinistas machine-gunned him down, only because he was powerful and popular with the farmers. We were all jailed then."

As one rides through the dusty countryside, it is evident that the land isn't being cultivated, but the highways are filled with covered military trucks, manufactured in East Berlin, loaded down with soldiers.

One farmer said, "They never leave us alone, so I cooperate with them and keep my mouth shut. When I look out at the land, I see nothing but tanks."

Are the people afraid? In 1979, the country had a population of about 2.7 million. Today there are about 900,000 Nicaraguans in exile, of whom about 250,000 are in the United States.

It is both tragic and sad that the lands of Somoza and the Somocistas were promised to the landless peasants, but instead have been converted into huge state farms and government co-ops.

The Nicaraguans who remain say, "The only reason we stay is because this is *our* country." ■

SPECIAL REPORT-NICARAGUA

Can The Contras Win?

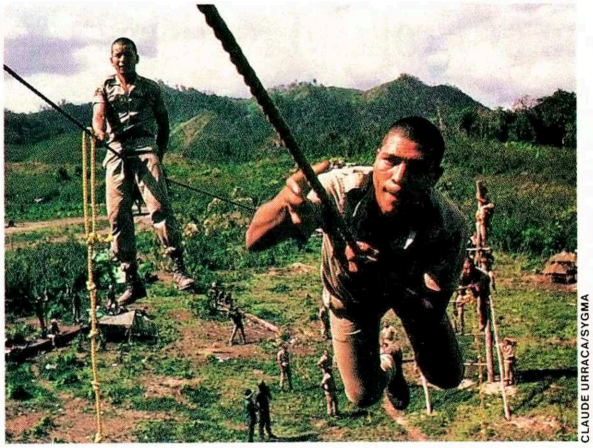
How do the freedom fighters compare with the government forces in terms of numbers, equipment, training, and popular support?

by General John K. Singlaub

The recent vote in the House of Representatives in favor of a $100 million military and humanitarian aid package to the freedom fighters in Nicaragua by no means resolves the question of whether U.S. support will continue, or, for that matter, when democracy will be restored in Nicaragua.

Perhaps the most immediate, short-term effect of the vote has been to quiet the debate—at least temporarily—on whether to support the so-called Contras.

In the ensuing lull before the aid is scheduled for shipment, it is useful to review the combatants—their strengths, their weaknesses, and what is likely to happen now that both the House and the Senate favor supporting the democratic resistance in Nicaragua.



CLAUDE URRACA/SYGMA

Contra fighters train high above the ground on the border of Honduras and Nicaragua.

Sandinista military machine

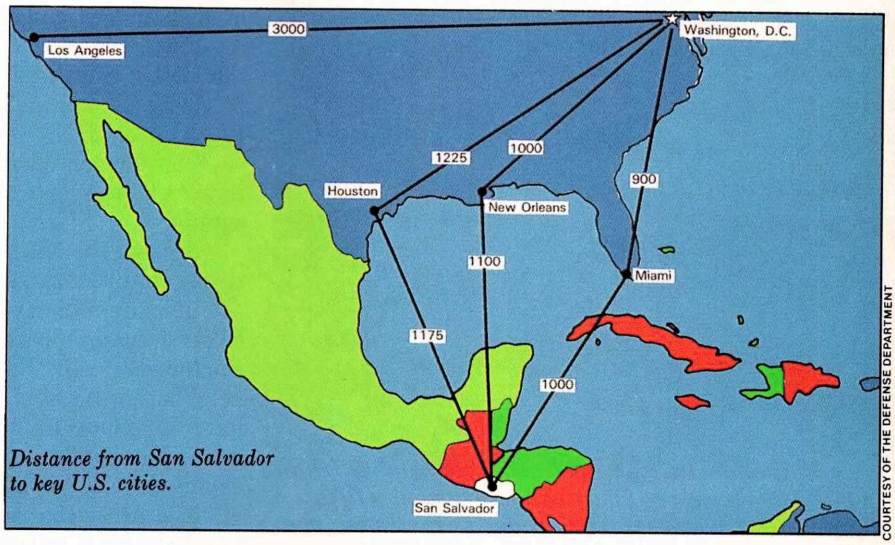
First, it is useful to look at the Sandinista army. It is important to remember that it is not a national army but the armed forces of the Sandinista party. There are, at a minimum, 65,000 regulars who can be mobilized to any point in the country. In addition, the Sandinistas have about 55,000 militia who are generally based in a given geographical area; while they can be moved, normally these troops are based in the area where they live. The Sandinistas have about 120,000 men under arms, 10 times the number former Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza commanded at the height of his power.

The main military strengths of the Sandinistas are the large numbers of troops and equipment at their disposal. In fact, they have more equipment than they can man. This equipment is new, sophisticated, and supplied by the Soviet Union, either directly by Soviet ships or indirectly by Bulgarian ships. The Sandinistas' armament includes the Mi-24 HIND helicopter, the most efficient mechanized killer in the world. It also includes other helicopters of the Mi-8 type and about 350 tanks and armored personnel carriers.

The Soviets have also supplied the Sandinistas with heavy artillery, including multiple rocket launchers and amphibious tanks, which are very useful in the swampy areas in the eastern part of Nicaragua. Furthermore, the Sandinistas receive continuous training from the Cubans, who are integrated into the units and who, in many cases, fly the helicopters. The Cubans also command the Sandinista artil-

lery and actually serve in Sandinista infantry platoons.

With the help of their Soviet and Cuban advisers and technicians—who are flying the helicopters, running some of the tanks, and training the artillery—the Sandinistas are able to mobilize the majority of their equipment. Much of it is not very useful against a guerrilla force, but it is well suited for an invasion of nearby countries. This is the overriding fear that afflicts Nicaragua's neighbors.



Distance from San Salvador to key U.S. cities.

COURTESY OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

The Sandinistas appear to be stockpiling military hardware for a force of 250,000, which would mean that one-tenth of the entire Nicaraguan population would be armed, the largest buildup percentage-wise of any country in history. But while the Sandinistas claim they will eventually field a 250,000-man army, there are grounds for suspicion that these extra weapons are being imported for arming communist insurgents elsewhere in Central America.

The Sandinistas' major weakness is that their troops lack political motivation. The communist system is most inefficient when it comes to inspiring people toward utilizing their creative ability. Subordinates do exactly what they're told; supervisors use fear as the primary motivation rather than love of country or desire to do what needs to be done. The result is everybody does absolutely the minimum and, when given the chance, they surrender quickly or desert to the Contra forces.

The Resistance

On the other hand, the freedom fighters do not have any advisers from the United States, or from any other country, and must do their own training. They have a very limited number of people with former military experience because the presence of former Somacistas in their organization would create political problems. Of a total force of about 20,000, less than 1 percent are former members of Somoza's feared National Guard; of this 1 percent, all have been cleared of any crimes or incompetence while they were in the National Guard.

There are at least 5,000 potential Contra recruits in the border areas, mostly in refugee camps, who have volunteered to join up but have not been permitted to do so because of the shortage of uniforms, boots, and weapons.

The freedom fighters are armed with light weapons, including Soviet-designed AK-47s, light machine guns, light mortars, RPG7s (an anti-tank weapons system), and a limited number of surface-to-air missiles. They have no heavy equipment, no vehicles, and no combat aircraft.

The majority of those who are fighting the Sandinistas are *campesinos,* that is, farmers from the countryside. In addition to the campesino population, which is primarily a mixture of Spaniards and Indians, there are large numbers of Indians who have joined the resistance force from the Miskito, Rama, and Suma tribes, plus large numbers of the black English-speaking Creoles from the vicinity of Bluefields, on Nicaragua's east coast.

These people have little in common politically except their shared belief in freedom, which was the objective of the revolution against Somoza. They deeply resent the fact that their revolution was stolen from them by the communists, who have imposed restrictions on them far greater than anything they ever endured during 42 years of misrule by the Somoza family.

Many observers question whether a coalition between these diverse groups can stay together. In fact,

SPECIAL REPORT

BILL GENTILE/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOC.

A billboard towering above the government's fifth anniversary demonstration reads "Fatherland...my fighting son will never be a traitor."

the Sandinistas have fanned accusations of corruption among the various Contra groups. Despite the Sandinistas' efforts, the Contras have apparently subordinated their differences for the common goal of eliminating the communist regime.

The freedom fighters' principal strength is the guerrilla war they are waging, which means they do not have to hold or occupy any ground. They are all volunteers, and they are highly motivated because most of them have suffered severely under the Sandinistas.

The freedom fighters could better utilize the limited means at their disposal if the thousands of professional Nicaraguan military men—many of whom have been trained in the United States in the use of aircraft and other weapons systems—were integrated into the Contra forces. Political considerations prevent this.

The Contras' greatest hurdle, however, is the lack of consistent support from the United States, which has a history of offering them partial support, pushing them into the field, and then withdrawing that support.

Not another Vietnam

Much of the inconsistent political support for the freedom fighters' cause from Congress can be attributed to the fear in the United States that Nicaragua may evolve into another Vietnam. But there are major differences between the threat posed by communists in Vietnam and communists in Nicaragua.

First, Nicaragua is much closer geographically to the United States than is Vietnam. Managua, in fact, is closer to many Western state capitals than is Washington, D.C.

Vietnam, on the other hand, is on the other side of the world and near sources of communist power and supply.

Second, the Nicaraguans are more closely related to our culture. Most of them are Christians, and there are literally millions of Central Americans who have either visited or been educated in the United States. Furthermore, the Contras have found sanctuary in neighboring friendly countries, while the Sandinistas have no place to go. This is, one might suppose, somewhat similar to the situation that U.S. troops experienced in Vietnam.

The American Revolutionary War offers a better parallel to the current situation in Nicaragua than does Vietnam. In much the same way that American colonialists were opposed to the oppression inflicted upon them by the British, the Nicaraguan freedom fighters are opposed to the political, cultural, economic, and religious suppression inflicted upon them by the Marxist Sandinistas.

During the American Revolution, the colonials received outside help from France, the Netherlands, and Spain. Now that the United States is the leader of the free world, it has a similar obligation to support the Contras against the externally supported communist Sandinistas.

Agenda for victory

To win their war against the Sandinistas, the Contras must receive more sophisticated military equipment, consistent support, and additional skill training. One of their primary needs is surface-to-air missiles to neutralize the firepower of the Sandinistas' Soviet-supplied Mi-24 HIND helicopter gunships.

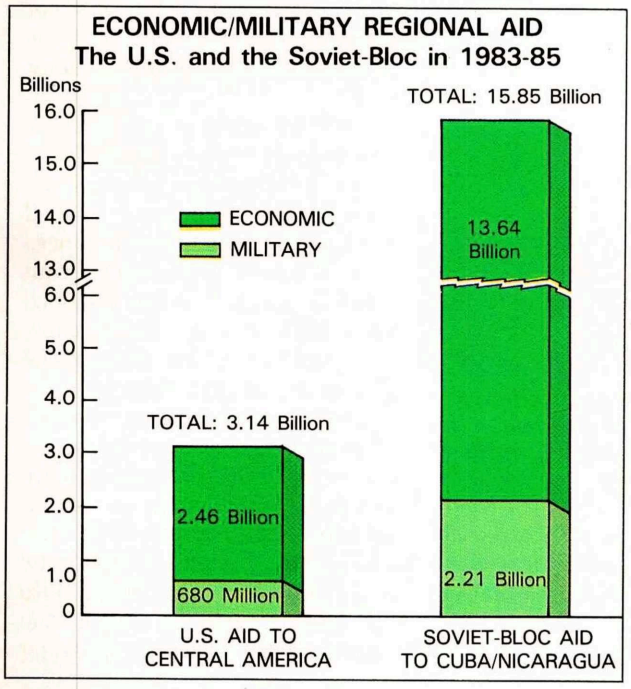
Also, to achieve a military victory, the freedom fighters have to increase their capability to seize and hold ground. They must also start to seize and hold seaports and airfields so they do not have to depend upon the political vicissitudes of their neighbors. If they are able to do this, they will receive direct support from friends in the United States or from other countries without having to involve directly a third government.

The so-called urban opposition—such as the Catholic church, labor unions, and any opposition newspa-

pers, such as *La Prensa,* recently shut down by the government—will also play a critical role in the overthrow of the Sandinistas. Resistance in the cities of Nicaragua already exists; all they need is some means of expressing it. Increasing the number of broadcasts from Contra-controlled areas will fulfill this need and provide more direction to resistance activities in the urban areas.

Many believe that the civil strife in Nicaragua would improve through diplomacy, pointing to the promises of Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega that he would reduce the number of armaments in the Sandinista army if only the Contras would agree to the provisions in the proposed Contadora treaty. But it is unlikely, based on any historical analysis, that the communist Sandinistas would ever negotiate away any of their power.

Furthermore, the Sandinistas are continuing to receive large quantities of arms and ammunition from the Soviet bloc and to build airfields, naval bases, and electronic surveillance installations. It is clear that the Soviet Union expects to occupy these bases, and will not do so to help the Sandinistas. Instead, they will operate these bases against the United States. Therefore, it is in the interests of the United States to make sure that the Soviets do not get a chance to occupy those bases.



COURTESY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The best way of achieving this is to provide help to the freedom fighters now. Let them take Nicaragua back for the Nicaraguans.

To do so, it is not necessary to provide the Contras with anything near the $1 billion that the Soviets have given the Sandinistas. The $100 million recently approved by the House, while something less than what is needed, will provide a big boost for the Contra cause, but more aid must be provided in the future. Also, the freedom fighters need U.S. Stinger missiles to attack the greatest threat to their continued success, the Soviet-supplied HIND helicopters.

Future aid to the Contras should not carry stipulations on how the money must be spent (such as how and what percentage should go for humanitarian aid, what percentage for military aid, what percentage for big weapons and what for small weapons), but rather expenditure of the funds should be made according to what the Contras determine are their needs.

The Contras, with the benefit of continuing U.S. aid, can fight on their own, without support from U.S. ground troops. We must never say "never" to direct intervention with U.S. ground troops, but such intervention can be prevented by using U.S. air and naval forces to isolate the battlefield to prevent the Cubans and the Soviets from reinforcing the Sandinistas.

The long-term outlook for the freedom fighters is encouraging. The Nicaraguan people have responded very well to the Contra force and they refer to the freedom fighters as "our boys." If the United States can consistently provide aid on a multi-year basis, Nicaragua will be the world's first example of how people, given the wherewithal to gain their own freedom from communism, can do so.

There are now eight active democratic revolutions going on inside the Soviet empire (Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam); suddenly people are realizing that communism is merely a system for gaining and maintaining absolute control of the population. With the approval of U.S. military aid to Nicaragua's democratic resistance, the long-term prospects—for Nicaragua and for the other seven countries—are encouraging.■

Gen. John K. Singlaub is currently chairman of the U.S. Council for World Freedom and of the World Anti-Communist League. He retired from the U.S. Army in 1978 after criticizing President Carter's decision to withdraw U.S. troops from South Korea.

SPECIAL REPORT-NICARAGUA

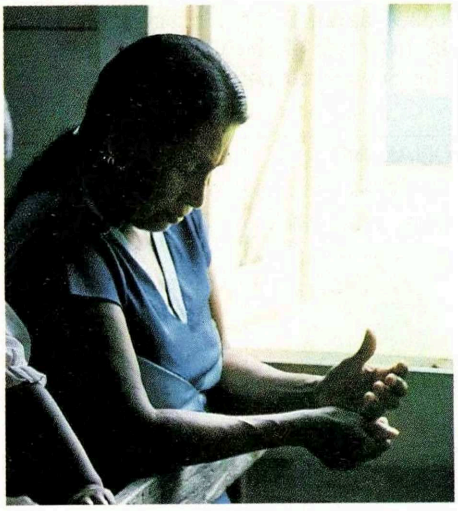
Murder of a Gentle People

The Miskito Indians must resort to guerrilla warfare in order to protect their traditional life-style and beliefs.

Written and photographed by Lee Shapiro

In the politically charged shouting match that has raged in Congress over the past months concerning Nicaragua, often something very important is forgotten. *People.* While there is no denying the strategic importance of the region, there are also very human dimensions to the conflict south of our borders.

I came to encounter, at least for a short time, one of many such dimensions. I had the privilege of living with the Miskito Indians of eastern Nicaragua for a total of seven months during 1983 and 1984 while making a film about them. The film, *Nicaragua Was Our Home,* aired nationally on the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) June 17, 1986. It depicts the tragedy of a gentle people suffering the agony of mass displacements and genocide.



The Miskitos are deeply Christian, a quality that has sustained them in the years of persecution and exile at the hands of the government.

Isolated paradise

Ten years ago, a film on the Miskito Indians would probably have been about isolated turtle fishermen in beautiful tropical settings. Eastern Nicaragua is a place where dense emerald rain forests and warm marine waters meet in a broken shoreline scalloped by long thin lagoons, river bars, mangrove swamps, and narrow beaches. Much of the inland area is covered by pine forests, and there are some gold mines. The area is isolated from western Nicaragua by mountains and, until recently, there were no road connections between the two sides. Living in this almost unpenetrable setting isolated the Miskitos from latinos in western Nicaragua but that's the way the Miskitos preferred it.

The Miskitos descended from the non-Mayan Indians that, as they would probably put it, discovered Christopher Columbus when he brushed up against the jutting northeastern coast of Nicaragua and named it *Cabo Gracias a Dios*—Cape Thank God.

All attempts at conquest by the Spanish were successfully repelled by the Indians. To facilitate this, the Indians formed strategic and business alliances with French buccaneers and English pirates, who provided them with weapons, in the early seventeenth century. Some of the Europeans settled down with Indian wives. In addition, when a Portuguese slave vessel sank offshore in 1641, the Indians captured all the survivors, whom they incorporated into the society. Eventually, German Moravians evangelized the Indians. The various mixtures that emerged became known as the Miskito Indians. About 120,000 Miskito Indians live in the region along with about 30,000 English-speaking

Miskito militiamen released the people of this Miskito settlement from Sandinista imprisonment and led them on a jungle exodus to freedom in Honduras.

blacks and a few thousand Sumo and Rama Indians.

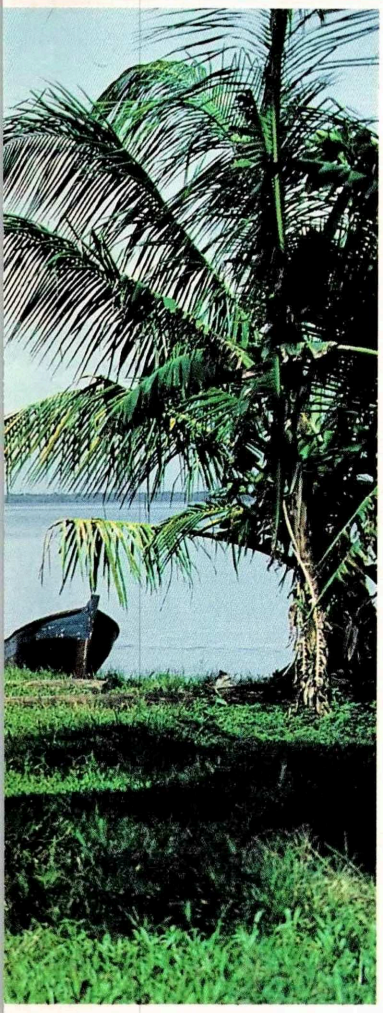
The Miskito Coast or Miskitia, as the eastern part of Nicaragua is known, was a British protectorate from 1678 until 1894. Its people have historically always considered themselves autonomous from the western part of Nicaragua. The Treaty of Managua of 1860 recognized the autonomy of Miskitia from the rest of Nicaragua, as did the Harrison-Altamirano treaty of 1905.

When the Somozas came to power, as bad as they were for the rest of Nicaragua, they basically recognized the autonomy of the Miskito coast. They did very little to advance Miskito culture but at least they left the Indians alone. Foreign economic interests centering on fishing, mining, or lumbering would exploit the resources of the Atlantic coast, often giving the Miskitos very little in return. When the Miskitos look back on the pre-Sandinista days, they recall them as the "good old days." The Miskitos, being very proud of their self-sufficiency, seem to have been content with their simple lives of subsistence farming and fishing.

Faith in Sandinistas

The Miskitos, in fact, were content enough that they had very little to do with the insurrection that took place in 1979, although Miskito leaders, Steadman Fagoth and Brooklyn Rivera, who were students in Managua, led a small platoon of Miskito guerrillas that sided with the Sandinistas. These Indian leaders believed the Sandinista promises of autonomy and improvements for their region in return for their support. Because of the involvement of Fagoth and Rivera, who were very popular, the Miskitos generally felt positive about the Sandinista victory.

This goodwill about the Sandinista triumph, however, was short-lived. Soon after the Sandinista victory, large numbers of Sandinista troops arrived on the



Fishing, farming, and community ownership are the traditional elements of the Miskito people's life-style.

Atlantic coast, growing to about 7,000 by the beginning of 1981. The Miskitos quickly resented being ordered around by people from the western side, whom they still refer to as "Spanish."

The Sandinistas declared the untitled land, which for centuries the Miskitos considered communally theirs, to be state owned. The Sandinistas barred the Indians from farming and cutting wood on this land. They also began to impose upon them ration cards and state institutions such as the Sandinista Labor Federation and the Sandinista Defense Committees. The Sandinistas took to rounding up arbitrarily young Miskitos whom they labeled as counter-revolutionary.

Cuban teachers replaced Miskito teachers trained by the Protestant denominations and the Roman Catholic vicarate. This was especially upsetting to the Miskito parents, who are very religious; they viewed the Cubans as godless and anti-religious. The parents complained that the Cubans were teaching Marxist doctrine in the classroom. The fires of animosity toward the new government heated up. The Miskitos started to organize protests, and boycott the Cuban schools and even the Cuban-run clinics, which they felt were not interested in their health.

Father John Samsa, a Capuchin priest who worked with the Miskitos for many years, explains in an interview in *Nicaragua Was Our Home* that "the Sandinistas underestimated the Indians." This is a key point. If the Sandinistas had gone into the region with doctors and anthropologists, they could have won over the Indians. Instead they tried to intimidate and conquer them. They put priority on the strategic value of the Atlantic coast—that part of Nicaragua closest to Cuba. As a result of government miscalculation, however, the Miskitos have become one of the biggest thorns in the side of the Sandinistas.

The Sandinistas also had assumed that the Indians, who already lived a communal life-style, would easily adapt to "scientific" socialism and serve as a model for a Marxist state. After meeting opposition from the Miskitos, however, the Sandinistas criticized them for being "ideologically backward" because the Indians were not divided into social classes and therefore could not have a class struggle—a necessity for the Sandinista idea of progress. The Sandinistas also failed to take into account the depth and strength of the religious nature of the Miskitos. Finally, they underestimated the extent to which the Miskitos would fight to maintain their freedom and autonomy.

Shots heard round the world

The boycotts and protests by the Miskitos in-

creased. In January 1981, Sandinistas shot to death a nineteen-year-old Miskito in the town park of Puerto Cabeas. Miskito leaders Fagoth and Rivera were arrested along with 30 other leaders of the organization representing a coalition of the Miskito, Sumo, and Rama Indians (MISURASATA). In February in the town of Prinapolka, a group of Sandinista soldiers interrupted a church service to arrest another leader, Elmer Prado. The Miskitos, unarmed but ready to resist, grabbed some of the rifles and began firing at the soldiers. Four soldiers and four Indians died in what is considered the first battle in the Miskito-Sandinista conflict.

These incidents set off a massive flight of Miskitos to Honduras, especially by young men who were afraid of being shot or arrested. They regrouped in Puerto Lempira and determined to find a way they could strike back at the Sandinistas. Forming small groups called the *Tropas Cruzas* (Troops of the Cross), they secretly re-entered Nicaragua, sporadically attacking Sandinista troops with knives or even bows and arrows, recouping caches of new weapons in the process.

In May 1981, the Sandinistas released Fagoth with the understanding that he would go to Miskitia, calm the unrest, and then accept a scholarship to one of the Soviet bloc countries. Fagoth, on the pretext of visiting his ailing father, went north to the Coco River and continued into Honduras. Fagoth's arrival there gave the resistance badly needed leadership.

The Indian forces grew in numbers and they began to receive arms from the CIA. On December 14, 1981, Indian warriors ambushed a 12-man Sandinista border patrol. The Sandinistas responded in force against the civilians in the Coco River town of Leimus.

Vidal Proveda, who lost his arm while escaping from the Sandinistas, described the attack in *Nicaragua*. He reported that 35 people, including his brother, were executed—or buried while still alive.

Scorched earth policy

The Sandinistas continued their response to the "Indian problem" with the forced relocation of Miskitos from Coco River communities, where they were able to support the Indian forces, to distant settlements. In January 1982, about 10,000 Miskitos were forced to walk for 15 days through thick jungles to army-run concentration camps. Behind them, their homes, churches, crops, and livestock were burned and destroyed. Some people who survived the terror returned with me to their burnt villages and told me about the brutality of these forced marches.

"When the town was burning," said Alvaro Rivera as he walked through the carbonized remains of what was once his town of Tulimbila, "bombs exploded, AKs [AK-47s, Soviet-made automatic rifles] were firing. They burned the town. It was an incredible fire, like they were burning a whole mountain." He also said what many others have often said—that the incapacitated, such as old men and pregnant women, were locked in the churches and burned alive.

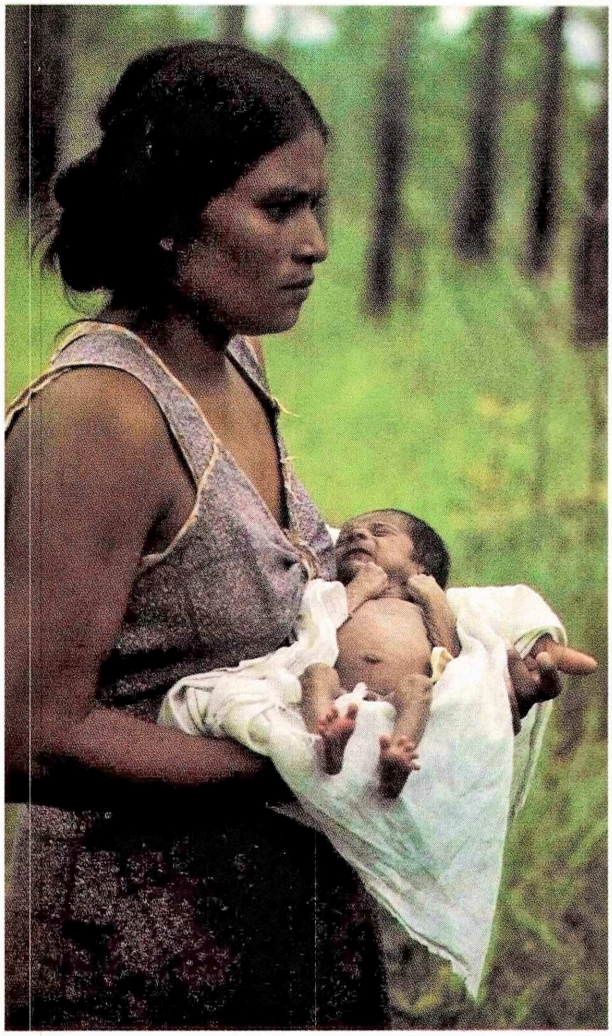
Similarly brutal relocations in December 1982, and in October 1983, forced another 10,000 people into the concentration camps of *Tasba Pri* (a Miskito word, ironically meaning "free land"). During the late 1982 relocation, a helicopter carrying 75 Miskito children and 17 women who had recently given birth crashed and burned, killing all of the children and nine of the mothers. Denying that the helicopter was overloaded, the Sandinistas blamed the crash on the usual scapegoat: "U.S. imperialism."

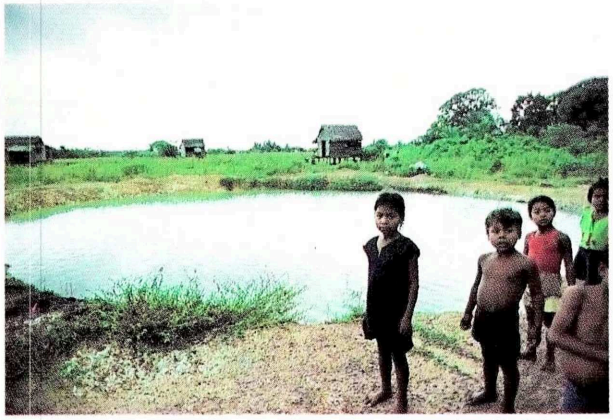
Each of the relocations produced more flights of refugees into Honduras and Costa Rica. Estimates of the number of refugees ranged upwards from 25,000. As the situation worsened, the Miskito forces were growing as more young men were joining Fagoth in Honduras and Brooklyn Rivera in Costa Rica. This was the situation in December 1983, when I first visited the Miskitos in the remote border town of Rus Rus, Honduras.

Official silence

I had wanted to make a film on the Miskito Indians because I was appalled that so little was being reported on their situation. One reason for this was because Miskitia had been closed off to outside observers since 1981. Therefore, to report on the Miskitos' situation one had to enter Nicaragua secretly and illegally. Most journalists, perhaps hemmed in by frequent deadlines, seemed unwilling to make such a trip. As an independent filmmaker, my schedule was more flexible. Also, as a documentary filmmaker who had seen almost every film that had been made on Central America, I was intrigued by the fact that virtually every film about Nicaragua was solidly in favor of the Sandinistas. I saw an opportunity to cover a story that few others seemed interested in.

I arrived in Rus Rus with six other journalists, and we were all given the opportunity to accompany





The fruits of war: Above, a Miskito mother holds her malnourished infant. Below, a pond that formed in the crater of an exploded bomb becomes a playground.

the Miskito warriors (as they prefer to be called) on an operation in Nicaragua. Miskito leader Fagoth did not tell us where we were going or what the guerrillas would do. He only said that we'd return in approximately two weeks—in time for Christmas, and that we would have a very nice experience.

Not surprisingly, I was the only journalist who entered Nicaragua on this operation. As was promised, I returned to Honduras after two weeks of a very nice, albeit grueling and physically exhausting, experience. But as it turned out, I had also been a witness to an international incident in which an American bishop and priest narrowly escaped assassination by the Sandinistas.

Exodus

After entering Nicaragua, we trekked up and down difficult mountains and through muddy swamps for five rainy days. Finally, on the evening of the fifth day, approximately 100 Indian warriors surrounded the military-controlled camp of Francia Sirpi, where 2,000 Miskitos were living under the watchful eye of about 200 armed Sandinista soldiers. The Sandinistas, caught off guard by a surprise attack launched by the Indians, fled from the village.

By coincidence, Bishop Salvador Schlaefer, a Wisconsin-born Capuchin with nearly forty years in Nicaragua, and Father Wendelin Shafer had spent the day in Francia Sirpi making routine pastoral rounds. They were sleeping that night in the church, when they were awakened by gunfire. After things quieted down they went out and found that the people were leaving Francia Sirpi and heading for Honduras with the Miskito guerrillas. Since the Miskito villagers were already expecting the warriors, they were packed and even had baked unleavened "journey bread" like the Hebrews of the Egyptian Exodus. The two clerics decided to accompany the people.

Meanwhile, the Sandinistas were regrouping so that they could pursue the people. In Managua, the government was reporting to the press that the bishop had been murdered by the Contras. This story was reported internationally. By listening to the military radio of the Miskitos, we learned that the Sandinistas were trying to recapture the people, and especially the two clerics, so that they could show the world that the Contras had murdered the priests.

Groups of Miskito warriors stayed behind so that they could slow down the approaching Sandinistas with a rear guard ambush. The remainder of the

company, which included women, children and elderly, some who had to be carried, spent three difficult days, trudging through knee-high mud. With hardly any food or sleep, we finally crossed the Coco River by large canoes to safety in Honduras.

Sojourners in a strange land

I returned to Rus Rus again in June 1984. By that time the aid from the United States was being cut off by Congress and the warriors were having a difficult go of it. I had to delay my planned trip by boat into deeper Nicaraguan territory until the Miskitos could procure the needed gasoline.

Meanwhile, I filmed the refugees in Honduras. Honduras has generously provided land for the Miskitos, but it is simply not as fertile as the land they left behind. Therefore, the Indians, who are by tradition farmers and fishermen, are suffering from malnutrition and high infant mortality rates for the first time in their history. Medicine also is in critically short supply.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) set up a center in Moccorón that provides help. To qualify for aid, refugees have to live 50 miles from the border—a measure designed to weed out families who have members fighting in the resistance. (This is a double standard, since it is not required in western Honduras where refugees from El Salvador live on the border and provide a haven for the leftist guerrillas.)

To supplement the less-than-adequate UN rations, many refugees routinely walk for 50 miles from Moccorón so that they can slip across the Coco River and find food that is growing wild in Nicaragua. When I was there, more and more refugees were choosing simply to bypass the UNHCR altogether and fend for themselves in the border areas.

Eventually, private groups such as Friends of the Americas, headed by Louisiana State Representative Woody Jenkins and his wife Diane, set up full-time medical and relief facilities to help these groups of Miskitos. Many Christian groups, such as CERT, (Christian Emergency Relief Team) also became very active. These groups provided schoolbooks so that the children, many of whom had been without school for several years, could resume an education.

Perhaps the greatest suffering that the Miskitos have to endure is simply being uprooted from their homeland, where their ancestors are buried. It is very difficult for non-Indians to understand the spiritual ties that bind Indians to their land. As a result of this lack of understanding, indigenous people of many countries, including the United States, have had to endure great suffering.

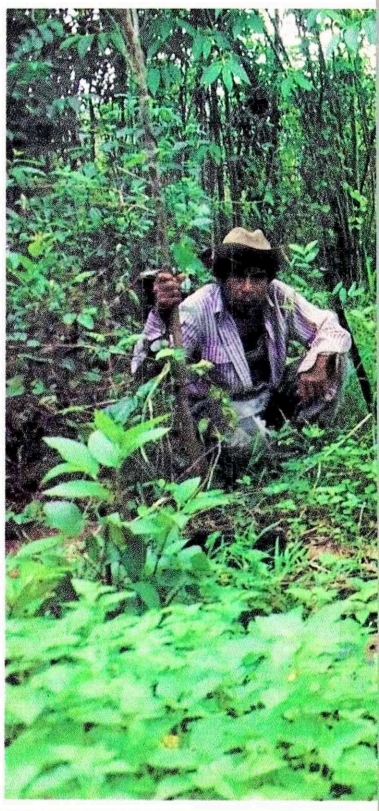
During this waiting period before we could again make a prolonged journey, refugees would sometimes take me on day trips across the Coco River to see the once productive villages that are now nothing but charred stumps and overgrowth.

On one trip, a 16-year-old guerrilla named Luis told me how his parents were tortured and killed. After being accused of aiding the resistance, their eyes were plucked out, their fingernails were torn off and they were beaten to death. This was the catalyst that transformed this young boy with an angelic face into a soldier seeking revenge.

Voyage by night

In late August, my assistant Ellen Hori and I took a harrowing boat ride with about five of the guerrillas deep into Nicaraguan territory. These trips, primarily to resupply the guerrillas, are made at night in 30-foot open boats with two 35-horsepower engines. The entire trip takes eight hours and is very wet and cold.

The Miskito motormen, with generations of fisherman blood flowing through their veins, guide the boat on the Atlantic Ocean, sneaking around the Sandinista patrol boats, without the aid of a compass or even the stars. When I asked the motorman how he knew where to go, he simply smiled, pointed to his head, and said, "I just know in my head."



After arriving in a community south of Puerto Cabezas and taking a rest, I could assess that the situation was more dangerous than I had expected. The villagers were expecting the Sandinistas to arrive any day. I decided to send Ellen back to Honduras with the boat.

On the return trip, one of the engines died. When the sun rose the next morning, the boat was still in Nicaraguan waters. The Sandinista patrol boats spotted it and started shooting. The Miskito motormen raced to the shore under fire, and all hands ditched the boat and ran for their lives into the jungle. The trip on foot to Honduras took 10 hungry and wet days—but finally the group arrived intact.

Prisoners on their own land

Meanwhile, the Miskito warriors took me from village to village, and from one secret guerrilla base to another. Usually, we traveled at night either by canoe or on horseback. Everywhere we went, the warriors were supported with food, shelter, and information by the Miskito people. That is why the Sandinistas have never defeated them. The principle was stated by Mao Tse-Tung: a guerrilla must be one with the people—like a fish in a fishbowl.

With that support, we had an intelligence network alerting us to Sandinista troop movements. Also with that support, the civilian population took us into their humble homes and shared with us what little they had themselves, even at the risk of their lives.

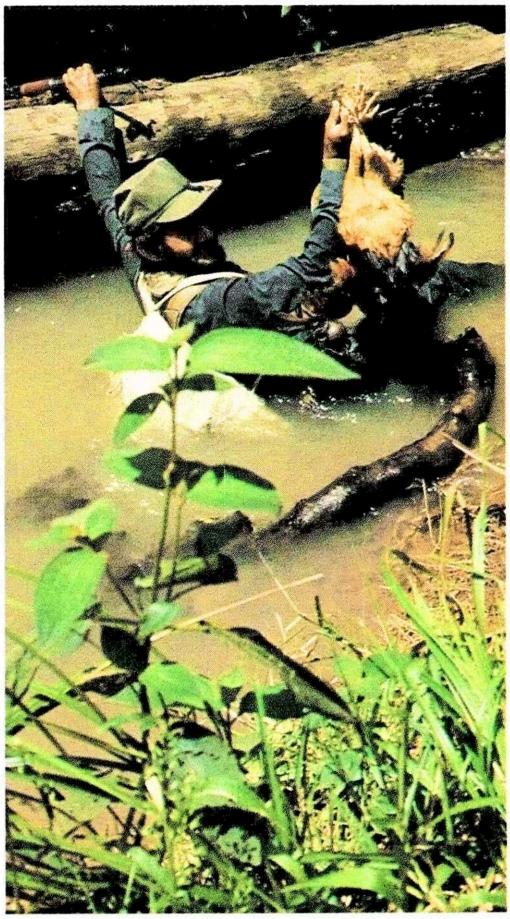
Over the last five years, the villagers have suffered greatly under what is basically martial law. Their stories all shared common threads: the Sandinistas invaded the village, took or destroyed all their possessions and livestock, cut or burned down the fruit trees, and arbitrarily arrested and tortured people suspected of cooperating with the rebels.

One old man, his face trembling with fear, described for the camera how his village was bombed by the Sandinista planes. "Oh, my," he said, "it's so bad . . . just like there was no God."

I also spent much of the time in the secret guerrilla bases, either in the jungles or the swamps. The Sandinistas are unable to find these bases; when they try, the Sandinistas suffer many casualties because the Miskito guerrillas, knowing they are coming, set up ambushes.

The life of the guerrillas is far from romantic. Some of them have been in the Nicaraguan jungles for four or five years and the constant exposure to

A Miskito guerrilla, right, saves a chicken from a watery (and inedible) death. Below, a young man surveys the charred remains of his village, now covered with overgrowth.



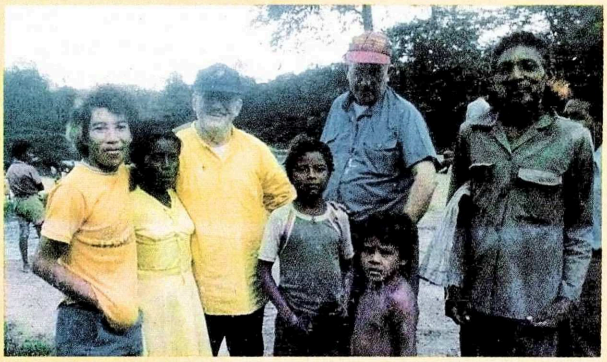
damp conditions has caused permanent health problems. When they are cut off from community support, they have to live off the land or go hungry. We often ate monkey meat. Many of the guerrillas have families that they have had to leave behind. Due to a chronic shortage of ammunition and medicine, they are very limited in the military operations they are able to carry out. This means the constant boredom of waiting.

In spite of all these problems, however, I found the Miskito guerrillas to be high-spirited most of the time. They love to sing, especially romantic love songs in their native Miskito language. Their traditional faith in God is strong. They often ask God for guidance, praying upon waking each morning, and before each operation.

They are also united. Though much has been made of the factional differences between Fagoth's

Testimony of Father Wendelin Shafer

"About 1:30 in the morning, or something like that, we heard some shots firing. And everybody jumped onto the floor out of their beds, we waited in the church until things quieted down. We went and found out that the people were leaving. They had an escort of . . . it must have been . . . more than a hundred Miskito militiamen. And they were rounding up the people and facilitating their leaving. A lot of them left in the middle of the night and started walking.



Father Wendelin Shafer, center left, and Bishop Salvador Schlaefer, center right, whose ministies to the imprisoned Miskitos nearly ended in martyrdom at the hands of Sandinista soldiers.

"The bishop and I, when we saw what options were open to us, and the fear of perhaps not coming out of the situation alive if we waited for the Sandinista army to come in, and not knowing what to expect, we decided to go with the people. The people needed us. They were setting out on a really difficult and trying journey, and we decided to stick with them. It was a free choice; no one forced us to make the choice. We were given freedom in that respect.

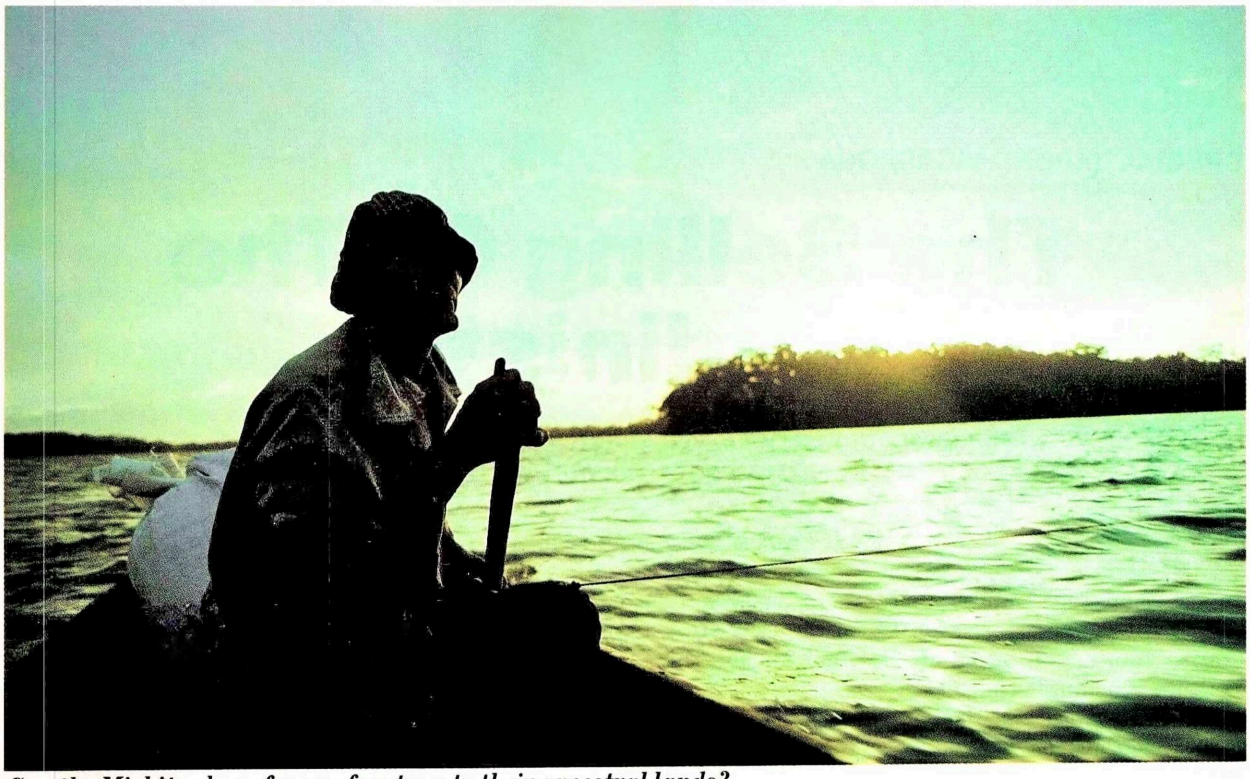
"We set out on this journey and we've been . . . it's been hard. It's been difficult for everybody, but a lot of marvelous things happened among the people themselves. The Miskito Contras have really showed extraordinary love and interest in their own people, the way they supported them and helped them and urged them along, and tried to make things as easy as possible for them. A lot of the older people had to be carried. One man broke his foot practically in the beginning of the trip and had to be carried the rest of the way. But also old women and old men too had to be carried on the backs of others, or in hammocks, or whatever way they could possibly be carried on the backs of people.

"The militia that accompanied us had radios, of course, and they heard that notice had been sent out internationally that they had abducted us by force and had killed us. That was entirely untrue because, as I said before, we came voluntarily and there was no show of malice or any sort of disrespect for us—not only for us as priests and the other two deacons, but for the people as a whole. There was just extraordinary consideration for everybody.

"Meanwhile, the Sandinistas were getting reinforcements and regrouping in order to pursue the people. The guerrillas stayed behind to slow them down with a rearguard ambush.

"We heard too, by listening to the radio reports by the Sandinistas themselves, that they were sending out soldiers to follow us, and their intention was to bring back the bishop and I dead so that they could show the world that the Miskito militia had killed us after they abducted us, which was entirely untrue. And we were molested during the whole trip by groups of Sandinistas that tried to recapture the people, and perhaps more especially to capture the bishop and I and the deacons."

Excerpted with permission from Nicaragua Was Our Home, *an independently produced film made possible by a grant from Causa International.*



Can the Miskitos hope for a safe return to their ancestral lands?

MISURA group and Rivera's MISRASATA group and the other Indian factions that exist outside of Nicaragua, inside the country where it really counts, there are no factions. They are all just Indians, working, fighting, and even dying together.

These guerrillas are aware that this war will take a protracted and united effort. Their objective is to remove the Sandinistas from Miskitia. They are capable. They just need support.

Because the boat I entered Nicaragua on was captured by the Sandinistas, I had to wait two months before another boat could return. By that time there were several wounded soldiers that desperately needed medical attention. One had half his face shot off by an M-16 bullet. Another would eventually have his leg amputated.

Since I left Miskitia in December 1984, and finished editing *Nicaragua* in May 1985, several changes took place. The Sandinistas, admitting the concentration camps were a bad idea, allowed the Miskitos to return to their burnt villages in the fall of 1985. No significant compensation was provided.

Brooklyn Rivera made three attempts to negotiate autonomy with the Sandinistas but gave up after concluding the Sandinistas were posturing for public opinion purposes. In February 1986, when Rivera visited Miskito communities with a delegation of American Indians, including American Indian activist Russell Means, the Sandinistas bombed the villages, apparently trying to kill Rivera and Means.

Then, on March 25, 1986, using tanks, light artillery, mortars and rocket-powered grenades, Sandinistas attacked the Coco River communities that had recently been repopulated by returnees from the concentration camps. Refugees flooded into Honduras in what experts call the single largest wave of refugee flight since the Sandinista revolution in 1979. An estimated 12,000 new Miskito refugees have entered Honduras since the beginning of 1986. The Nicaraguan government, in concert with Americas Watch, alleged that the exodus was due to the Indian rebels' kidnapping the residents and forcing them to cross.

The Miskitos' tragedy is worsening. I regret that their condition today is no better than it was when I left. After their hospitality and warmth for many months, their only request to me was to tell the world what is happening to them. I only hope the world will listen.■

Lee Shapiro is a documentary filmmaker based in New York. He has made three trips to Nicaragua where he traveled with the Miskito freedom fighters and filmed their activities.

SPECIAL REPORT-NICARAGUA

The Selling Of The Sandinistas

A network of well-organized groups works in the United States to spread the Sandinista gospel.

by L. Francis Bouchey and Timothy Goodman

Nicaragua's military situation has been relatively quiet for several months. The war continues, but most of the fighting has taken place in Washington.

In late June, the Reagan administration finally won approval from the House of Representatives for $100 million in military aid and supplies for the Nicaraguan Contras seeking to overthrow the communist Sandinista regime. This victory capped a protracted two-year struggle by administration officials to win congressional approval for a military aid package. Hopes for democracy in Nicaragua have rested on this political battle, since without U.S. aid the Nicaraguan democratic resistance could not operate as an effective fighting force capable of overthrowing the regime or pressuring it to democratize.

The Sandinistas also realize that the Contras require U.S. or other outside support in order to operate effectively. Accordingly, they too regard the U.S. arena as their principal battleground. Sandinista strategists have kept a wary eye on the congressional calendar, trying to forestall any U.S. aid to the resistance. Each time a Contra aid vote has approached, the Sandinistas have revived speculation that they might sign a Contadora peace pact, thereby affording ill informed members of Congress an opportunity to point to an impending diplomatic settlement as an excuse for rejecting Contra aid.

WALLY MCNAMEE/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOCIATES, INC.

Demonstrators organized by Witness For Peace, a pro-Sandinista support group, hold crosses with the names of people killed in Nicaragua, allegedly by Contras.

More directly, the Sandinistas have established an active and effective solidarity network in this country to influence U.S. foreign policy. Now several years old, this network is a well-coordinated coalition of numerous leftist organizations united by their support for the Sandinista revolution. A hard-core vanguard directs the network, using its resources to mobilize and manipulate large numbers of political activists. Even though few people realize the extent or even existence of this solidarity network, it has high-ranking friends and sympathizers in Congress and has largely controlled the terms of the debate over U.S. policy toward Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan support apparatus

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) established its own solidarity network in the United

States in 1977, two years before it took power in Nicaragua. The National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, known as the NNSNP or the Nicaragua Network, has acted as the Sandinistas' agent in the United States since before the fall of dictator Anastasio Somoza in 1979. Much as an agency works for an actor, athlete, or politician, the Nicaragua Network raises funds, generates publicity, and organizes support for the FSLN while dividing American society and obstructing efforts to pressure the Sandinista regime to open up its society and expel the Soviets and Cubans.

A handful of committed internationalist revolutionaries and "progressives" direct the support network. This vanguard attracts the needed sincere, unsuspecting individuals—Lenin called them "useful idiots"—who join the cause out of concern for peace and human rights. These recruits give the network financial, numerical, and organizational clout. The movement has lately reached out to dozens of new groups, from activist and academic organizations to churches, unions, civic groups, and even veterans' organizations.

The Nicaragua Network and its affiliated groups form the "anti-intervention" movement, which has helped to form the current position of the Democrat majority in the U.S. House of Representatives. Until last June, this majority succeeded in blocking any U.S. military support for the Nicaraguan democratic resistance.

Formation of the network

Conditions in the late 1970s were propitious for the formation of a Sandinista support structure in the United States. Suffering from the debilitating post-Vietnam malaise, America's unassertive foreign policy under President Jimmy Carter (marked by his eagerness to give away the U.S. canal in Panama) signaled to Cuban dictator Fidel Castro and his Soviet sponsors that the United States would not challenge adventurism in Central America.

Nicaragua's political exhaustion under the corrupt Somoza dictatorship and Carter's bitter criticism of Somoza made Nicaragua a prime target for communist takeover. Carter's disregard of the Left gave the "active measures" apparatus a perfect opportunity to take advantage of America's post-Vietnam exhaustion.

In 1977 and 1978, as "Group of Twelve" member and secret Sandinista Miguel D'Escoto urged U.S. officials to transfer their support from Somoza to the FSLN, leftist activists began organizing a Sandinista support apparatus on college campuses and in cities across the United States. These solidarity committees generated grassroots political support for the FSLN as the only legitimate political alternative available to the Nicaraguan people.

They also channeled funds and material aid to the Sandinista headquarters in Costa Rica.

Initially independent, these committees received only advice from the FSLN. By 1978, though, the Sandinistas saw new uses for the solidarity network and placed several key Sandinista officials in charge of it. Thus the network came under the immediate control of the Sandinista directorate.

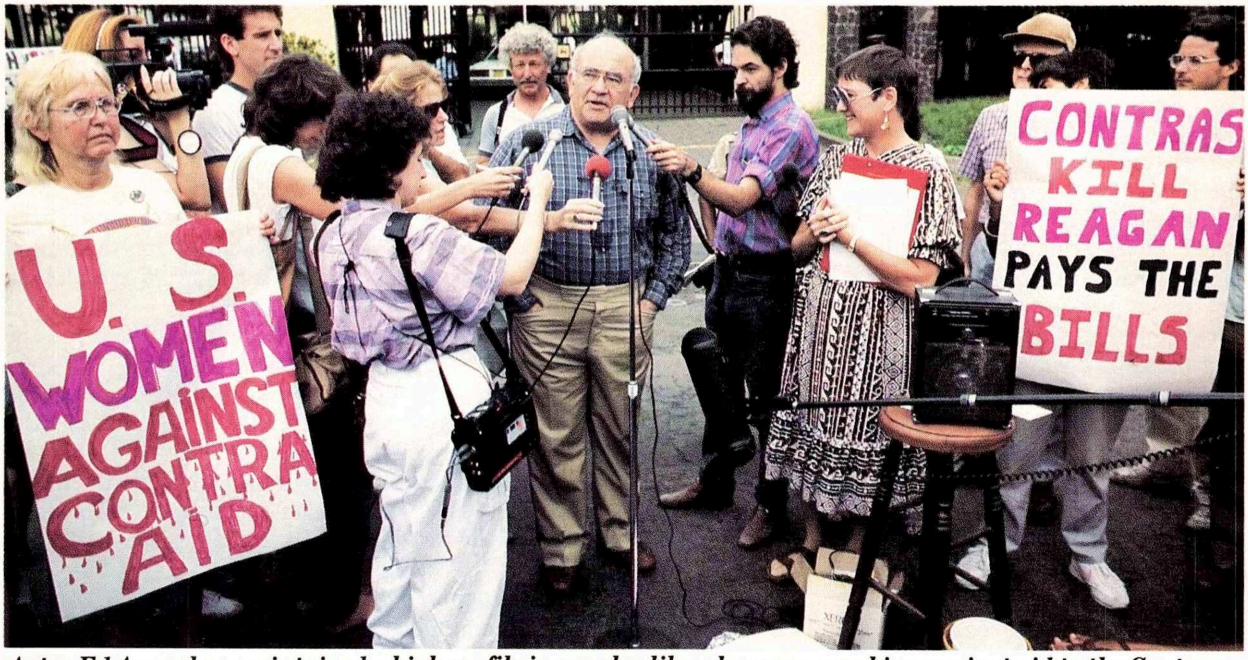
CPUSA's supporting role

The Communist Party USA (CPUSA) played a critical role in developing the Sandinista solidarity movement. The CPUSA is under direct Soviet control and receives KGB funds to finance "active measures" that support Soviet foreign policy aims. One such measure is the Sandinista solidarity network. Soviet agents operating under diplomatic cover in New York and Washington channel cash to CPUSA officials. This funding enabled Sandy Pollack, a pivotal member of the CPUSA National Council, to establish solidarity committees for the Sandinistas and for Marxist rebels in El Salvador.

Realizing the need to create a broad front of left-wing opponents of U.S. policy, the CPUSA has tried to build coalitions with non-communist groups. Sandy Pollack's ability to enlist the support of leftist but non-communist groups for Communist Party objectives enabled the Sandinistas to gain further entry into American public debate.

Through these coalitions the Sandinistas found allies in Washington to state their case. Hard-left "think tanks" and lobby groups such as the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), the Council on Hemispheric Affairs (COHA), the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), and political groups like the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) joined the CPUSA-catalyzed coalition and devoted themselves to defending the Sandinista insurgents and winning U.S. support for them.

In February 1979 the CPUSA and other extremist groups set up the United States Peace Council (USPC), an American affiliate of the Soviet-controlled World Peace Council. That same month NACLA and



BLACK STAR

Actor Ed Asner has maintained a high profile in popular liberal causes, speaking against aid to the Contras in front of the U.S. embassy in Managua.

the USPC sponsored a National Conference on Nicaragua to develop a broad-based strategy to ensure eventual Sandinista rule in Nicaragua. Individuals and organizations participating in this conference formed the Nicaragua Network to coordinate preexisting solidarity movements throughout the United States. Direct lobbying in Washington and grassroots activity in the field put maximum pressure on Congress.

Shortly before Somoza's overthrow, the Nicaragua Network set up a tax-exempt organization, Humanitarian Aid for Nicaraguan Democracy (HAND), to channel funds and supplies to the Sandinistas.

Before the fall of Somoza, the Nicaragua Network lobbied hard to prevent any U.S. intervention. American meddling, they feared, would make a complete Sandinista takeover impossible. To forestall the need to share power permanently with a broad democratic front, the FSLN relied on the Nicaragua Network to prevent any enduring U.S. role in post-Somoza Nicaraguan politics. Individuals endorsing this non-intervention campaign ranged from communist radicals to left-wing members of Congress.

Media bias helps

The solidarity networks and friendly journalists in the United States carry out essential propaganda work for the Sandinista regime.

According to a Sandinista directive obtained last year, a principal publicity exercise involves "sending outstanding personalities to carry out the propaganda campaign abroad," such as Daniel Ortega, who in 1984 addressed the United Nations while in New York on a fashion eyewear shopping spree.

The Sandinista document further calls for "invading" the American mass media with help from a team of American public relations experts, including the New York public relations firm Agendas International, which is registered with the Justice Department as a paid agent for the Sandinista government.

Journalists sympathetic to the Sandinistas publicize alleged Contra atrocities while often ignoring Sandinista government brutality. Some of these reporters intentionally collaborate with the regime, while others unwittingly serve as dupes, spreading Sandinista propaganda in the mass media.

Undermining Contra aid

For the past two years the Sandinista solidarity network has concentrated on lobbying Congress against military aid for the Contras.

In 1985 opponents of Contra aid worked vigorously to prevent approval of $14 million in military supplies for the resistance.

The Nicaragua Network contributed to this campaign with a fund-raising letter signed by Representative Patricia Schroeder (D-Colorado) accusing the Contras of systematic atrocities. Schroeder told pros-

pective donors: "If you want to change our country's policies toward Nicaragua, you can join me in the Nicaragua Network." (In a handwritten message at the bottom of the letter, she advised donors of $200 or more to gain a tax deduction by making their checks payable to the Sisters of Loretto. This money would go presumably to the Nicaragua Network—a questionable practice, according to the IRS.) This very successful fund-raising letter has helped the Nicaragua Network to become financially self-sufficient.

The Sandinista lobby has influenced this year's battle over Contra aid as well. As in the past, the Nicaragua Network has advanced the Sandinista cause in several ways, especially by lobbying national and local elected officials who are unaware of the network's true agenda. Some of these officials are naive; others are simply opportunists who find it politically expedient to embrace the Network's agenda.

The Nicaragua Network has also cosponsored or organized dozens of demonstrations against U.S. aid to Nicaraguan resistance fighters and in defense of the Sandinista regime. Several groups in the support network send interested individuals to Nicaragua, where they can raise their revolutionary consciousness.

The Nicaragua Network claims credit for having "pioneered" the idea of sending volunteer work brigades to Nicaragua, in which Americans pick cotton or coffee to show their support for the revolution. In 1983 and 1984 the Nicaragua Network sent 700 American "brigadistas" to Nicaragua.

Pro-Contra lobbyists have reported that many congressmen wanted to vote for the $14 million requested by President Reagan in late 1984 but did not, due to well-organized opposition in their home districts. Groups such as the Nicaragua Network typically organize such pressure campaigns, instigating massive letter-writing efforts and organizing visits by constituent delegations to congressional offices.

Religious groups are especially effective in working with the Nicaragua Network to mobilize opposition. Among these groups are certain segments of the Catholic church, the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, Witness for Peace, the Washington Office on Latin America, and the New Jewish Agenda. These groups all are tied to the Nicaragua Network.

The pro-Sandinista Left has worked hard to target and lobby members of Congress. Sympathetic organizations have issued several lobbying and organizational manuals, including a 200-page directory of Sandinista support groups nationwide, a national computer hook-up that makes information immediately available on current lobbying efforts, and a toll-free legislative hot line.

A confidential memorandum obtained last year indicates that the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy serves as legislative monitor for the Sandinistas, feeding information to the New York law firm of Reichler and Appelbaum, the Sandinistas' paid agent. This firm in turn advises the Sandinistas and coordinates legislative strategy with their American supporters.

The Sandinista solidarity apparatus has been most visibly successful in setting the agenda of the Contra aid debate. With help from its friends in Congress and the media, the Sandinista lobby has focused the debate on the moral probity of Contra leaders and the democratic awareness of their troops, while ignoring systematic human rights abuses and acts of political repression committed by the Sandinistas.

Disinformation on human rights abuses

Several prominent pro-Sandinista groups have recently issued wildly inaccurate reports accusing the resistance of systematic human rights abuses.

The Washington Office on Latin America is a principal purveyor of such disinformation. Founded in 1974 ostensibly to advocate "a foreign policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean that seeks to promote human rights and genuinely democratic governments," WOLA's record demonstrates a clear bias for Marxist-Leninist governments and revolutionary movements.

WOLA consistently defends the Sandinistas while criticizing U.S. allies in Central America for human rights abuses. Several recent WOLA reports allegedly proving systematic Contra atrocities have received wide publicity in Washington, especially through liberal members of Congress such as Sam Gejdensen (D-Connecticut), Peter Kostmayer (D-Pennsylvania), and James Jeffords (R-Vermont). A recently issued Council for Inter-American Security study indicates that Congressman Gejdensen and his colleagues exercised very poor judgment in giving these reports public legitimacy.

The most prominent of these reports is a 141-page document written by former New York Assistant State Attorney General Reed Brody. He is a member

of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), a 7,000-member organization of Marxist and left-wing lawyers who describe themselves as "a body of radicals and revolutionaries." The NLG has been identified in congressional hearings as a front for the CPUSA, and it is the most active U.S. affiliate of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), one of 13 major Soviet front groups identified in 1982 hearings before the House Select Committee on Intelligence.

Brody's relationship with the law firm of Reichler and Appelbaum further impugns his objectivity. According to Brody, Paul Reichler conceived the idea of issuing an "independent" report on Contra atrocities timed to influence the 1985 congressional vote on aid to the resistance. Reichler chose Brody, a close friend, to conduct this planned investigation.

Reichler recently sued his own country on behalf of the Sandinistas in the World Court on the grounds that the U.S.-backed Nicaraguan resistance fighters are guilty of illegal aggression against Nicaragua.

While in Managua between September 1984 and January 1985, Brody took several trips into the countryside to interview witnesses of alleged Contra atrocities. The Sandinista regime gave him living quarters and transportation. Brody's investigative team, which included Sister Sandra Price, a pro-Sandinista nun living in Nicaragua, used the offices of the government-funded National Commission for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights (CNPPDH). Jim Denton of the National Forum Foundation exposed this Brody-Sandinista connection in a controversial *Wall Street Journal* guest column.

After Brody returned to the United States, Reichler sent his report to WOLA and IHRLG. Fearing that the report's Sandinista sponsorship would leave it open to criticism, WOLA sent the Fox-Glennon research team to Nicaragua to find evidence verifying Brody's charges.

Despite this effort to gain distance from the Brody Report, WOLA appears to have been involved with Brody from the beginning. WOLA's address and phone number appear as Brody's Washington contact on the cover of advance copies of the report, though WOLA's name itself does not appear. Asked about WOLA's connection to the document, a spokesman replied: "The Brody Report isn't ours."

Reichler and Appelbaum admit their role in instigating and facilitating the Brody report but deny any involvement in its distribution. The law firm's disclosure report filed with the Justice Department reveals, however, that Reichler billed the Nicaraguan government $10,000 for copying costs in April 1986, the very month when the 141-page report was being circulated. Contrary to Reichler, *Washington Post* reporter Christopher Dickey asserts that WOLA helped to distribute the Brody Report.

The Council for Inter-American Security's critique of the second WOLA report found that Fox and Glennon received logistical support from Reichler and Appelbaum and similar aid inside Nicaragua by the Sandinista regime itself. The 25 affidavits upon which the Fox-Glennon Report rests are highly misleading. Several accuse a Contra commander of committing atrocities against civilians, without adding that the commander was apprehended by his superiors, court-martialed, and executed. The report implies falsely that the Contra leadership endorsed the atrocities of the purged commander. The research team interviewed no refugees outside Nicaragua, where victims can speak without fear of Sandinista reprisals. Additionally, the report alleges Contra atrocities in areas where the resistance was in fact not even operating at the time that the abuses supposedly occurred.

Above all, the support network tries to keep its opponents on the defensive by making the anti-Sandinistas the issue instead of the Sandinistas. With help from sympathizers in the media, they create an aura of suspicion that continues to sway public opinion against the resistance long after knowledgeable experts have refuted the specific charges. At first the Sandinistas tried to tar their opponents with the Somocista brush, accusing them of seeking to restore the dynastic dictatorship and regain special privileges. When that characterization was shown to be hollow, they charged that the resistance was actually a ragtag band of rapists and brigands that roamed the countryside terrorizing innocent campesinos. Now that their phony human rights campaign has begun to unravel amid revelations of doctored reports and staged incidents, the Sandinista supporters accuse resistance leaders of mismanaging and misappropriating funds.

It is high time for members of Congress and their constituents to take a closer look at who has been shaping their views concerning the communist regime in Nicaragua.■

L. Francis Bouchey is president of the Council for Inter-American Security, a private research organization specializing in Latin-American security issues. Timothy Goodman is senior research fellow and legislative liaison at the Council.

How the House Voted on the Contra Aid Bill

The Associated Press

Here is the 221-209 roll call by which the House approved $100 million in aid and logistical support to resistance fighters seeking to overthrow the government of Nicaragua.

A "yes" vote is in favor of the aid package.
Voting yes were 51 Democrats and 170 Republicans.
Voting no were 198 Democrats and 11 Republicans.
xxx denotes those not voting.
There is one vacancy in the 435-member House.

Alabama
Democrats—Bevill, yes; Erdreich, yes; Flippo, yes; Nichols, yes; Shelby, yes.
Republicans—Callahan, yes; Dickinson, yes.

Alaska
Republican—Young, yes.

Arizona
Democrat—Udall, no.
Republicans—Kolbe, yes; McCain, yes; Rudd, yes; Stump, yes.

Arkansas
Democrats—Alexander, no; Anthony, no; Robinson, yes.
Republican—Hammerschmidt, yes.

California
Democrats—Anderson, no; Bates, no; Beilenson, no; Berman, no; Bosco, no; Boxer, no; Brown, no; Burton, no; Coelho, no; Dellums, no; Dixon, no; Dymally, no; Edwards, no; Fazio, no; Hawkins, xxx; Lantos, no; Lehman, no; Levine, no; Martinez, no; Matsui, no; Miller, no; Mineta, no; Panetta, no; Roybal, no; Stark, no; Torres, no; Waxman, no.
Republicans—Badham, yes; Chappie, yes; Dannemeyer, yes; Dornan, yes; Dreier, yes; Fiedler, yes; Hunter, yes; Lagomarsino, yes; Lewis, yes; Lowery, yes; Lungren, yes; McCandless, yes; Moorhead, yes; Packard, yes; Pashayan, yes; Shumway, yes; Thomas, yes; Zschau, yes.

Colorado
Democrats—Schroeder, no; Wirth, no.
Republicans—Brown, yes; Kramer, yes; Schaefer, yes; Strang, yes.

Connecticut
Democrats—Geidenson, no; Kennelly, no; Morrison, no.
Republicans—Johnson, yes; McKinney, no; Rowland, yes.

Delaware
Democrat—Carper, no.

Florida
Democrats—Bennett, yes; Chappell, yes; Fascell, yes; Fuqua, yes; Gibbons, yes; Hutto, yes; Lehman, no; MacKay, no; Mica, yes; Nelson, yes; Pepper, yes; Smith, yes.
Republicans—Bilirakis, yes; Ireland, yes; Lewis, yes; Mack, yes; McCollum, yes; Shaw, yes; Young, yes.

Georgia
Democrats—Barnard, yes; Darden, yes; Fowler, no; Hatcher, yes; Jenkins, yes; Ray, yes; Rowland, yes; Thomas, yes.
Republicans—Gingrich, yes; Swindall, yes.

Hawaii
Democrats—Akaka, no; Heftel, no.

Idaho
Democrat—Stallings, no.
Republican—Craig, yes.

Illinois
Democrats—Annunzio, no; Bruce, no; Collins, no; Durbin, no; Evans, no; Gray, no; Hayes, no; Lipinski, yes; Price, no; Rostenkowski, no; Russo, no; Savage, no; Yates, no.
Republicans—Crane, yes; Fawell, yes; Grotberg, xxx; Hyde, yes; Madigan, yes; Martin, yes; Michel, yes; O'Brien, yes; Porter, yes.

Indiana
Democrats—Hamilton, no; Jacobs, no; McCloskey, no; Sharp, no; Visclosky, no.
Republicans—Burton, yes; Coats, yes; Hiler, yes; Hillis, yes; Myers, yes.

Iowa
Democrats—Bedell, no; Smith, no.
Republicans—Evans, yes; Leach, no; Lightfoot, no; Tauke, no.

Kansas
Democrats—Glickman, no; Slattery, no.
Republicans—Meyers, yes; Roberts, yes; Whittaker, yes.

Kentucky
Democrats—Hubbard, yes; Mazzoli, no; Natcher, no; Perkins, no.
Republicans—Hopkins, yes; Rogers, yes; Snyder, yes.

Louisiana
Democrats—Boggs, no; Breaux, yes; Huckaby, yes; Long, no; Roemer, yes; Tauzin, yes.
Republicans—Livingston, yes; Moore, yes.

Maine
Republicans—McKernan, yes; Snowe, yes.

Maryland
Democrats—Barnes, no; Byron, yes; Dyson, yes; Hoyer, no; Mikulski, no; Mitchell, no.
Republicans—Bentley, yes; Holt, yes.

Massachusetts
Democrats—Atkins, no; Boland, no; Donnelly, no; Early, no; Frank, no; Markey, no; Mavroules, no; Moakley, no; O'Neill, xxx (by tradition, the Speaker of the House seldom votes); Studds, no.
Republican—Conte, no.

Michigan
Democrats—Bonior, no; Carr, no; Conyers, no; Crockett, no; Dingell, no; Ford, no; Hertel, no; Kildee, no; Levin, no; Traxler no; Wolpe, no.
Republicans—Broomfield, yes; Davis, yes; Henry, yes; Pursell, yes; Schuette, yes; Siljander, yes; Vander Jagt, yes.

Minnesota
Democrats—Oberstar, no; Penny, no; Sabo, no; Sikorski, no; Vento, no.
Republicans—Frenzel, yes; Stangeland, yes; Weber, yes.

Mississippi
Democrats—Dowdy, yes; Montgomery, yes; Whitten, no.
Republicans—Franklin, yes; Lott, yes.

Missouri
Democrats—Clay, no; Gephardt, no; Skelton, yes; Volkmer, no; Wheat, no; Young, no.
Republicans—Coleman, yes; Emerson, yes; Taylor, yes.

Montana
Democrat—Williams, no.
Republican—Marlenee, yes.

Nebraska
Republicans—Bereuter, yes; Daub, yes; Smith, yes.

Nevada
Democrat—Reid, no.
Republican—Vucanovich, yes.

New Hampshire
Republicans—Gregg, yes; Smith, yes.

New Jersey
Democrats—Dwyer, no; Florio, no; Guarini, no; Howard, no; Hughes, no; Rodino, no; Roe, no; Torricelli, no.
Republicans—Courter, yes; Gallo, yes; Rinaldo, yes; Roukema, yes; Saxton, yes; Smith, yes.

New Mexico
Democrat—Richardson, no.
Republican—Lujan, yes; Skeen, yes.

New York
Democrats—Ackerman, no; Biaggi, yes; Downey, no; Garcia, no; LaFalce, no; Lundine, no; Manton, no; McHugh, no; Mrazek, no; Nowak, no; Owens, no; Rangel, no; Scheuer, no; Schumer, no; Solarz, no; Stratton, yes; Towns, no; Weiss, no.
Republicans—Boehlert, no; Carney, yes; DioGuardi, yes; Eckert, yes; Fish, yes; Gilman, yes; Green, no; Horton, no; Kemp, yes; Lent, yes; Martin, yes; McGrath, yes; Molinari, yes; Solomon, yes; Wortley, yes.

North Carolina
Democrats—Hefner, no; Jones, no; Neal, no; Rose no; Valentine, no; Whitley, no.
Republicans—Broyhill, yes; Cobey, yes; Coble, yes; Hendon, yes; McMillan, yes.

North Dakota
Democrat—Dorgan, no.

Ohio
Democrats—Applegate, no; Eckart, no; Feighan, no; Hall, no; Kaptur, no; Luken, no; Oakar, no; Pease, no; Seiberling, no; Stokes, no; Traficant, no.
Republicans—DeWine, yes; Gradison, yes; Kasich, yes; Kindness, yes; Latta, yes; McEwen, yes; Miller, yes; Oxley, yes; Regula, yes; Wylie, yes.

Oklahoma
Democrats—English, yes; Jones, yes; McCurdy, no; Synar, no; Watkins, yes.
Republican—Edwards, yes.

Oregon
Democrats—AuCoin, no; Weaver, no; Wyden, no.
Republicans—D. Smith, yes; R. Smith, yes.

Pennsylvania
Democrats—Borski, no; Coyne, no; Edgar, no; Foglietta, no; Gaydos, xxx; Gray, no; Kaniorski, no; Kolter, no; Kostmayer, no; Murphy, no; Murtha, yes; Walgren, no; Yatron, no.
Republicans—Clinger, yes; Coughlin, yes; Gekas, yes; Goodling, yes; McDade, yes; Ridge, no; Ritter, yes; Schulze, yes; Shuster, yes; Walker, yes.

Rhode Island
Democrat—St. Germain, no.
Republican—Schneider, no.

South Carolina
Democrats—Derrick, no; Spratt, no; Tallon, yes.
Republicans—Campbell, yes; Hartnett, yes; Spence, yes.

South Dakota
Democrat—Daschle, no.

Tennessee
Democrats—Boner, no; Cooper, no; Ford, no; Gordon, no; Jones, no; Lloyd, yes.
Republicans—Duncan, yes; Quillen, yes; Sundquist, yes.

Texas
Democrats—Andrews, no; Brooks, no; Bryant, no; Bustamante, yes; Chapman, no; Coleman, no; de la Garza, no; Frost, no; Gonzalez, no; R. Hall, yes; Leath, yes; Leland, no; Ortiz, yes; Pickle, no; Stenholm, yes; Wilson, yes; Wright, no.
Republicans—Archer, yes; Armey, yes; Bartlett, yes; Barton, yes; Boulter, yes; Combest, yes; DeLay, yes; Fields, yes; Loeffler, yes; Sweeney, yes.

Utah
Republicans—Hansen, yes; Monson, yes; Nielson, yes.

Vermont
Republican—Jeffords, no.

Virginia
Democrats—Boucher, no; Daniel, yes; Olin, no; Sisisky, yes.
Republicans—Bateman, yes; Bliley, yes; Parris, yes; Slaughter, yes; Whitehurst, yes; Wolf, yes.

Washington
Democrats—Bonker, no; Dicks, no; Foley, no; Lowry, no; Swift, no.
Republicans—Chandler, yes; Miller, yes; Morrison, yes.

West Virginia
Democrats—Mollohan, no; Rahall, no; Staggers, no; Wise, no.

Wisconsin
Democrats—Aspin, yes; Kastenmeier, no; Kleczka, no; Moody, no; Obey, no.
Republicans—Gunderson, yes; Petri, yes; Roth, yes; Sensenbrenner, yes.

Wyoming
Republican—Cheney, yes.

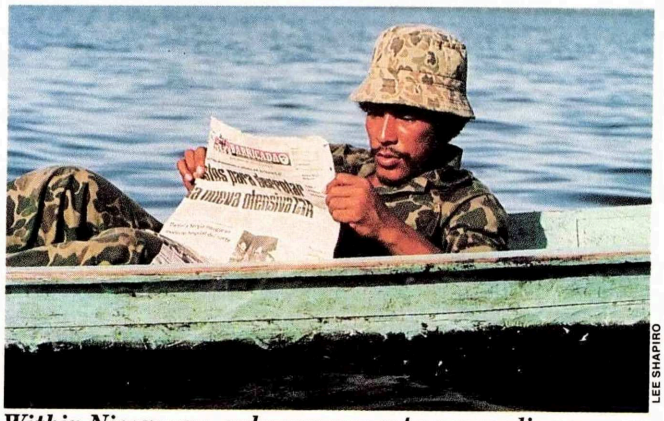
SPECIAL REPORT-NICARAGUA

Does Media Shape Public Opinion?

What effect does "bang-bang" news coverage have on popular political views?

by William Livingstone

Since the Sandinista victory over General Anastasio Somoza in July 1979, the media have actively charted Daniel Ortega's rise to power and the growing military threat Nicaragua poses to neighboring democracies. The question arises naturally as to what influence the media have exercised in the debate on Nicaragua. Have daily editorials that have pilloried President Reagan's policy of containment in the Western Hemisphere swayed public opinion? What has been the impact, if any, of television newscasts showing Nicaraguan soldiers mobilizing for war, images which are reminiscent of Vietnam?



LEE SHAPIRO

Within Nicaragua, only government news media can now operate. A Contra fighter reads the official government daily.

The rules of foreign policy debate have been altered by technology. In the past, discussions of our relations with foreign governments were conducted primarily by officials in the Department of State and the White House, with only minimal public discourse. Few members of Congress had the necessary expertise or inclination to contribute to the making of foreign policy. The media reported on the announcements of the president and secretary of state, often voicing dissent, but with minimal influence compared to the power they wield today.

From the moment Reagan entered office, the eye of the camera has doggedly traced the growing conflict in Central America. The advent of minicameras and portable satellite uplink stations now makes it as easy to broadcast live pictures from downtown Managua or the jungles in El Salvador as it is to receive a video picture from across town.

It is no wonder, given the recent developments in broadcasting, that the polemics of American foreign policy are hotly debated daily on television. When high U.S. government officials articulate policy decisions, foreign leaders such as Daniel Ortega and Jose Napoleon Duarte are immediately given the opportunity to respond on live broadcasts. Every facet and statement receives close scrutiny and editorial judgment.

Television has become so much a part of our culture that it is the primary means of communica-

ALON REININGER/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOCIATES

U.S. news coverage of Central America has emulated the "bang-bang" style of the Vietnam era.

tion between countries. Instead of sending a carefully written demarche to a foreign government, an official merely walks into a studio and makes a statement on a morning television news program. Instantly, the world is appraised of a new policy decision.

There are no formulas for measuring concisely the impact of media on public opinion and its subsequent effect on the evolution of American foreign policy. Somewhere in the neighborhood of 50 million Americans daily watch the network evening newscasts. More than two-thirds of the adult population read a part of some newspaper every day. Still, the influence of any single medium can be overestimated. According to recent data, the average household watches Dan Rather's CBS News program only five times in the course of a month. Only 1 percent of about 78.3 million American TV households watch his program as often as four or five times a week. Occasional reports by the major networks on the troubles in Nicaragua are thus viewed in total by only a relatively small number of people. And these stories are offset or balanced by additional information in newspapers, magazines, and radio broadcasts.

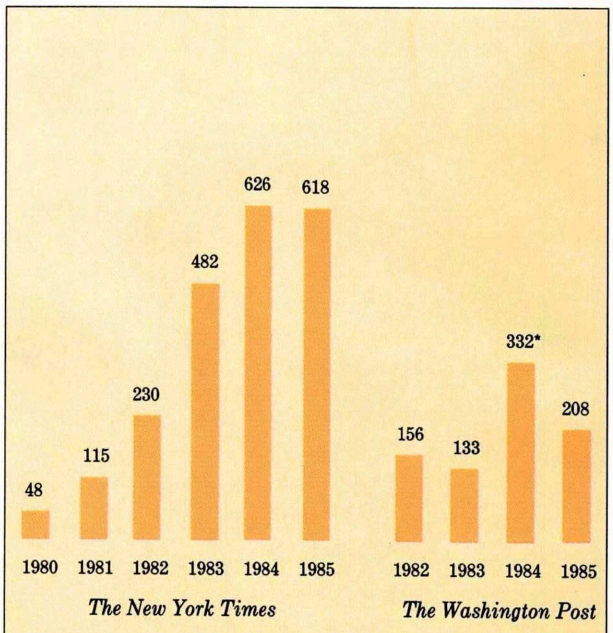
A tabulation of the total number of stories concerning Nicaragua published by various papers over the past several years yields the following information:

As would be expected, since 1980 the level of coverage has substantially increased. In 1980, *The New York Times* carried a total of only 48 reports, articles, letters, and editorials on Nicaragua. This number jumped to 115 in 1981, 230 in 1982, 482 in 1983, 626 in 1984, and 618 in 1985. For both the *New York Times* and *The Washington Post,* the level of reporting peaked in 1984, an election year. *The Washington Post* printed 156 stories in 1982, 133 in 1983, 332 in 1984, and 208 in 1985).

Despite this seeming abundance of reportage available to the American public, the general audience seems to be remarkably uninformed.

A CBS poll taken in June 1983 showed 13 percent of Americans believed the United States was backing the Contras while 7 percent thought it was the Sandinistas. All other respondents had no opinion. Since then, the number of people who can identify correctly the faction that the government is supporting has risen to only 38 percent, according to a June 1986 *New York Times*/CBS News poll. Twenty percent of the public correctly know the Nicaraguan government is aligned with the Soviet Union, 19 percent believe it is a right-wing dictatorship, and 49 percent say they do not know.

Generally, support has remained low for giving assistance to the so-called Contras or freedom fighters in their war against the Marxist government in Nicaragua. A May 1983 Gallup/*Newsweek* poll showed only 25 percent of Americans in favor of this action, while 56 percent opposed such aid. In a recent nationwide poll conducted June 19–23 by *The Washington Post* and ABC News, support for granting military and other aid to the Nicaraguan rebels was favored by 29 percent of Americans, with opposition climbing to 62 percent—not an overwhelming margin of



*1984 was an election year, and also had the highest number of articles on Nicaragua.

Frequency of Articles on Nicaragua

DOUG WETZSTEIN/THE WORLD & I

The urge to scoop the competition makes for some curious bedfellows. Hostile nations' leaders are given immediate, live coverage and allowed to broadcast their views, unchecked, into the U.S. public's living rooms.

change.

If the polls are accurate, a damning picture emerges of the nature of American public opinion. It would seem that without knowing or caring to investigate the facts of a key political issue, many Americans arrive at a final conclusion.

Before the debate erupted over Nicaragua, people expressed a fear of becoming entangled in a war in Central America. They still do today by an overwhelming majority.

Barring a clear understanding of the facts, the people must be relying on some emotional motivation for their opinions. The most often-cited phrase in recent U.S. policy history is "another Vietnam," which seems to many people to mean an era of involvement in a foreign war, with murky origins, strife and protest at home, and ultimate defeat.

Does this Vietnam allergy owe anything to the media coverage of that war?

Vietnam was the first war involving U.S. troops and the modern world of television. While America learned of General Douglas MacArthur's inspired landing of troops along the Inchon peninsula in Korea chiefly by means of the printed word, when Vietcong guerrillas attacked a major population center in South Vietnam during the Tet offensive in 1968, Americans witnessed the drama unfolding on their TV sets. Even though the Vietcong were to suffer a military defeat at Tet, they achieved a psychological victory, in large part due to the bloodshed and carnage vividly documented by the unblinking television cameras.

The legacy of such graphic journalism has persisted far longer than the duration of the U.S. effort in Vietnam.

In the spring of 1982, the shortcomings of television journalism were revealed during the fighting in El Salvador. TV networks were reportedly under pressure to produce "bang-bang"—scenes of violence between the rebel guerrillas and the government troops. Soldiers training in the field or standing around carried no emotional impact. Footage of guerrillas was better. To get on the air, as one correspondent explained, it was necessary "to have bang-bang or a massacre."

Every day in El Salvador a horde of TV reporters would jump aboard minivans to comb the hillsides for signs of military action, prompting one reporter to note that in the daylight hours there were more patrols of El Salvador's rural highways by the news media than by the government forces and guerrillas combined.

The effect of picture communication as a means to carry out international relations has not escaped criticism. Columnist George Will points out there is an "unsolved, perhaps insoluble, problem of television journalism: a camera is a deficient news-gathering instrument." Pictures captured by the television lens transmit powerful emotions, which can be informative. But as Will argues, the aim of journalism is more than conveying emotional scenes. "Compared with the English language," he says, "a camera is a crude, superficial instrument of communication. It generally deals with surfaces."

> Instead of a carefully written demarche to a foreign government, an official merely walks into a studio and makes a statement on a morning television news program. Instantly, the world is appraised of a new policy decision.

If television journalism insists on covering every news event in the "bang-bang" method, then perhaps the cumulative effect on the public is to equate Vietnam with El Salvador with Nicaragua with South Africa. By the same token, if the print media sensationalizes every event or allegation without regard for the veracity of the source, the public has only two choices: believe everything, or believe nothing.

Increased media coverage seems to be called for, although perhaps the nature of the reporting should be more factually oriented, rather than speculative in nature.■

William Livingstone is a writer on media and public policy based in Washington, D.C.

The Fight for the Soul of Nicaragua's Catholic Church

Conflict has been the watchword in Nicaragua ever since the overthrow of dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle in 1979. The Sandinista Revolution, which has split families and torn apart friendships, has left Nicaragua deeply divided. The Catholic church has suffered especially sharp schisms, as church members loyal to the hierarchy battle left-wing factions supported by the regime.

The heated conflict between Miguel Cardinal Obando y Bravo and Sandinista Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto Brockman, a suspended Maryknoll priest, illustrates the depth of the division within the church. Always strained, relations between these two powerful clerics have worsened lately; in March, Obando and D'Escoto engaged in their sharpest exchange of insults ever. The foreign minister called Obando "a sacrilegious traitor of the people" for refusing to condemn the Contra insurgency. The cardinal suggested in response that D'Escoto was a devil sent to divide Nicaragua's Catholics. The struggle that these priests are locked in for the loyalty of Nicaraguan Catholics in many ways reflects the divisions that afflict this country, which is at war with itself.

The embattled pastor of Nicaragua's nearly three million Catholics, Obando has become the rallying point for opposition to the Sandinista regime. Accordingly, he has suffered severe government harassment, both verbal and physical. The Sandinistas portray him as an agent of outdated, bourgeois interests. They regard this admittedly foolish tactic as the only way to oppose him because they know that outright persecution would only make the cardinal more powerful.

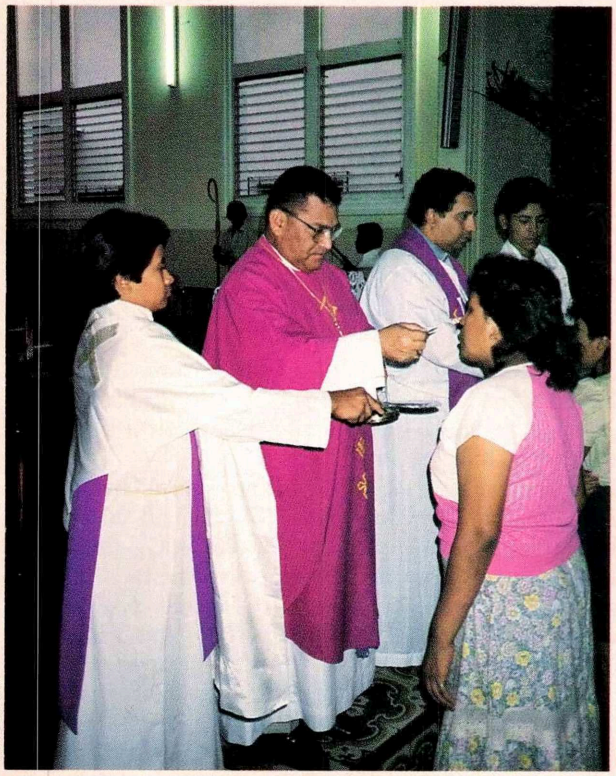
The son of a peasant, Obando has always been close to the people. This common touch may be the source of his immense popularity. Characteristically, he was on muleback, touring his diocese, when he learned in 1970 that he had been named archbishop of Managua.

Obando has always resisted government attempts to use him for political ends. *The New York Times* has called him "a man renowned throughout Central America for his independence and his willingness to resist efforts by politicians of any stripe to manipulate the church for their temporal advantage." Somoza tried to buy the new archbishop's favor with a Mercedes, but Obando raffled the car off and donated the proceeds to the poor. In 1972 he boycotted ceremonies that were held allegedly to install a new president but that actually were designed to keep Somoza in power. He later called for "a completely new order" in Nicaragua, in effect legitimizing armed revolt against Somoza. The dictator, in turn, called the archbishop a communist and derided his mulatto ancestry.

A persistent opponent of the dictatorship, Obando allied himself with Somoza's enemies. In 1974 the archbishop mediated between Somoza and a Sandinista squad that had seized the home of a wealthy Nicaraguan during a Christmas party. He did the same in 1978, when Sandinista guerrillas captured Somoza's National Palace, taking 2,000 hostages. In both cases Obando negotiated the release of the hostages along with freedom for dozens of Sandinista guerrillas held in Somoza's jails. Among the rebels who owe their lives to Obando is Tomas Borgé, now interior minister and a leading church antagonist.

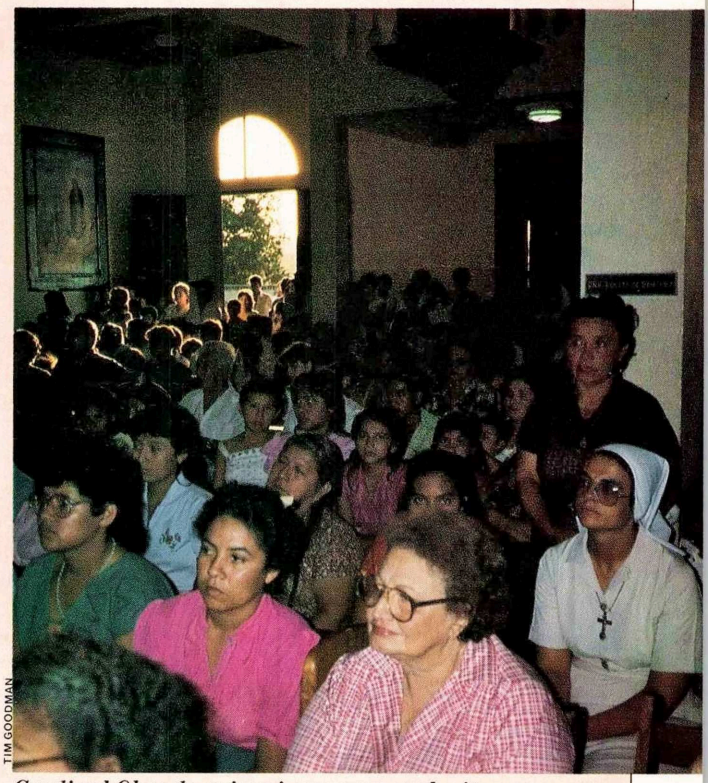
After the revolution, Obando looked favorably on the Sandinistas and even permitted priests to serve in their government. Within a year, though, he began to denounce the regime's totalitarian drift and suppression of domestic opposition. Since then, Obando has sharply criticized many government policies, especially the military draft of Nicaraguan youths and the Marxist-Leninist indoctrination of schoolchildren. Pointing to the government's failure to provide "social justice," he says, "I ask myself ... what has been better for the people, before or after the revolution? I have to say the people were poor before, but they could buy half a kilo of beans anyplace."

In response the government has labeled Obando "an imperialist agent" and a CIA spy. To silence him, it has cut off his access to the media and has closed down his diocesan newspaper and radio station. Government censors prohibit *La Prensa*, Nicaragua's only independent newspaper, from publishing any mention of the cardinal. To



TIM GOODMAN

Miguel Cardinal Obando y Bravo celebrates mass in Managua: He constantly protects church interests from political compromise.



TIM GOODMAN

Cardinal Obando enjoys immense popularity among every social class in Nicaragua, which rankles the Sandinistas.

make himself heard, Obando has resorted to preaching tours throughout Nicaragua, but sometimes during these visits he becomes the target of Sandinista mob attacks. Fiercely patriotic, Obando resents government charges of disloyalty. He accepts the inevitability of such attacks, though, noting that enemies of the church always assault its leader first.

Obando is careful to distance himself from politics. He avoids discussion of Nicaragua's civil war, saying, "I am a pastor, not a politician." Instead, he calls for "national reconciliation," meaning direct negotiation between the Sandinistas and the Contras. A recurrent theme in Obando's public statements is his view of Nicaragua as a pawn in the East-West struggle. Occasionally he seems to regard the United States and the Soviet Union as moral equivalents, condemning both capitalism and communism with equal fervor and worrying about the "great powers'" interest in Nicaragua.

Despite constant harassment, Obando remains immensely sure of himself. He does not like to justify or explain himself to critics, nor does he expect to be loved, honored, and obeyed after the fashion of a "religious caudillo." His outer office displays photographs of himself with Pope John Paul II, a further testimony to the high sanction that his authority enjoys.

Cannily aware of the power conferred by his immense popularity, Obando uses his appeal to defend church interests. His picture joins the pope's in nearly every Nicaraguan dwelling, even the humblest. People of every social class fill his parish church more than an hour before his masses. He draws huge crowds wherever he goes; as many as 200,000 greeted him upon his return from Rome last summer after he had been made a cardinal. Obando tries to stay in the public eye, implicitly challenging the faithful to show more love for him than for the comandantes.

—Timothy Goodman

Shifting with the Political Tides

As Sandinista Foreign Minister, Miguel D'Escoto represents a government claiming to serve the interests of poor and suffering Nicaraguans. At international forums and press conferences he vilifies anti-Sandinistas, such as Obando, as bourgeois agents in league with Somocista reactionaries. In fact, D'Escoto, through his upbringing and life-style, can be indicted on many of the charges that he levels against the cardinal.

Although he regularly accuses Obando of Somocista connections, D'Escoto himself comes from a long line of Somoza backers. The scion of an upscale Nicaraguan family, D'Escoto was born in Hollywood, California. His father served as a top diplomat under Somoza Garcia, the dynasty founder, and was godfather to one of Somoza's sons. Trading on his access to Somoza, the elder D'Escoto received authorization to sell the rights to oil exploration in Nicaragua. With the millions earned from this concession, he bought the title of Count and changed the family name from Escoto to D'Escoto.

Somoza Garcia served, in turn, as Miguel D'Escoto's godfather and financed his full education, including several years in the United States, where D'Escoto was known as Mike Brockman. While in the United States, he acquired both a deep knowledge and hatred of his native country. In the early 1950s he renounced his U.S. citizenship but remained in the United States for several years, first as a student and then as an editor for Maryknoll's Orbis Books.

D'Escoto stayed on intimate terms with the Somozas until the early 1970s. Upon learning of his godfather's assassination in September 1956, he sent the following message to Somoza's widow: "Suffering with you the passing away of our beloved General, praying that our Lord grant us the grace to meet him again in the Kingdom of Eternal Happiness. Miguel D'Escoto, son." On March 24, 1967, he sent the younger Somoza the following message upon his fraudulent election to the presidency: "Most excellent General Somoza Debayle: We congratulate you for your great electoral victory with a huge embrace. As ever yours, Miguel."

Ordained a Maryknoll priest, D'Escoto worked as a missionary in Chile during the 1960s. Hardly a radical at that time, he was a close friend and adviser to Eduardo Frei, Latin America's first Christian Democratic president, and called Chilean Marxist Salvador Allende a villain. U.S. businessman Peter Grace helped to finance D'Escoto's social work among Chile's inner-city poor.

D'Escoto returned to Nicaragua after the devastating earthquake in 1972. He recalls that after saying mass one day he experienced a conversion to Sandinismo. Shortly thereafter he joined the Sandinista Front and was assigned the task of winning U.S. public support for the guerrillas. He also joined the pluralistic "Group of Twelve," which served to bestow legitimacy on the post-revolutionary Sandinista government.

Having initially allowed D'Escoto and several other priests to hold government posts, Obando soon rescinded his approval as the regime moved toward totalitarianism. In late 1980 the Nicaraguan bishops, with Vatican backing, told the priests to choose between politics and the church. Despite a face-saving compromise, the judicial dispute dragged on for several more years. In early 1985 D'Escoto and the other priests rejected a final papal ultimatum to quit the government, charging that the Vatican action was "politically motivated."

D'Escoto has special hatred for the United States and constantly accuses "imperialism"—the United States in Sandinista argot—of planning to invade Nicaragua. "The United States has never given a hoot about 'democratization'; it has only helped install tyrannical regimes," he avers. D'Escoto dismisses charges of Nicaraguan subservience to Moscow as "absurd" and denies that the Sandinistas have aggressive designs against their democratic neighbors. "Nicaragua's arms are solely defensive," he asserts; "we buy only what we absolutely need." He calls the Contras "thugs," "murderers," and "mercenaries supported by the CIA."

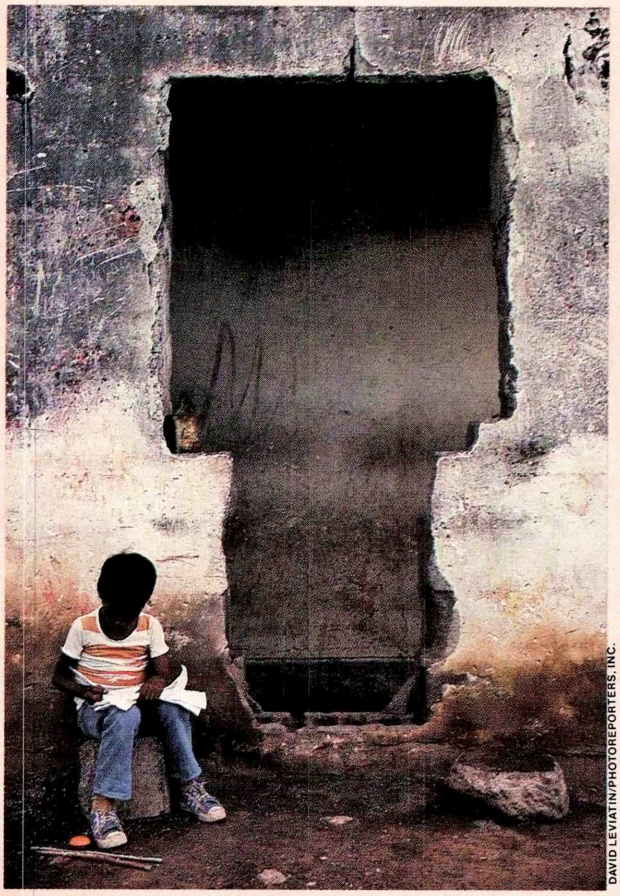
To enlist popular piety in support of the regime D'Escoto has launched a campaign of "evangelical insurrection" consisting of acts of religious showmanship. Last summer he staged a 15-day hunger strike to protest "the policy of state terrorism imposed by the U.S. government against Nicaragua." Contra leader Arturo Cruz dismissed the tactic as simply "one more Sandinista public relations ploy that most Nicaraguans regard as a laughing matter." Oban-

do questioned D'Escoto's motives, noting that while the foreign minister fasts for peace "the war is continuing and the government is still sending young men to fight in the Patriotic Military Service." In February D'Escoto led a two-week political "Way of the Cross" through northern Nicaragua, incurring Vatican condemnation of the march as a "demagogic manipulation" seeking "to instigate the people against their pastors."

By all accounts D'Escoto is less a Marxist ideologue than an opportunist pursuing wealth and power. His suburban Managua estate, where he is widely believed to practice what Americans call an "alternative life-style," is filled with exquisite furniture and artworks. Luxury automobiles, including a new Mercedes, clutter his driveway. Waiters with cold drinks attend him in his poolside gazebo. Gardeners sprinkle his exotic flower beds daily, despite water rationing for the common folk. Only Western journalists and government officials receive invitations to this estate, not the humble Nicaraguans who crowd Obando's church every day.

For centuries the Catholic church in Latin America has shown great resiliency, managing to survive and grow in spite of political entanglements, occasional poor leadership, and the challenge of ministering to a desperately poor flock. Despite its potential for short-term damage, Miguel D'Escoto's challenge to Obando's authority will likely prove no more durable than similar challenges that church leaders have faced from secular powers throughout history.

—Timothy Goodman



DAVID LEVIATIN/PHOTOREPORTERS, INC.

The Sandinista regime has long claimed to represent the interests of poor and suffering Nicaraguans.

BILL GENTILE/PICTURE GROUP

Sandinista Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto: an opportunist masquerading as an ideologue?

SPECIAL REPORT-NICARAGUA

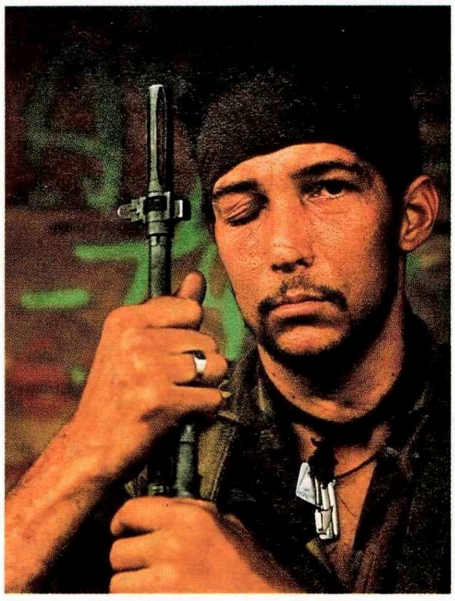
Contadora: A Cat With Nine Lives

A plan for peace in the area has had many revivals—but no converts. No success is likely unless the central actors make significant concessions.

by Richard A. Nuccio

In January 1983, representatives of four Latin American countries met on a resort island off the coast of Panama to discuss what they could do collectively about the Central American crisis. Mexico, Colombia, Panama, and Venezuela each had different perspectives on and relations with key countries in Central America, but all had a common interest in deterring unilateral action by the United States in the region and in seeking a negotiated solution to conflicts within and among the Central American countries.

As a student of the Contadora process has noted, this regional initiative is, like motherhood and apple pie, rhetorically supported by all parties to the Central American conflict. Yet Contadora has yet to reach its objective of forging a peaceful settlement and has appeared at times to be ignored or contradicted completely by important actors in the region. Why?



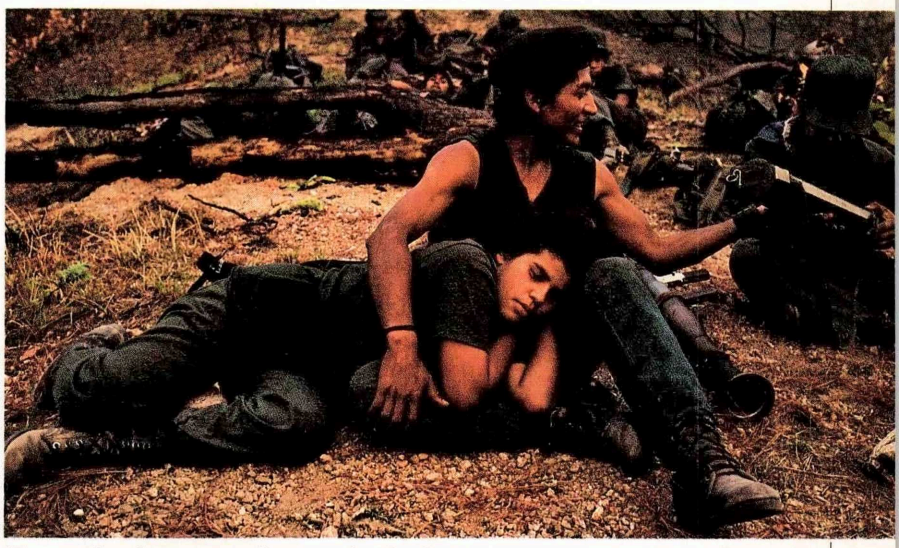
JIM NACHTWEY/BLACK STAR

Contra fighters were much discussed in the Contadora process, but not represented.

The key to understanding Contadora lies in understanding the nature of the process of negotiation. From the beginning, the Contadora countries have labored under the assumption that their role was to achieve a balance among *all* the forces at work in the region. That meant making some concessions to the Sandinista government, its external opposition; the Duarte government and its guerrilla opposition; Nicaragua concerning its fears about the United States; and, to a lesser extent initially, the United States and certain Central American countries about their fears about the Sandinistas. Contadora can make progress only to the degree that the main parties to the conflicts in the region, the Central American countries and the United States, are willing to accept such concessions. Since January 1983, different actors at different times and for different reasons have been unwilling to concede ground to their adversaries.

In 1985 the issue of what to do about a Sandinista Nicaragua became the main stumbling block to negotiations. Contadora, by its very nature as a negotiation process among existing actors, was designed to leave the Sandinistas in power, while creating agreements through a treaty backed by international supervision that would protect the other Central American countries from Nicaragua, and Nicaragua from the United States.

As it became clear that the Reagan administration would never trust any Sandinista government to fulfill treaty commitments and that the Sandinistas would not voluntarily surrender power, Contadora foundered.



JAMES NACHTWEY/BLACK STAR

No rest for the weary; Contras in the field.

Contributing changes

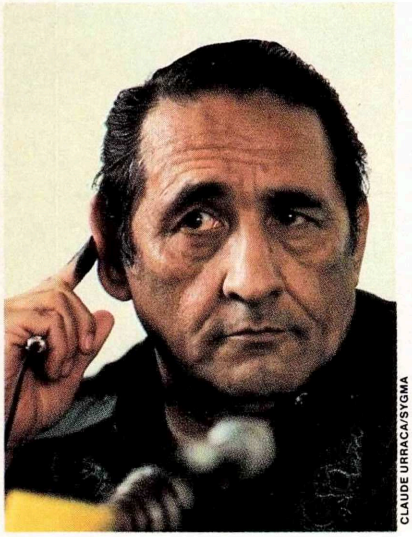
Among the Contadora four, domestic changes have made cooperation more difficult. During 1985 Panama's first elected civilian president in 16 years was deposed by the military, and Mexico held gubernatorial elections roundly condemned as fraudulent by the opposition. The irony of these two countries attempting to bring democracy to Central America became too glaring to ignore. Mexico's increasing financial woes encouraged President de la Madrid to deemphasize Mexico's support for Nicaragua within Contadora in the hopes of gaining greater flexibility on the part of the United States in debt renegotiation. Colombia and Venezuela, with less questionable democratic traditions, themselves became increasingly concerned about Sandinista intentions.

Among the other Central American countries, Costa Rica continued to tread a tightrope between avoiding entanglement in the Central American turmoil and alienating the United States, the only lifeline for its troubled economy. Increased border conflicts with Nicaragua in the last half of 1985 moved Costa Rica closer to El Salvador and Honduras, which have always been skeptical of the Sandinistas. Guatemala was less hostile to Nicaragua publicly, in part to gain Mexico's cooperation in dealing with guerrillas operating out of Guatemalan refugee camps in Mexico. The new democratically elected president of Guatemala, Venezio Cerezo, in 1986 became one of the prime movers behind efforts to reach a negotiated settlement within the Contadora process. He reversed trends toward increasing isolation of Nicaragua in the region by including that country in a tour of Central America following his inauguration and in plans for a Central American parliament.

El Salvador and Honduras, vitally dependent on U.S. aid, have played a less independent role in Contadora, although each has its own domestic reasons for maintaining an active presence. President Duarte trusts the Sandinistas no more than he trusts his own Marxist guerrilla opposition. Yet his popular support depends, to some extent, on perceptions of his commitment to a negotiated solution to the Salvadoran conflict. Honduras is caught in the awkward position of being host to a guerrilla force that is nearly the size of its own armed forces and is supplied by its main ally, but it cannot acknowledge publicly that the Contras operate out of Honduran territory.

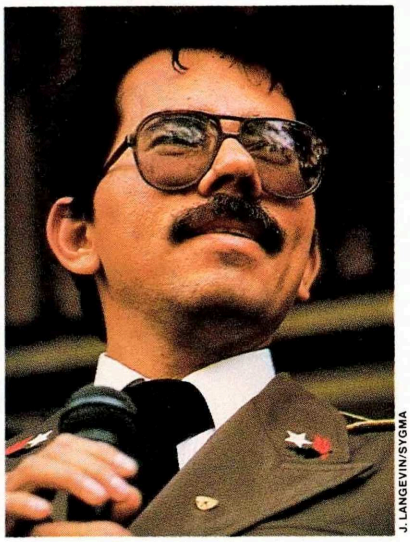
Contadora began its latest cycle of progress and stalemate in December 1985. At that time, pressure had built on Nicaragua to sign a revision of a draft treaty that had been proposed originally in September 1984. The 1984 document contained key elements, which, if adhered to, would go far toward resolving the Central American conflict peacefully. These included the withdrawal of all military advisers (U.S. and Soviet), a ban on arms imports, restrictions on foreign military exercises, the closing of foreign military bases, an end to support for cross-border arms smuggling and support for guerrilla movements, on-site inspection and verification by independent parties, and free elections. Nicaragua surprised the United States by agreeing to the 1984 draft, an act that would have left the Sandinistas in power while prohibiting U.S. aid to the Salvadoran government and to the Contras. Only furious backpedaling by the United States prevented an agreement that would have been unsatisfactory from the U.S. point of view.

SPECIAL REPORT



CLAUDE URRACA/SYGMA

Salvadoran President José Napoleon Duarte has little love for the Sandinistas, but wishes to pave a path for negotiated peace.



J. LANGEVIN/SYGMA

Daniel Ortega has pursued a policy of flirtation with the Contadora plan, while building military forces at home.

SHEPARD SHERBELL/PICTURE GROUP

Honduran President José Azcona treads a fine line between privately allowing the Contras sanctuary, and publicly avoiding the issue.

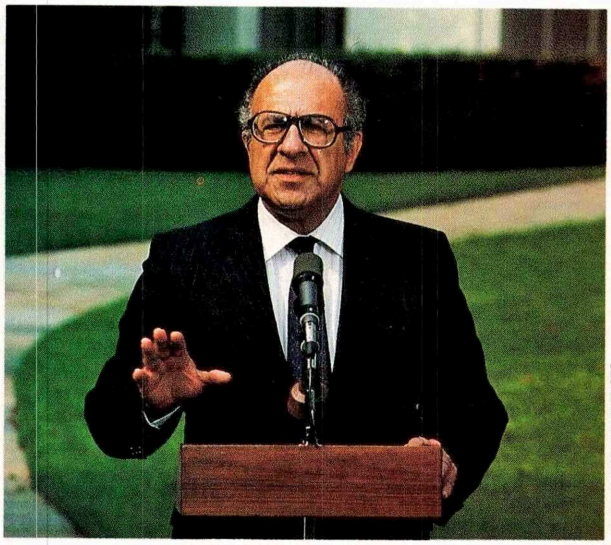
From 1984 to 1985, the United States worked with its allies, El Salvador and Honduras, to strengthen the enforcement provisions of the treaty and to time compliance so that Nicaragua would have to concede ground to the Contra opposition before the United States would have to observe restrictions on its policies in the region. This weighting of the balance was not to Nicaragua's liking and it called for a suspension of negotiations in late 1985.

Lending support

The Contadora worm turned again in early 1986 at a meeting in Caraballeda, Venezuela, when the participants agreed to address Nicaragua's concern that U.S. aid to the Contras be ended as part of any treaty agreement. The result was the historically unprecedented step of the foreign ministers of Mexico, Colombia, Panama, Venezuela, Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay meeting with Secretary of State George Shultz in Washington to appeal for an end to aid to the Contras. Although aid was not ended, Nicaragua did return to the negotiating process.

Hopes were raised that a breakthrough had been reached in April when President Reagan's special envoy to Central America, Philip Habib, appeared to indicate that the United States would accept the principle of simultaneity in the negotiations: when the treaty was *signed,* U.S. aid to the Contras would stop. A flurry of protest from conservatives and the release of a Pentagon study arguing that a Marxist Nicaragua could never be trusted to uphold any treaty, led to a disavowal by the State Department of Habib's commitment. As the latest deadline for signing the treaty passed on June 6, the United States announced that it would reserve for itself the right to decide when and if Nicaragua was in compliance with any Contadora treaty and whether such compliance merited ending assistance to the Contras. The Contadora countries vowed that negotiations would continue, but made no attempt to set deadlines for agreement.

Perceived by many Latin American governments as the alternative to direct intervention by the United States or to a regional war, Contadora has been counted out many times only to revive itself again. Such a development occurred in the summer of 1985 when the so-called Lima Group of Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay lent their support to Contadora as a counterweight to the increasing hostility between the United States and Nicaragua. Another effort at resuscitation will surely come again. Yet as long as any of the central actors (the United States, the Sandinistas, the Contras, the Salvadoran government, the FMLN guerrillas in El Salvador) holds out a hope for achieving its maximum objectives



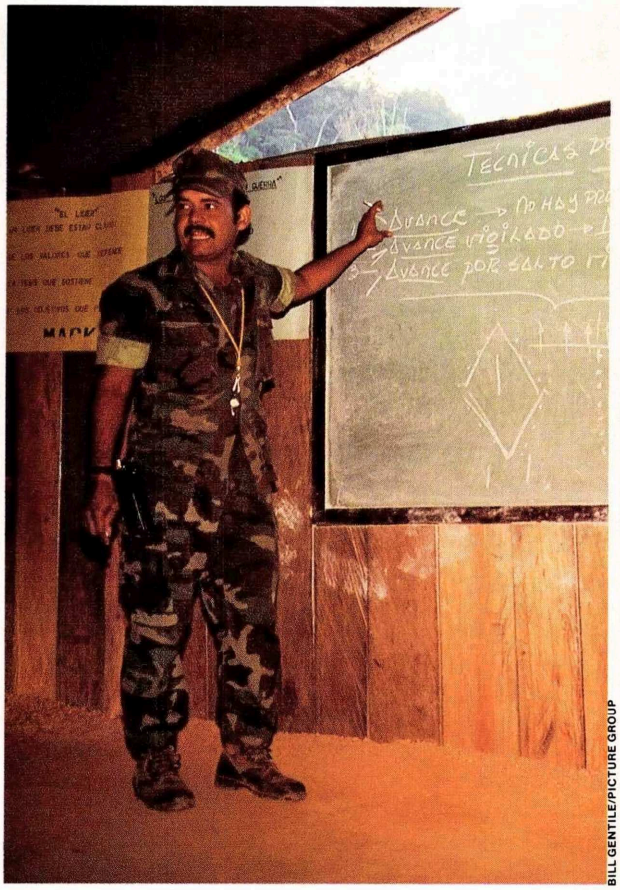
MARK REINSTEIN/UNIPHOTO

U.S. envoy Philip Habib seemed to be tendering an olive branch to the Sandinistas, which was quickly retracted by the State Department when the price was abandoning the Contras.

without making significant concessions to its adversary, Contadora cannot succeed. Contadora sometimes seems like a cat with nine lives. But it is a cat that has already died eight times.■

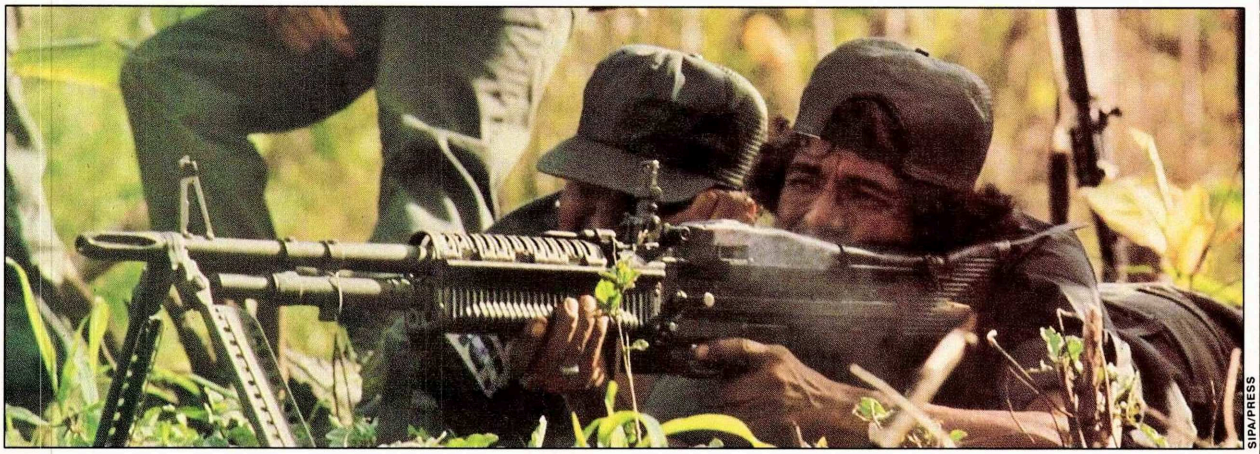
Richard A. Nuccio is director of Latin American and Caribbean Programs at the Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., and chair of the Department of State's Foreign Service Institute Advanced Area Studies course on Central America.

A shorter version of this article appeared in Richard A. Nuccio's book, What's Wrong, Who's Right in Central America? A Citizen's Guide *(Facts on File, 1986) published by the Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies.*



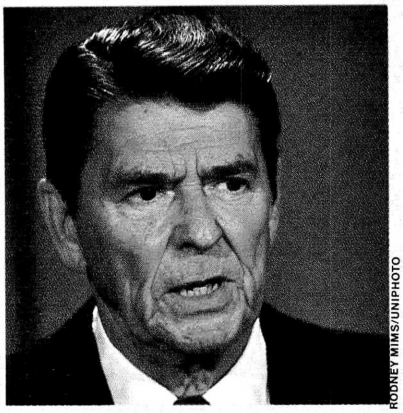
BILL GENTILE/PICTURE GROUP

Above, the Contras receive instruction in strategy. Below, they get field training. Without some decisive military pressure, it is unlikely that the government will accede to the people's demands.



SIPA/PRESS

Excerpts of President Reagan's speech on Aid to the Contras.


RODNEY MIMS/UNIPHOTO

June 24, 1986—My fellow Americans and members of the House, I need your help. I ask first for your help in remembering—remembering our history in Central America—so we can learn from the mistakes of the past. Too often in the past, the United States failed to identify with the aspirations of the people of Central America for freedom and a better life. Too often our government appeared indifferent when democratic values were at risk. So, we took the path of least resistance and did nothing.

Today however, with American support, the tide is turning in Central America. In El Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica, and now in Guatemala, freely elected governments offer their people the chance for a better future—a future the United States must support.

But there's one tragic, glaring exception to that democratic tide: the communist Sandinista government in Nicaragua. It is tragic because the United States extended the generous hand of friendship to the new revolutionary government when it came to power in 1979. Congress voted $75 million in economic aid. The United States helped renegotiate Nicaragua's foreign debt. America offered teachers, doctors, and Peace Corps volunteers to help rebuild the country.

But the Sandinistas had a different agenda. From the very first day, a small group of communists worked steadily to consolidate power and squeeze out their democratic allies. The democratic trade unionists who had fought Somoza's national guard in the streets were now told by the Sandinistas that the right to strike was illegal and that their revolutionary duty was to produce more for the state. The newspaper, *La Prensa,* whose courage and determination had inspired so much of the Nicaraguan revolution, found its pages censored and suppressed. Violetta Chamorro, widow of the assassinated editor, soon quit the revolutionary government to take up the struggle for democracy again in the pages of her newspaper. The leader of the Catholic church in Nicaragua, Archbishop, now Cardinal Obando y Bravo, who had negotiated the release of the Sandinista leaders from prison during the revolution, was now vilified as a traitor by the very men he helped to free.

Soviet arms and bloc personnel began arriving in Nicaragua, with Cuban, East German, and Bulgarian advisers at their side. The Sandinistas began to build the largest standing army in Central American history, and to erect all the odious apparatus of the modern police state. Under the Somoza dictatorship, a single facility held all political prisoners. Today, there are eleven—eleven prisons in place of one. . . . .

Many brave Nicaraguans have stayed in their country despite mounting repression, defying the security police, defying the Sandinista mobs that attack and deface their homes. Thousands—peasants, Indians, devout Christians, draftees from the Sandinista army—have concluded that they must take up arms again to fight for the freedom they thought they had won in 1979. The young men and women of the democratic resistance fight inside Nicaragua today in grueling mountain and jungle warfare. They confront a Soviet-equipped army, trained and led by Cuban officers. They face murderous helicopter gunships without any means of defense. And still, they volunteer. And still, their numbers grow. Who among us would tell these brave young men and women, your dream is dead, your democratic revolution is over, you will never live in the free Nicaragua you fought so hard to build. The Sandinistas call these freedom fighters Contras, for "counter-revolutionaries." But the real counter-revolutionaries are the Nicaraguan commandantes who betrayed the hopes of the Nicaraguan revolution and sold out their country to the Soviet empire.

The commandantes even betrayed the memory of the Nicaraguan rebel leader Sandino, whose legacy they falsely claim. For the

real Sandino, because he was a genuine nationalist, was opposed to communism. In fact, Sandino broke with the Salvadoran communist leader Forbando Monte over this very issue.

The true Nicaraguan nationalists are the leaders of the United Nicaraguan Opposition. Arturo Cruz, jailed by Somoza, a former member of the Sandinista government; Adolfo Calero who helped organize a strike of businessmen to bring Somoza down; and Alfonzo Robelo, a social democrat and once a leader of the revolutionary government. These good men refused to make any accommodation with the Somoza dictatorship. Who among us can doubt their commitment to bring democracy to Nicaragua? . . .

I know some members of Congress who share my concern about Nicaragua have honest questions about my request for aid to the democratic resistance. Let me try to address them. Do the freedom fighters have the support of the Nicaraguan people? I urged members of the House to ask their colleague, the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, who recently visited a town in Nicaragua that was a Sandinista stronghold during the revolution. He heard peasants, trade unionists, farmers, workers, students, and shopkeepers, all call on the United States to aid the armed resistance. Or listen to the report from *Time* magazine of Central American scholar Robert Leiken, who once had hopes for the Sandinista revolution. He says, "I have gone to a number of towns in Nicaragua, where I have found that the youth are simply not there. I asked the parents where they've gone. And they say they've gone off to join the Contras." In Managua, Leiken reports 250 Nicaraguans stood on a bread line for three hours. "Who is responsible for this?" he asked. "The Sandinistas are responsible." The Sandinistas—that's what the people said. The Sandinistas, Leiken concluded, have not only lost support, I think they are detested by the population.

Can the democratic forces win? Consider there are twenty times as many Nicaraguans fighting the Sandinista dictatorship today as there were Sandinista fighters a year before Somoza fell. This is the largest peasant army raised in Latin America in more than 50 years. And thousands more are waiting to volunteer if American support comes through.

Some members of Congress, and I know some of you, fear that military aid to the democratic resistance will be only the first step down the slippery slope toward another Vietnam. Now I know those fears are honest, but think where we heard them before. Just a few years ago, some argued in Congress that U.S. military aid to El Salvador would lead inevitably to the involvement of U.S. combat troops. But the opposite turned out to be true. Had the United States failed to provide aid then, we might well be facing the final communist takeover of El Salvador and mounting pressures to intervene. Instead, with our aid, the government of El Salvador is winning the war and there is no prospect whatever of American military involvement. El Salvador still faces serious problems that require our attention. But democracy there is stronger and both the communist guerrillas and the right-wing death squads are weaker, and Congress shares credit for that accomplishment . . . .

Some ask what are the goals of our policy toward Nicaragua. They are the goals the Nicaraguan people set for themselves in 1979—democracy, a free economy, and national self-determination. Clearly the best way to achieve these goals is through a negotiated settlement. No humane person wants to see suffering and war. The leaders of the internal opposition and the Catholic church have asked for dialogue with the Sandinistas. The leaders of the armed resistance have called for a cease-fire and negotiations at any time in any place. We urge the Sandinistas to heed the pleas of the Nicaraguan people for a peaceful settlement.

. . . Recently, I read the words of a leader of the internal democratic opposition. What he said made me feel ashamed. This man has been jailed, his property confiscated, and his life threatened by the security police. Still, he continues to fight. And he said, "You Americans have the strength, the opportunity, but not the will. We want to struggle, but it is dangerous to have friends like you, to be left stranded on the landing beaches of the Bay of Pigs. Either help us, or leave us alone."

. . . The question before the House is not only about the freedom of Nicaragua and the security of the United States, but who we are as a people. President Kennedy wrote, on the day of his death, that history had called this generation of Americans to be watchmen on the walls of world freedom . . . .

We Americans have not forgotten our revolutionary heritage, but sometimes it takes others to remind us of what we ourselves believe.

Analysis

ARAL/SIPA-SPECIAL FEATURES

ETHNIC CONFLICT IN SRI LANKA: A POLITICAL DEAD END?

by Urmila Phadnis

Among Third World countries, Sri Lanka (officially known as Ceylon until 1972) has compiled an enviable track record of relative political stability in regard to its democratic system. Lately, however, its multiethnic, sociopolitical mold has been under severe pressure. On the ethnic front, for instance, consequent to the decade-old Tamil demand for the creation of Eelam, a separate state in the northern and eastern provinces, the internal war between the Tamil insurgents and the Sinhalese-dominated military has intensified, engulfing, at times, other parts of the country as well.

Underlying the ethnic conflict are the challenges of participation and integration in a civic society that has been politically volatile as well as competitive, economically maldeveloped, ethnically diverse, and highly youthful —more than two-thirds of its people are below the age of 25. Covering an area of 25,232 square miles, Sri Lanka has a population of over 15 million, comprised of Sinhalese from north India who claim Aryan descent (74 percent), Tamils from south India who claim Dravidian descent (18 percent), Moors (7 percent), and burghers, Malays, etc. (1 percent).

Apart from claims of racial distinctiveness, the Sinhalese-Tamil identities have been strengthened in religious and linguistic terms. Thus, while the bulk of the Sinhalese are Buddhist and speak Sinhala, the Tamils are Hindu with Tamil as their mother tongue. Among the Tamils, those

Tamil rebels plot strategy: insurgent violence has created a civil war-like state in Sri Lanka.

who migrated from southern India during the British colonial period to work on plantations in the heartland of Sinhalese areas are called "Indian Tamils," while the rest, concentrated in the capital of Colombo as well as in the northern and eastern areas, are known as "Ceylon Tamils."

Added to the racial-religious-linguistic congruence of the Tamils is also the territorial factor. In two provinces—the northern and the eastern—comprising seven districts, the Tamils are numerically predominant in six out of the seven. These are contiguous areas and are viewed by them as their "traditional homeland."

Alongside such territorial concentration of the Tamils, two points deserve attention. First, about half of the Tamil population live outside these two provinces. Second, about half of the Muslim population live in the eastern province. Any discussion on the issue of Eelam must reckon with such geographic considerations.

More significantly, until 1975 Eelam, at best, was a concept, and Tamil insurgency was virtually nonexistent. However, over the decades, particularly since the 1956 elections, the Tamils have developed a relative sense of deprivation and the feeling of marginalization of their position in the power structure.

Revolving around the issues of language, employment, land settlement or colonization, education, and regional autonomy, the measures taken by the Tamils were not merely for self-prestige or status. They had, and still have, sharp economic overtones as well.

Consider the 1956 elections, when the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) leader, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, swept out the ruling United National Party (UNP) on the Sinhala-Buddhist nationalist wave and made Sinhalese the sole official language. This was considered a breach of trust by the Tamil leadership because, until as late as 1954, both the SLFP and the UNP had been committed to make both Tamil and Sinhalese the official languages. Apart from this political volte-face, the Tamils also feared that establishing Sinhalese as the official language would disadvantage the Tamil-educated youth in the employment market, especially in the public sector. Empirical data over the years lent credence to such an apprehension.

Legislated restrictions

Added to this was the language policy in higher education, adopted during the early 1970s, which adversely affected the Tamils. In particular, they resented the "standardization" of marks given to Sinhalese and Tamil students —a practice under which merit and performance in the examination were neutralized by communal-language stipulations. There was also a district quota system, which lowered the number of Tamil students at the university level.

Regarding regional autonomy for the Tamil areas, even when the institutional structure was evolved to provide a degree of autonomy through the District Development Council, it did not go very far, since the councils had little power to raise resources and were dependent on what the Parliament in Colombo deigned to give them. Also, the tradition of a unitary political framework was not conducive to the devolution of powers.

Finally, regarding the issue of land settlement, the Tamil leaders charged that the Sinhalese-dominated center had turned majority Tamil areas into minority ones. Consequently, the opportunities for the "sons of the soil" were

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The minority Tamils seek integration into a society that has been politically volatile and competitive, economically maldeveloped, ethnically diverse, and extremely youthful.

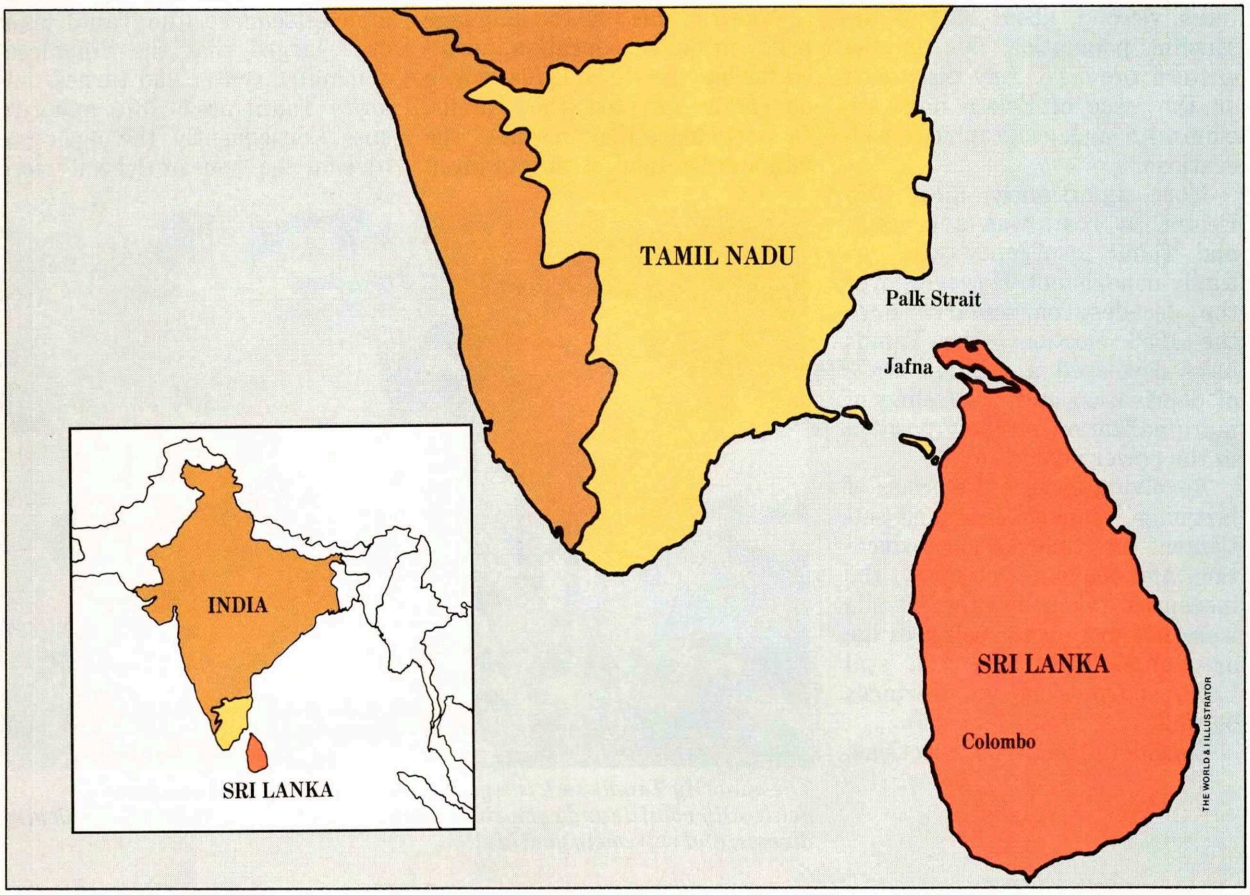
shrinking further. Further, the ethnic character of the "Tamil homeland" was being vitiated, too.

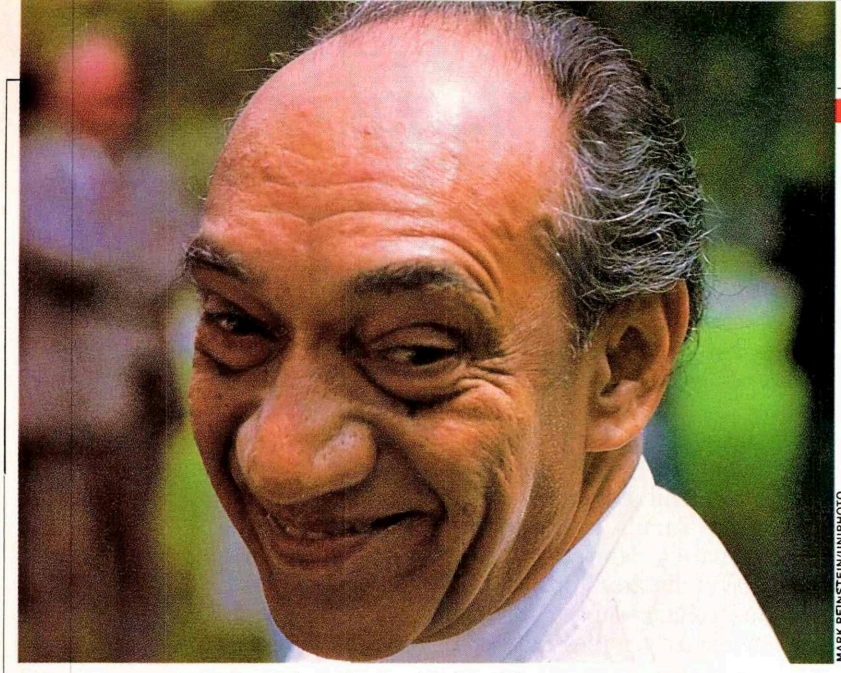
The degree of leverage the Tamil leadership held in the competitive party system often determined whether these grievances were viewed as anything more than agenda items for bargaining with the minority community. However, the dynamics of electoral and party politics in Sri Lanka greatly inhibited the amount of leeway granted to the Tamil minority.

Over the decades, particularly since the 1956 elections, the Tamils have developed a relative sense of deprivation and the feeling of marginalization of their position in the power structure.

Since Sri Lanka's independence, the UNP and the SLFP had alternately emerged victorious in the elections, which were held at fairly regular intervals. The level of electoral participation took long strides too—from 74 percent in 1952 to 87 percent in 1977—and provided a sharper edge to the competitive ethos of politics. The fact that both the UNP and the SLFP had their base in the areas where the Sinhalese held a majority implied their vulnerability to accusations of partisanship on the ethnic question. Consensus on the issue of concessions or safeguards to the Tamil community was not easy to come by as both parties, when out of power, tried to cash in on the Sinhalese's Buddhist sentiments to the extent that any agreement between the government and Tamil parties was abrogated.

Thus, in 1957 when Prime Minister Bandaranaike—in his bid to assuage the Tamil susceptibilities on the issues of language and regional autonomy—signed a pact with Tamil Federal Party leader S.J.V. Chelvanayagam, the UNP, which had been trounced in the elections, incited the Sinhalese's Buddhist sentiment to such a frenzy that it led Bandaranaike





MARK REINSTEIN/UNIPHOTO

The government of President Junius Richard Jayewardene has made a number of political and military overtures to the Tamil insurgents that have met with varying degrees of success.

to abandon the pact.

Herein lay the dilemma of the Sinhalese leadership. The competitive party system vindicated democratic principles through open and fair electoral competition. Almost simultaneously, the majoritarian trends inherent in such a competition had tremendous potential to relegate the major minority into a peripheral position. The situation could be salvaged to some extent if the winning party held a simple majority. In such a situation, the political leverage or bargaining capacity of minor parties, like the Tamil parties and others, was greater. Such a coalitional imperative has been virtually lost since the 1970s with the SLFP/UNP's acquisition of steamroller majorities.

Ignored provisions

In 1972, the United Front, headed by SLFP leader Sirimavo Bandaranaike, adopted a constitution in which the Tamil objections—certain provisions were considered as discriminatory against them—were ignored. This appeared to be the straw that broke the camel's back. For the first time, all the Tamil parties walked out in protest and formed the Tamil United Front (TUF). By 1976, the TUF had rechristened itself the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), moving thereby from its demand for autonomy to that of secession.

Frustrated over the failure of the liberal and moderate TULF leaders, the younger Tamil political elements resorted to militancy. As usually happens in such cases, there was a proliferation of militant groups, each with an ideological orientation and a struggle strategy of its own.

The high water mark of their insurgency was the destruction of a truck by land mines in July 1983, which resulted in the death of 23 soldiers. The Sinhalese retaliation, and the carnage among the Tamils in Colombo and elsewhere on the island, caused an influx of Tamil refugees from the Sinhalese areas into Tamil areas, and from there on to India.

Since then, peace and normalcy have continued to elude the northern and eastern provinces. Violence and counterviolence between the militants and the state appears to have ended up as a zero-sum game. The fact that the armed forces have been Sinhalese-dominated has provided a sharper communal edge to the Sinhalese-Tamil conflict. In due course, the Sinhalization of the military may be total. The expansion of security forces and their increasing salience in the Sri Lankan polity has potential for serious implications in the political realm in the years to come.

As for the present, over the past year the number of defense personnel has been increased from 28,000 to 40,000. According to a report, thousands of Sri Lankan officers have gone to Pakistan for military training. British and Israeli security experts have been brought to Colombo to train troops as well. Also, lately the military has been supplied with 150 armored cars from South Africa, 21 American-built helicopters from Singapore, six light air-

The degree of leverage the Tamil leadership held in the competitive party system often determined whether grievances were viewed as anything more than agenda items for bargaining with the minority community.

craft from Italy, as well as 50 patrol boats and some 40,000 land mines. As for the defense budget, it has shot up from $11 million in 1977 (when the present regime

The fact that the armed forces have been Sinhalese-dominated has provided a sharper edge to the Sinhalese-Tamil conflict. In due course, the Sinhalization of the military may be total.

won a landslide electoral victory) to $360 million in 1985, accounting for about 20 percent of the nation's total budget and impinging seriously upon its fledgling economy.

The Tamil insurgents, on the other hand, seem to be fighting on two fronts—among themselves, as well as with the military. Thus, in May 1986 the most militant of the insurgent groups, called the Liberation Tigers of Thamil Eelam (LTTE), overran the northern tip of the Jaffna peninsula and liquidated another major rival insurgent group, the Thamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO). What's more, the LTTE served notice to other insurgent groups, as well as the moderate TULF, that if they did not yield to its supremacy, they would go the TELO way. It also announced that it would set up an administrative structure in an area covering some 250 square miles in the northern part of the Jaffna peninsula. Its spokesman has further said that after "educating the masses" the LTTE would formally announce the establishment of an independent state of Thamil Eelam, a homeland for the Tamils, that would be a "participatory democracy under its (LTTE's) dictatorship."

If this comes to pass, the Sri Lankan security forces may continue to be bogged down in the environment of a civil war, which may be protracted—and in a terrain more suited to guerrilla warfare, wherein the LTTE cadres have the advantage of mobility and maneuverability, which an organized army does not, and cannot, have.

Decided disadvantage

This advantage for the LTTE and disadvantage for the security forces was brought out convincingly in recent military operations, where the forces undertook to relieve a garrison besieged in an old Dutch fort in the city of Jaffna. Despite the deployment of the air force and the navy, which strafed the area with bombs and machine-gun fire from helicopters, the troops had to retreat to their camps without establishing contact with the garrison. As before, civilians were caught in the crossfire between the militants and the military.

The ability of the LTTE to hold on would depend upon the armory it has at its disposal. It has claimed to have the entire arms cache of its humbled rival group. According to one estimate, it can last for at least two weeks of continuous combat on a scale that occurred recently. But after that, what?

The LTTE further claims that it has kept open supply routes along the northern and eastern seacoast of the peninsula through which arms and equipment are smuggled in. To the contrary, the Sri Lankan government has disclosed that it has strengthened its

MARK REINSTEIN/PHOTOREPORTERS

Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayewardene has turned to other nations for military training and equipment to bolster his beefed-up armed forces in their fight to contain the Tamil insurgents.

sea and air surveillance to prevent the flow of arms, besides setting up new army encampments on the periphery of the area under LTTE control.

Here again, with the base of smuggling located in the Indian territory of Tamil Nadu, a bare 20 miles away across the shallow waters of the Palk Straits, a great deal would depend on India to prevent the accretion of arms by the LTTE. There is some evidence to suggest that India has begun to take preventive measures. For instance, some weeks before the LTTE overran the Jaffna peninsula, a truckload of sophisticated arms, along with walkie-talkies and other contraband goods, was confiscated.

Interpreting these developments politically, the LTTE spokesman is on record as having said that through military action, the struggle for Eelam had taken a new course by "freeing itself from the shackles of Indian diplomacy [which was used] to please [Sri Lankan President Junius Richard] Jayewardene." Explaining further the strategic objective of the LTTE, the spokesman pointed out that the terrain south of Jaffna or in the eastern province of Trincomalee and Batticaloa was unsuitable for guerrilla warfare. Hence the tactical advantage of consolidating its hold on the Jaffna peninsula before taking the next step of freeing the other areas of Thamil Eelam.

Strangely, a coincidence of tactical interests has emerged between the LTTE and the security forces. Speaking to newsmen a couple of months ago, the Sri Lankan national security minister, Lalith Athulathmudali, disclosed that the government had decided to leave the Jaffna peninsula alone for the time being and concentrate on mopping up "terrorists" in the eastern province and the southern areas of the Jaffna peninsula, where the relatively flat terrain made it difficult for the militants to operate and easy for the security forces to carry out their operations.

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The ferocity of the infighting among the different Tamil factions has alienated the insurgents from Tamils both in Sri Lanka as well as Tamil Nadu territory in India.

Apparently, the security forces have achieved a degree of success in this tactical move, judging by the fact that they have been able to move up to the outskirts of the peninsula, which they had been unable to do earlier because of sniping by the militants and the land mines they had laid down.

Just as the security forces seemed to have achieved their limited objective, so too did the

LTTE. Because of its actions, however, the LTTE has alienated itself from the Tamils, both in Sri Lanka and, to a considerable extent, in Tamil Nadu. The ferocity with which the LTTE attacked the TELO—killing nearly 200 of its cadres—and the brutality—eyewitness accounts say 13-to-16-year-old boys were burned to death—benumbed the other militant groups. Moderate groups condemned this, and reports from Jaffna indicate that fear prevails among the people caught in the crossfire between the militants and the security forces.

The Tamil insurgents seem to be fighting on two fronts—among themselves, as well as with the military.

Other militant groups point out that what the security forces could not achieve in three years—liquidating a militant group—the LTTE had accomplished in the three days of its blitzkrieg. "They are having a taste of Eelam," commented the national security minister.

Indian mediation

As it happened, the LTTE offensive in Jaffna against the other militant groups took place just about the time that an Indian mediatory groups—headed by P. Chidambaram, a minister in Rajiv Gandhi's government, and the former foreign secretary, Romesh Bhandari—was in Colombo, holding talks with Jayewardene and his cabinet ministers. During the talks, a bomb exploded aboard an Air Lanka jet at Colombo Airport, killing several passengers. A few days later, another bomb went off at Colombo's Central Telegraph Office, leading to the deaths of 10 more people. Armed with a number of legislative directives giving the security personnel almost unlimited powers, the regime, which virtually declared a state of emergency, continued arresting of Tamils, who, with charges pending against them for a long time, found themselves with few legal recourses.

Meanwhile, although India in its mediator role has run into a number of ebbs and tides, it has gone on with its quest for a negotiating base between the moderate leadership of the TULF (as well as some of the militant groups) and the representatives of the Sri Lankan government.

Broadly speaking, the crux of the negotiating base pertains to the mechanisms for the devolution of power as an alternative to the Tamil separatist demands. The solutions revolve around: (1) the extent of autonomy that the government is willing to grant in Tamil areas regarding law and order (somewhat on the Indian federalist pattern) and (2) the amalgamation of the northern and eastern provinces. However, in view of Sinhalese apprehension that such autonomy could become a prelude to secession later, the government may not be able to extend itself very far. Besides, the provincial amalgamation idea has not been endorsed by the Muslims, who politically prefer to have their numerical preponderance sustained in the eastern province and not become submerged in an amalgamated setup.

In mid-June it was reported that the Sri Lankan cabinet had approved a plan that would grant autonomy to all nine provinces and would call for elected assemblies, headed by a chief minister, to have jurisdiction over such internal matters as employment, housing, and law enforcement. A provincial governor, whose responsibilities would be largely ceremonial, would be selected by the president.

Whatever is decided concerning the extent of devolution at the provincial level, in view of the past record of partisan vulnerability by both the SLFP and the UNP on any issue related to the Tamil community, only a bipartisan consensus can assure the endurance of any understanding on the ethnic issue.

Closely related to the issue of a national consensus is that of the cessation of hostilities. The extent to which domestic imperatives and external persuasion may help facilitate a negotiating base between the contending forces will hinge on the containment of violence and some sort of truce. Although most coveted at present, this seems to be the most elusive objective in Sri Lanka. Whether this will lead the people out of the ethnic tangle or not will depend upon the tenacity as well as the credibility of the negotiating processes and their aftermath.■

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THE VATICAN'S SOCIAL AGENDA— ACTIVISM WITHOUT HATRED

by Timothy Goodman

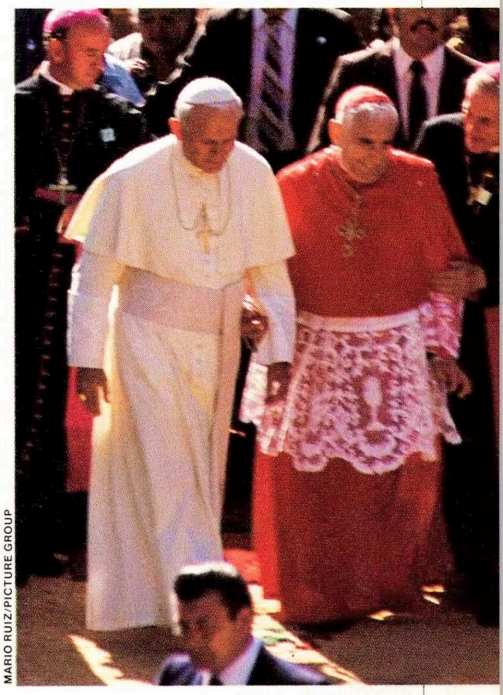
The Catholic Church's position on liberation theology is in a state of flux, or so press reports would lead one to believe. According to secular and religious pundits, high-level Vatican officials have not yet decided whether to accept or reject this new derivative of Catholic theology. Pointing to allegedly conflicting Vatican statements, reporters speculate periodically that resistance to the concept is weakening within the Vatican and conditional or full acceptance will occur in a matter of time.

Media speculation has focused especially on a recent Vatican statement reexamining liberation theology. A careful and objective reading of that document shows, however, that it fits comfortably into the existing corpus of Catholic social teaching. Any confusion arises not from Vatican indecision but from efforts by others to manipulate the statement for partisan advantage.

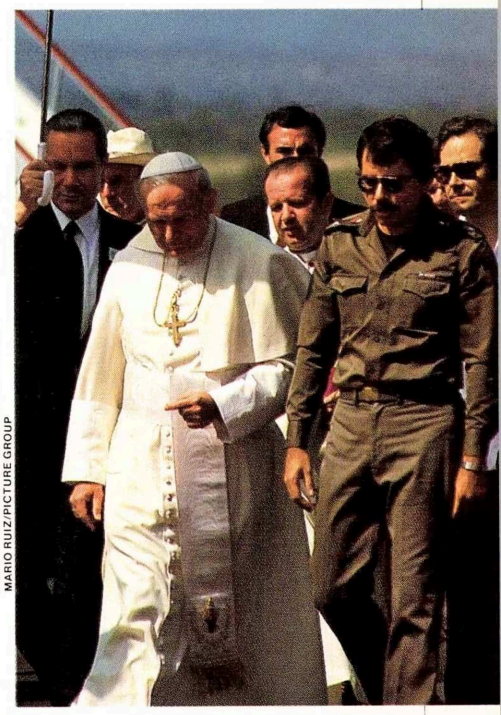
In September 1984, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, headed by Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, issued an *Instruction on Certain Aspects of the Theology of Liberation* that condemned the synthesis of Christianity and Marxism. This document was, in turn, widely condemned as provincial, intellectually shallow, and ignorant of Latin America's unique social and political conditions. Denying any Marxist link, liberation theologians claimed that they were taking part in an indigenous effort, sanctioned by Vatican II, to develop a Christian answer to temporal injustice and oppression.

At the time, Ratzinger promised a second, more positive statement that would give the correct understanding of human liberation. That document, the *Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation,* appeared in early April and generated a whirlwind of controversy in Catholic circles. Despite its more theoretical air and affirmative tone, the new document is a clear companion to its predecessor.

The 1986 decree constitutes part of a long-term Vatican effort to suppress the deficiencies of liberation theology while preserving and strengthening its merits. Pope John Paul II's promise two years ago to follow the harsh 1984 *Instruction* with a more conciliatory one reflects this foresight.



MARIO RUIZ/PICTURE GROUP



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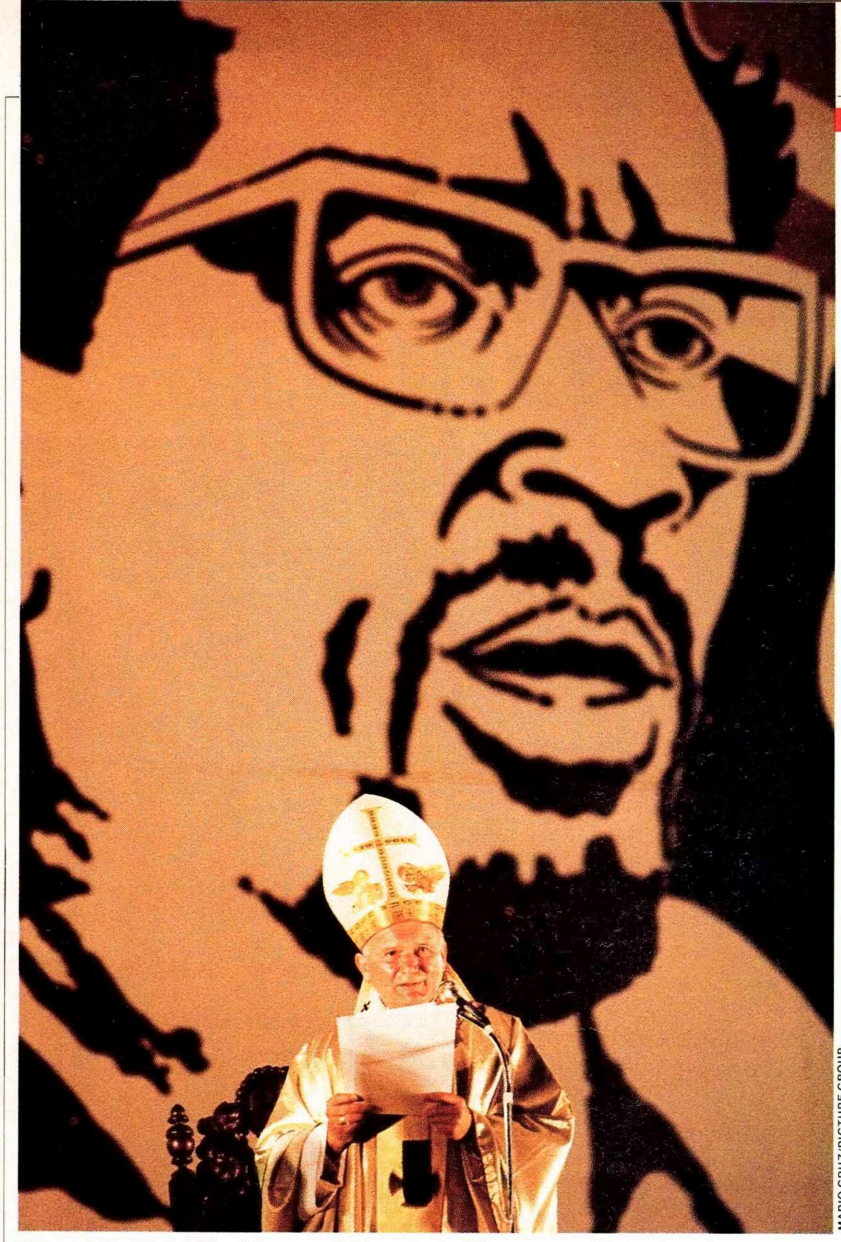
Pope John Paul II's message to Central America: Truth and love centered on God are the source of freedom, not "excessive" political involvement based on hatred, class warfare, and dreams of an earthly paradise.



MARIO CRUZ/PICTURE GROUP

Pope John Paul II addresses followers in Nicaragua: Hatred and violence are not proper instruments of social change.

Denying any Marxist link, liberation theologians claimed that they were taking part in an indigenous effort, sanctioned by* Vatican II, *to develop a Christian answer to temporal injustice and oppression.

Having already condemned the errors of liberation theologians, the pope reassured them that liberation theology, properly understood, is indispensable. Through this most recent *Instruction*, the Vatican seeks to co-opt liberation theology by appropriating it and then purifying it from within. Instead of issuing further condemnations, which might quickly lose their effectiveness, Ratzinger now embraces the concept of liberation but redefines it, making it more "authentic." In his hands, "liberation" becomes something quite different from what it is to most liberation theologians.

In contrast to liberation theologians, who regard political oppression and material want as the ultimate evils, the *Instruction* emphasizes a different oppression afflicting man—the oppression of sin, egotism, and death. Freedom from sin is man's most important liberation, and upon it depends earthly freedom, which is also essential but less important. As the *Instruction* notes, even those whose physical freedom is constrained can hope for eternal happiness, which is the ultimate liberation.

Thus the *Instruction* reaffirms the church's traditional emphasis on individual moral choice as the source of injustice, oppression, and want. Personal sin, says Ratzinger, is "the radical reason for the tragedies which mark the history of freedom." From the individual's personal rejection of God come alienation, servitude, and social injustice.

Authentic liberation, says Ratzinger, rests on truth, the "root and rule of freedom." Truth, in turn, is rooted in transcendence. Accordingly, true liberation takes God as its reference point. Misguided liberation movements, resting on the false foundations of Marxism, class hatred, or hopes for total earthly happiness, lead to slavery. In this regard, the decree notes the importance of respecting the limits of human nature, in which the truth about humanity is rooted. When desires for freedom breach these limits,

GIANSANTI/SYGMA

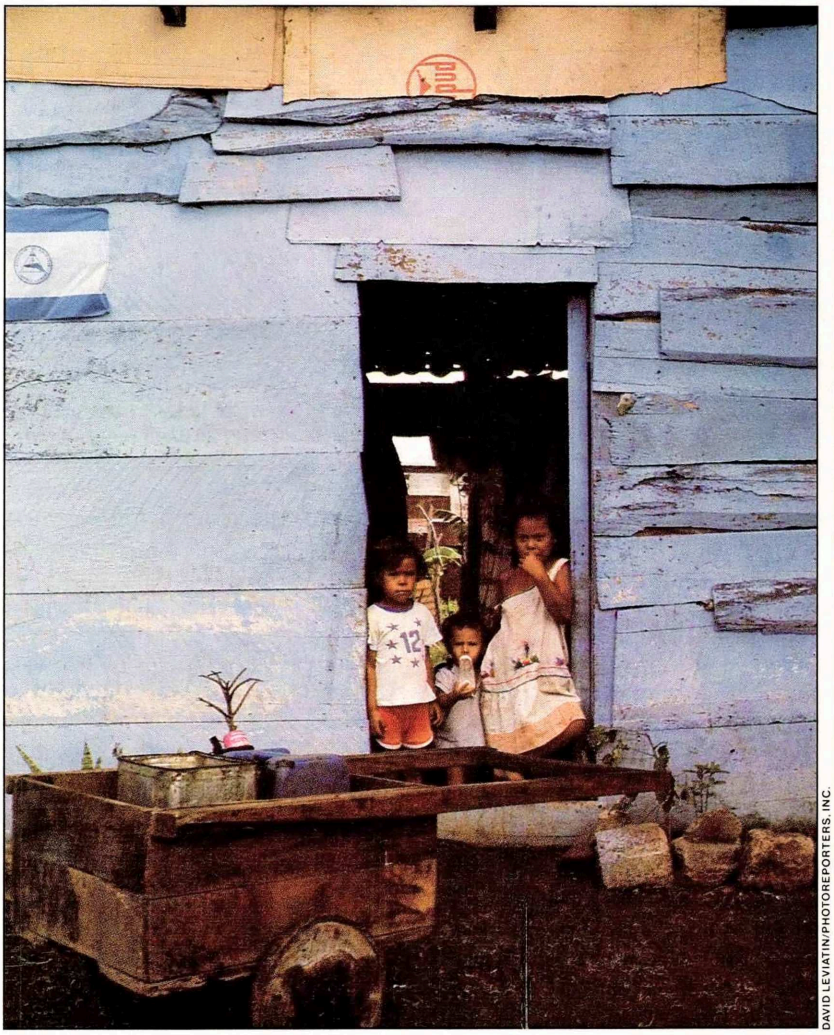
Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, author of the Vatican's response to liberation theology.

servitude follows. Movements resting on the "ideology of progress," which promises a total happiness on earth that is not possible, usually lead to atheistic totalitarianism.

Love is the other source of liberation, since true freedom can rest on neither falsehood nor hatred. The rule of love, says Ratzinger (perhaps too optimistically), will prompt people "to serve [others'] true temporal good, help them in their needs, provide for their education, and promote an integral liberation from everything that hinders the development of individuals." Denying that there exists any "gap between love of neighbor and desire for justice," Ratzinger calls for love to impel those responsible for injustice to abjure their sins. Charity requires the rich—nations and individuals—to share their goods with the poor. Rejecting all forms of hatred, the *Instruction* condemns violence as a means of social change, calling instead for nonrevolutionary reform and passive resistance, just as the church did recently in the Philippines. It also condemns the Marxist notion of class struggle and calls for "solidarity" between workers and employers.

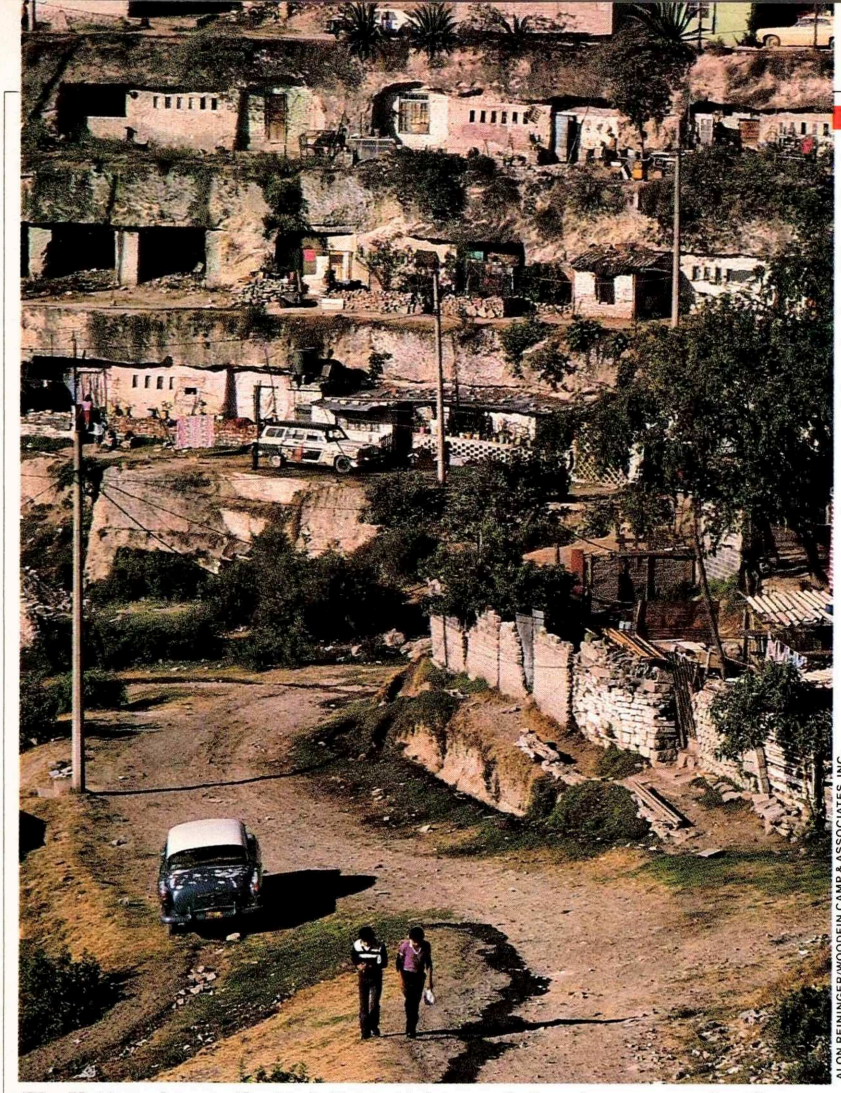
The Latin American bishops, at their 1968 regional meeting in Medellín, Colombia, spoke of the church's "fundamental option for the poor," a theme used by liberation theologians to claim the church backs political movements that allegedly work for the poor. The *Instruction* subtly redefines this concept to remove its contentious tinge, speaking of a "love of preference for the poor" that "excludes no one." Although the poor are still held in special regard, the church maintains that the rich also have a right to love, since even they are poor in a sense.

Critics find the *Instruction* to be too theoretical and overemphatic about the issue of spiritual liberation while it neglects earthly injustices. In a sense Ratzinger



DAVID LEVIATIN/PHOTOREPORTERS, INC.

"The love of preference" belongs to the poor, says the Vatican, but the rich still have a right to be loved as well.



ALON REININGER/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOCIATES, INC.

The Vatican has walked a delicate tightrope, balancing concern for the plight of the Third World poor with responses to activist church leaders who demand radical answers for the suffering.

Through this most recent* Instruction, *the Vatican seeks to co-opt liberation theology by appropriating it and then purifying it from within.

concedes the first point, acknowledging that the Vatican cannot apply the general principles contained in the *Instruction* to particular cases. Displaying a sort of church federalism, he asks local churches to make these practical applications. Although the decree emphasizes transcendent liberation, it also condemns temporal injustice, labeling it a grave sin. "Freedom," says Ratzinger, "demands conditions of an economic, social, political, and cultural kind which make possible its full exercise." He insists, however, that personal conversion is the best way to fight social injustice, noting that the church must "work simultaneously for the conversion of hearts and for the improvement of structures." The church's temporal work should foster love, not advance political objectives. Individual moral conversion must precede any social advances.

This Christian view of freedom is the decree's real message. The pundits, rushing to claim the statement as support for their various theological-political agendas, miss its real importance. Some observers have called the document a significant step toward Vatican recognition of the legitimacy of church-supported political action to overthrow unjust structures, citing, for example, its qualified praise for Latin America's "base communities." According to *The New York Times,* the *Instruction* "embraces liberation theology's fundamental principle: that the Christian Gospel justifies the struggles of the poor for political freedom and control over their lives." The editorialist called the statement "a victory for the poor and oppressed who in many nations look to religion for remedy as well as solace." As all sides rush in this way to claim the statement, they obscure its real meaning, which is far more nuanced and less partisan than press commentary would indicate.

Hand in glove

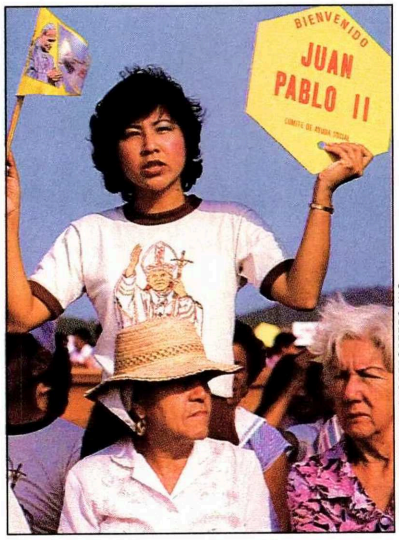
In fact, the *Instruction* accords perfectly with its 1984 predecessor. Although the two documents differ in tone, their message and conclusions are the same. In no way does the new document retract previous warnings about the dangers of liberation theology. It states, rather, that those "warnings appear ever more timely and relevant." "Between the two documents there exists an organic relationship," says Ratzinger. "They are to be

read in the light of each other."

Recent papal statements to the Brazilian church hierarchy have elicited similarly discordant press comment. Brazil's 300-plus bishops tend to fracture over divisive theological and political questions. A radical faction led by Evaristo Cardinal Arns of São Paulo has irritated the Vatican by championing "progressive" causes ranging from nonpayment of Brazil's foreign debt to leftist revolution in Central America. Despite conservative opposition led by Eugenio Cardinal Sales of Rio de Janeiro, the radical grouping has advocated extreme forms of liberation theology and expressed warm support for Leonardo Boff, a Brazilian Dominican friar and prominent liberation theologian who was recently silenced by the Vatican for denigrating the hierarchical structure of the church.

The pope, long concerned about radical tendencies in the Brazilian church, met with 21 Brazilian bishops in Rome last March to discuss issues of mutual concern. He reportedly cautioned them to observe their "specific religious duty" and avoid excessive political involvement. The press, scenting conflict as a shark smells blood, labeled the meeting a severe rebuke. A subsequent papal letter to the bishops, though, was interpreted far differently. Liberation theology proponents regarded it as a capitulation by the Vatican to their position. The Far Left *National Catholic Reporter* praised the pope's newfound moderation, implying that his letter gave full Vatican sanction to liberation theology. Calling the letter "a turning point in the pontificate," *NCR* writer and former Jesuit Peter Hebblethwaite summed up its import as proclaiming full Vatican trust in the Brazilian bishops.

In fact, the pope's approval of liberation theology was not nearly so sweeping. His letter carried the same positive tone as the April *Instruction,* praising the bishops' courageous defense of the poor and conveying to them his "feelings of sincere appreciation and brotherhood." It also carried direct warnings, few of which the media reported, about the dangers of indiscriminate approval of liberation theology. The pope's letter implicitly criticized some bishops for using purely rational sociopolitical categories to analyze the church, and like the decree it insisted on the essential distinction between clerical and lay functions. Moreover, the letter reinforced the idea that liberation is primarily salvific and that church love cannot exclude even the rich. Like the *Instruction*, the April letter said that liberation theology is useful and necessary only if it is "consistent and coherent with the teachings of the Gospel, of the living tradition and of the ongoing magisterium of the church."



KEVIN JENKINS/PHOTOREPORTERS, INC.

Enthusiastic crowds gather to greet Pope John Paul II during his visit to Panama.

In contrast to liberation theologians, who regard political oppression and material want as the ultimate evils, the* Instruction *emphasizes a different oppression afflicting man—the oppression of sin, egotism, and death.

Recent church statements on liberation theology share the same positive message, and any confusion is in the eye of the beholder. The pope's statements to the Brazilian bishops in March, his letter to them in April, and Ratzinger's *Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation* all give carefully conditioned approval to a properly understood liberation theology. Efforts by partisan critics to claim many of these statements as proof for Vatican acceptance of liberation theology as commonly understood are dishonest and obscure the church's real position.■

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ANALYSIS

DAEMMRICH/UNIPHOTO

GETTING A HANDLE ON COLLEGE ATHLETICS

by Risë Jill Miller

When the teacher blew the whistle, the (Georgia) Bulldog roared.

That in a nutshell is the story of Jan Kemp, a University of Georgia English professor and coordinator of the university's remedial English program who spoke out against so-called preferential treatment of athletes. Kemp was demoted and later dismissed by the university in 1982, an action which rubbed her the wrong way. She sought legal redress and ultimately had the last laugh against university officials.

Kemp sued the two professors who fired her and charged in her lawsuit that the university allowed nine football players to pass a remedial English course that they had actually failed. The students went on to play in the 1982 Sugar Bowl, which Georgia nevertheless lost to the University of Pittsburgh. Thanks to her roller-coaster experience at the university and her dismissal, Kemp claimed that she suffered serious emotional distress and was hospitalized for depression. She twice attempted suicide.

Kemp says she was a basket case. As she described it: "I couldn't function anymore. I couldn't cook a meal; I couldn't do the laundry."

Keep in mind that Kemp was a rabid Georgia Bulldog fan. A basketball player in high school, Kemp received her undergraduate, master's, and doctoral degrees from Georgia. What, then, motivated her to bite the "dawg" that fed her? She did it, Kemp said, because she didn't want those athletes "knocking on my door five years from now offering to rake leaves when they could have had an education."

Exactly how does the remedial

education department (or Development Studies Program) at Georgia work? The program offers up to four quarters of noncredit remedial help in math, English, and reading to students whose test scores and high school backgrounds show they are not yet prepared for college-level studies. The students have four quarters to complete the courses and pass a final exam, or face dismissal.

Many University of Georgia athletes participate in this program, although some of the participants are nonathletes. The program was established in 1976 to help raise the number of minority students at the university. Between 25 and 50 of the 250 students participating in the program are allowed to stay beyond the four-quarter limit, or are even graduated into the regular university program without having passed the course. The school's position is that it gives "more of a chance" to many student athletes who might not get another.

Kemp has not been the only thorn in the Bulldogs' side. In 1985, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) placed both the Georgia basketball and football programs on probation after investigations uncovered rules violations. One of the infractions involved a Georgia booster who, in 1982, took out a bank loan to help a football player finish paying for his car. Members of the basketball coaching staff were accused of having given athletes equipment and provided rides to recruiting prospects and friends.

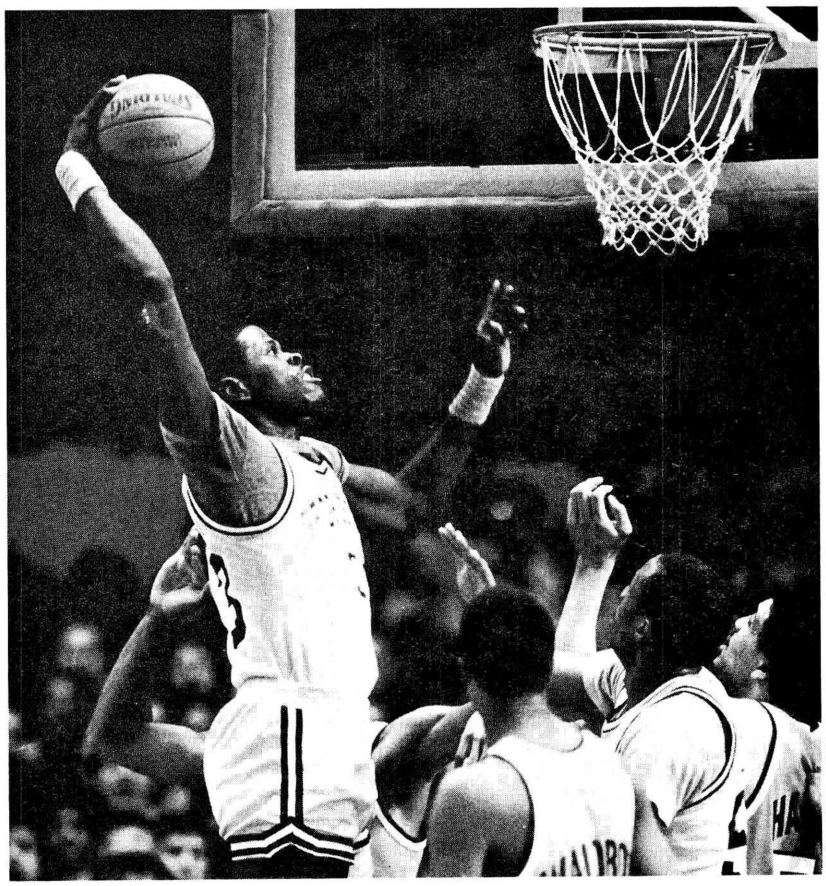
The NCAA clamped down, reducing the number of athletic scholarships that the Georgia football team could offer and placing recruiting restrictions on the basketball coaching staff. But the Bulldogs can still scramble for lucrative post-season bowl games and televised games.

As for the Kemp lawsuit, she sought reinstatement, three years' back pay, and an unstated amount in punitive damages. A federal jury awarded her $2.5 million, an amount that was immediately challenged by the university. Shortly after the verdict was announced, the state of Georgia learned that it did not have the necessary insurance coverage to pay that kind of award.

As a result of an appeal, a federal appellate court recently reduced the cash award to $680,000. A regular churchgoer, Kemp stated that she would tithe 10 percent of the award to her church. Kemp was also reinstated to her teaching position at the university.

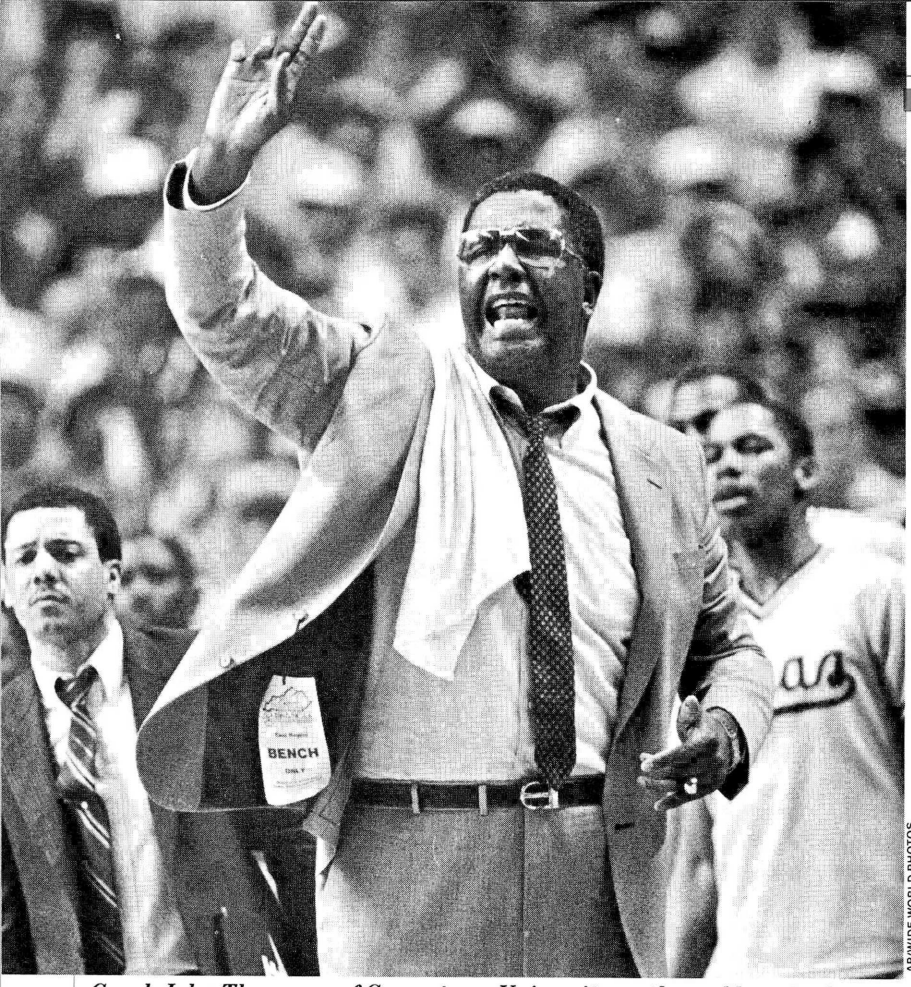
In this instance, is the overriding issue a wronged English professor, or is it rather the state of affairs in the university's athletic department and booster club—or, on a larger scale, the heart and soul of big-time intercollegiate sports in major schools all over the country? Does Georgia or any major university need to recruit blue-chip athletes at the expense of academic standards?

Dr. Fred Davison, president of the University of Georgia during



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

It is estimated that Patrick Ewing brought $12 million in revenues to Georgetown University during his four years at the school.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Coach John Thompson of Georgetown University on the problems in the University of Georgia remedial program: "It wasn't a coach who passed these kids from grades one through six when they weren't able to read."

Is the overriding issue a wronged English professor, or is it rather the state of affairs in Georgia's athletic department and booster club—or, on a larger scale, the heart and soul of big-time intercollegiate sports in major schools all over the country?

this period, answered these questions in terms more appropriate to discussions of the nuclear balance of power. Davison insisted that Georgia could not afford to "disarm unilaterally" unless its sporting foes also laid down their arms and no longer allowed athletes to stay in school despite academic records far below average. This means that Georgia continues to stockpile top athletes with combined scores of not much more than 400 on their Scholastic Aptitude Tests and grade-point averages significantly lower than 2.0. And that continues to raise eyebrows and issues.

In an action resulting from the Kemp case, Davison resigned from his position in April. His resignation was in response to the decision by the Georgia Board of Regents not to renew his contract pending the results of a formal inquiry into the university's treatment of its athletes. Davison has consistently contended that no official university policies were broken.

Money at the root

The main reason for Georgia's resistance to "unilaterally disarming" its athletic program is money —enough to make Kemp's award seem paltry in comparison. Simply stated, star collegiate athletes in major conferences generate lots of money for their schools.

It's been estimated that basketball star Patrick Ewing brought $12 million in revenues to Georgetown University over his four-year stay. It should be pointed out that there has been no hint of any impropriety in the Georgetown program. In fact, of the first 37 players recruited by Georgetown basketball coach John Thompson, 34 graduated with their entering class.

Add to that revenues generated for the school by wealthy alumni and active booster clubs and you've got a megabuck industry that pumps dollars into athletic departments in schools across the country. It's a tough call for deans and university officials to tighten academic and eligibility standards with visions of greenbacks dancing in their heads.

Here are the elements supporting big-time sports: powerful alumni who hook up with powerful booster clubs pouring in money in return for tickets, usually the best seats in the house. Sometimes these glad-handing grads

get carried away and help the star athletes with jobs or allowances. In other instances, where public institutions are involved, state legislators get into the financial act—occasionally leaning on the recipient schools for tickets. Many observers also contend that the level of authorizations voted by legislators often reflects the success or failure of the state university's teams.

Washington Post social commentary writer Jonathan Yardley says: "These schools sell their souls along with their tickets when universities prostitute their academics for sports. It borders on the criminal."

Give boosters the boot

Yardley has been an outspoken critic of the collegiate sports system and says that violations abound at the Division I level, which includes most major collegiate athletic programs. Not every violation involves football and basketball at universities with national reputations for their sports programs. Yardley says that wrestling and lacrosse, for instance, have their share of abuses, as do the sports programs at Ivy League schools. Although not as flagrant in its indiscretions as other conferences, the Ivies, Yardley believes, also "find ways to bring the athletes in."

Is there a clear-cut answer to these academic and moral problems spotlighted by the Jan Kemp case? Yardley says yes there is, if major universities are willing to abandon all of their big-time sports programs. He agrees that intercollegiate sports are fun, healthy, and a valuable experience for anyone seriously pursuing a college education. They should satisfy athletes' desires to throw, kick, dribble, bat, or wrestle his or her way through school.

Yardley believes that Division II and III schools, as well as the Ivies for the most part, have the issue more in perspective. He therefore supports the concept of placing all collegiate sports under *academic* control. That would mean no alumni financial support and *no boosters.* Under this system, the athletic department would receive money from student fees and gate receipts, but athletes would report directly to the college provost, dean, or president. As for tutoring athletes, Yardley says it shouldn't happen. He would insist that athletes meet the standard academic requirements before being enrolled in the school.

Davison insisted that Georgia could not afford to "disarm unilaterally" unless its sporting foes also laid down their arms and no longer allowed athletes to stay in school despite academic records far below average.

How long would it take to implement these sweeping changes in the fabric of collegiate athletics? Yardley says not very much time at all. The NCAA simply has to vote the changes and enforce them and the deed would be done.

The NCAA did make a recent change designed to tighten admission rules. It now requires freshmen to have a combined SAT score of 700 (out of a possible 1600) and a 2.0 high school grade point average. Ironically, former University of Georgia president Davison was one of the leaders in the effort to establish these stan-

R. MACKSON/FPG

One proposal that has been put forth suggests that student athletes in universities with big-time programs be paid for their services as employees of the school.

R. MACKSON/FPG

The pressure of games, practices, long road trips plus a 15-hour course load each semester often leaves student athletes too tired to study effectively.

dards. NCAA rule enforcement has always been a problem because of inadequate resources. It remains to be seen how and whether these new requirements will be enforced and followed.

The change by the NCAA follows a national trend toward the tightening of academic eligibility requirements for participation in athletics. In Texas, the "no pass, no play" rule for high school students at first created a storm of protest, but now folks in the Lone Star State are all playing by the new rules. Other jurisdictions around the country have also adopted similar policies.

Elements of racism

Jan Kemp said that most athletes she met at Georgia thought they'd leave school with two things: a diploma and a pro contract. In truth, the vast majority of graduating players never sign with a pro team; in general, athletes, black ones in particular, do not come away with a sheepskin. A 1984 survey by *The Macon* [Georgia] *Telegraph & News* revealed that only 17 percent of black football players and only 4 percent of black basketball players have received degrees at Georgia over the previous 10 years. Georgia is not alone in this regard. Memphis State, a perennial basketball power, did not graduate a single black basketball player during the same period.

Do these tutorial and remedial programs, slack academic standards, and favors or money offers have their roots in racism? At the University of Georgia, blacks compose just under five percent of the student population. You'd never know this was the percentage by looking at its teams. Every starter on this year's basketball team is black, as is 60 percent of the football team. These figures obviously do not mean that blacks can go to a decent school only if they can toss a football or dribble and shoot a basketball. The low graduation figures for black athletes, though, do suggest that the University of Georgia may have lower academic expectations of them.

If, however, star athletes, black or white, think they are in school to win games rather than to "ace" courses, will they even *try* to crack the books as hard as they crack their opponents? Sam Nunn, the senior senator from Georgia, says "athletes can't feel they are so special they don't have to study. While athletes are often entitled to special help because of the hours they spend practicing, they've got to make the grade like everybody else."

But Nunn doesn't think people should point fingers only at the University of Georgia. He argues that, "if you search very deeply, you would find that similar situations exist in other places" and that "people ought to be doing some self-examination rather than finger pointing."

Are schools doing athletes a favor by lowering the burdens of admission and course work for them? After all, student athletes should rightfully be *students* first —qualifying under the same set of standards the rest of the class must meet in order to be admitted to the school. John Thompson, coach of Georgetown's basketball team, thinks that colleges are saddled with a problem that stems from elementary and secondary schools.

Thompson believes that many students do not have even average reading and writing skills, and therfore should not be allowed to graduate from *high school* let alone be admitted to college. Thompson's comment about athletes in the Georgia remedial program: "It wasn't a coach who passed these kids from grades one through six when they weren't able to read."

Many academic advisers are recommending that star athletes reevaluate their goals. They urge athletes to be more realistic about the education they will need for life after college. The implication is that too many of them go after the brass ring of a pro contract only to wind up with a handful of air. In exchange for winning help on the playing field, colleges promise them help in the classroom. But this "help" isn't always enough to enable them to graduate, or sometimes, as in the case of Georgia, they are allowed to pass when they should have failed. Universities are not doing their athletes any favors through this system; one may argue that this in fact amounts to exploitation by the school.

Too tired to study

One bad apple does not the whole bushel make. Take the University of Virginia, for example, a school with high academic standards, good sports teams, and a clean athletic record.

John Bonvillian is the director of undergraduate studies and an associate professor of psychology there. He taught former All-American Ralph Sampson, who now plays for the Houston Rockets; Jeff Lamp of the San Antonio Spurs; Rick Carlisle of the 1986 World Champion Boston Celtics; and other star athletes while they attended the university. All graduated on time and while all did not necessarily make the top grades, they attended class regularly, did the work, and passed their courses.

But Bonvillian has a different story to tell about some second-string players and men and women athletes in nonrevenue producing sports (such as lacrosse and tennis)—athletes who never get a crack at a pro career. According to him, these student athletes get caught between a rock and a hard place, spending too much time practicing their sports and not enough time studying to prepare for a career and the future. Bonvillian says that "sports are no longer serving the students well —not when they have to practice four hours a day, [and] take day trips and weeklong trips for tournaments."

Add to that the burden of a legitimate 15-credit course load per semester and you get a basketball player who may become a basket case. Although over 90 percent of Virginia's athletes graduate within five years, Bonvillian maintains that their cumulative grade point averages frequently take a beating during their sports seasons. "Students who have 2.5 averages while playing sports have 3.3s during the off-season," he says. One former pre-med student he remembers also played football. He was a 3.0 student when playing and a 4.0 student when not. This individual has just received his M.D.

The big problem for those athletes with no NBA or NFL careers ahead of them is that, like the stars, they usually opt for less demanding courses during their sports season because, Bonvillian says, they are "just too tired" after a day's practice to hit the books. He believes this "hinders them in life because they choose not to take the more rigorous courses that are optimal for them." The way out of this no-win situation, he says, involves lots of counseling for student athletes and sometimes may require them to give up sports to pursue their academic courses.

Chambers has introduced legislation which would require that University of Nebraska football players be considered state employees and, as employees, receive a salary of $12,000 each year they play.

Paying by the rules

There's a state senator in Nebraska who has taken a dramatically different approach to what he sees as the problem of exploiting athletes. For the past five years, he has tried to rewrite state laws to protect them. Sen. Ernest Chambers characterizes student athletes as nothing more than "slaves." He says "they are accepted at colleges for their bodies and athletic skills, used by the schools, and discarded after their four years are up."

Chambers, himself a former high school athlete, has introduced legislation which would require that University of Nebraska football players be considered state employees and, as employees, receive a salary of $12,000 each year they play.

Chambers cites five reasons these athletes "deserve" to be paid:

1. They generate a considerable amount of money for their school.
2. They have many restrictions

The big problem for those athletes with no NBA or NFL careers ahead of them is that, like the stars, they usually opt for less demanding courses during their sports season because they are "just too tired" after a day's practice to hit the books.

placed on them, making it a violation to take cash.

3. They put in a tremendous amount of time promoting their sport or traveling or playing. This time is apart from time spent in class or studying.

4. They risk injury and even death and are often forced to play with pain. Some of the painkillers given them cause them to become addicted to drugs.

5. They cannot enter professional sports until their college eligibility is exhausted, which means four to five years.

Although the salary would help the athletes as they punt and tackle their way through school, Chambers admits it won't help them a whit after school is out. They make it through college on their brawn, not brains, and Chambers feels it's a shame that they are so poorly prepared for life.

Nebraska has the reputation of running a generally clean athletic program. Chambers doesn't buy that line for a minute. "To keep up with the competition, Nebraska has to do what the competition does," and according to Chambers that includes cash payments, cars, student jobs, etc. He says contracts with the athletes would simply bring their under-the-table payments out in the open and legitimize the entire situation.

In summing it all up, he says he wants to change the present situation, in which "the coach is traveling first class and the first-class players are traveling coach."

What is the future of Chambers' bill? He doesn't think it will make it through the legislature, but he believes that if the bill ever did pass, the NCAA would make Nebraska ineligible to compete, and state legislators would never let that happen.

Heroine or heretic

Jan Kemp made waves at Georgia, and there is no doubt that the university's academic credibility, as well as that of the athletic department and booster club was battered by the incident. Is this case likely to remain a personal vendetta that arose out of personal frustration, or is it likely to have a major impact on the college athletes and athletic programs everywhere?

The *Post*'s Yardley calls Kemp a heroine, someone who summoned real courage in order to tackle Georgia's "good ol' boy" system. Because Kemp was a woman, school officials may have felt it would be easier to toss her aside. In Kemp, the school got more than it bargained for.

Dick Dull, athletic director at the University of Maryland, which consistently fields successful football and basketball teams, contends that Kemp was neither heroine nor heretic. Dull believes that she was merely doing her job by calling attention to the wrongdoing at her school. He says rules violations bother him. Booster clubs should not call the plays involving star athletes, and athletes should live with the general student population, not in specially sanctioned athlete dorms.

Dull believes there are "clean" sports programs and points to his own school, Maryland, as a shining example of an athletic record unblemished by any scandals. Regarding the money funneled into sports programs, he says virtually all the revenues generated by Maryland Terrapin sports teams are sunk back into the university athletic program.

Kemp says her fight was really a battle to straighten out the overemphasis on college sports. She sees so many athletes sucked into a system where they literally become trapped and victimized —given an easy time but not an education, allowed to play sports that serve to benefit the university, and then spit out unprepared for life after college and after competitive athletics.

For four years these stars are nurtured by applause and cheers, part-time jobs, back-slapping, and passing grades; but when the cheering stops and the crowds fade, Kemp says, "they are left with nothing." Kemp was left with $680,000, her old job back, and a new level of understanding of the nature of college athletics in this country, thanks to her battle with the Bulldog.■

Risë Jill Miller, a free-lance broadcast journalist, is currently working with Sunrise Communications and The Broadcast Group in Washington, D.C.

MICHAEL D. JONES/THE WORLD & I

Voice of America commentators Zhanna Vladimirskaya, left, and Bronislaw Mirkowski during Russian-language broadcasts: Pravda *has accused VOA of "psychological warfare" against socialist states.*

'TERRORISM OF THE AIRWAVES' AS STATE POLICY

by Mihajlo Mihajlov

On October 11, the European Parliament condemned the jamming of Western radio stations by the governments of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. A resolution passed by the parliament condemned jamming as a breach of human rights, a violation of the Helsinki Accords, and an extension of the Cold War that is inimical to détente.

One speaker at the parliament said the jamming of radio broadcasts was aimed at silencing any information from outside that contradicted the official propaganda of the Communist party, and compared jamming with "piracy and even terrorism of the airwaves."

At the Budapest Cultural Forum on November 8, six Western countries—the United States, Britain, France, Canada, Holland, and Belgium—sponsored a proposal calling for an end to the jamming of foreign radio broadcasts. The proposal called on the 35 states that signed the 1975 Helsinki Accords to remove all restrictions on the right of citizens to choose their sources of broadcast information.

Thus, the problem of the free flow of ideas and information has once again become an issue in current East-West affairs. However, the European Parliament resolution, as well as that proposed at the Budapest Cultural Forum, will have no effect on the decades-long jamming practice carried on by the Soviet Union and the majority of its allies. The reason for this is simple: Until now, the Soviet Union and other jammers have signed several resolutions, declarations, and conventions that clearly prohibit radio-jamming, but have not changed their practice.

The establishment of an electronic curtain against the Western world does not reflect so much the state of current East-West relations as it does the na-

The problem of the free flow of ideas and information has once again become an issue in current East-West affairs.

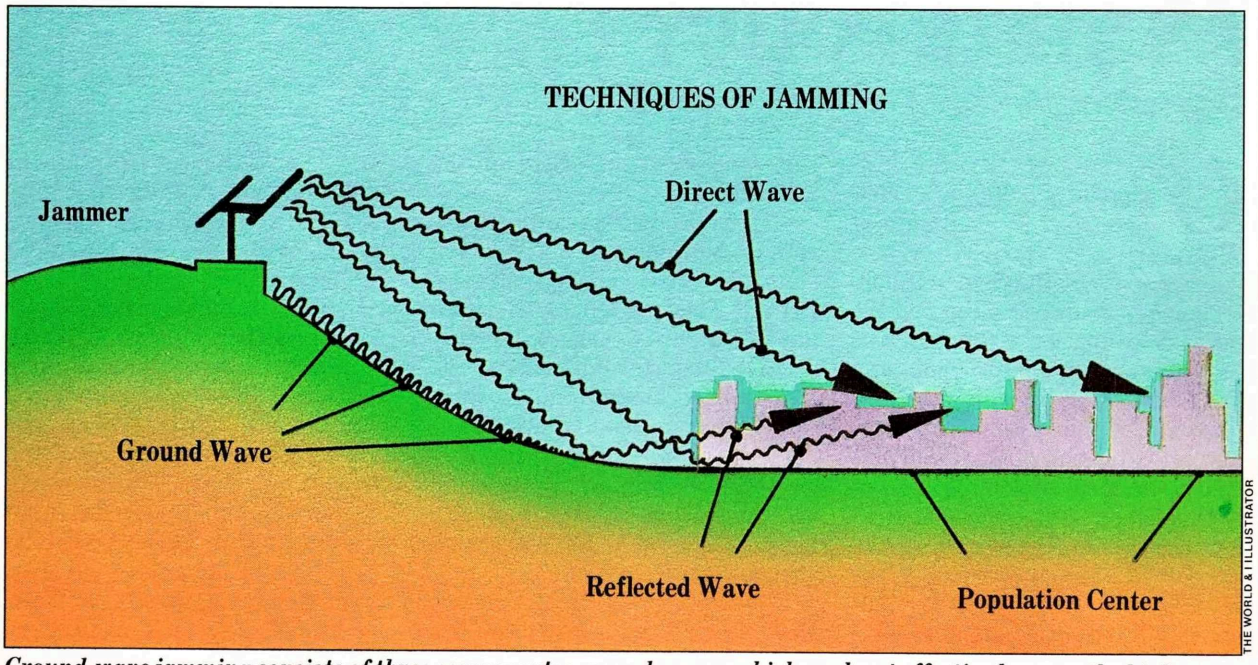
ture of communist societies. It is more difficult in these modern times to keep a monopoly of power without maintaining a monopoly of information. Historically, jamming appeared as weapon of warfare some 70 years ago, and it continues to be an element of warfare, whether the Cold War or a real war. The jamming of foreign radio broadcasts is an inevitable component of a totalitarian society, as is the absence of human rights, the Berlin Wall, "doublethinking," etc. If one day jamming should disappear from our world, it would signify that major changes had occurred in the communist world and that the threat of global conflict between the two types of societies had been radically reduced.

At present it would be possible to stop jamming if Western radio stations would agree to be censored by the Soviets, in much the same way as it would be possible to destroy the Berlin Wall if West Germany would agree to deport all those who escaped from East Germany.

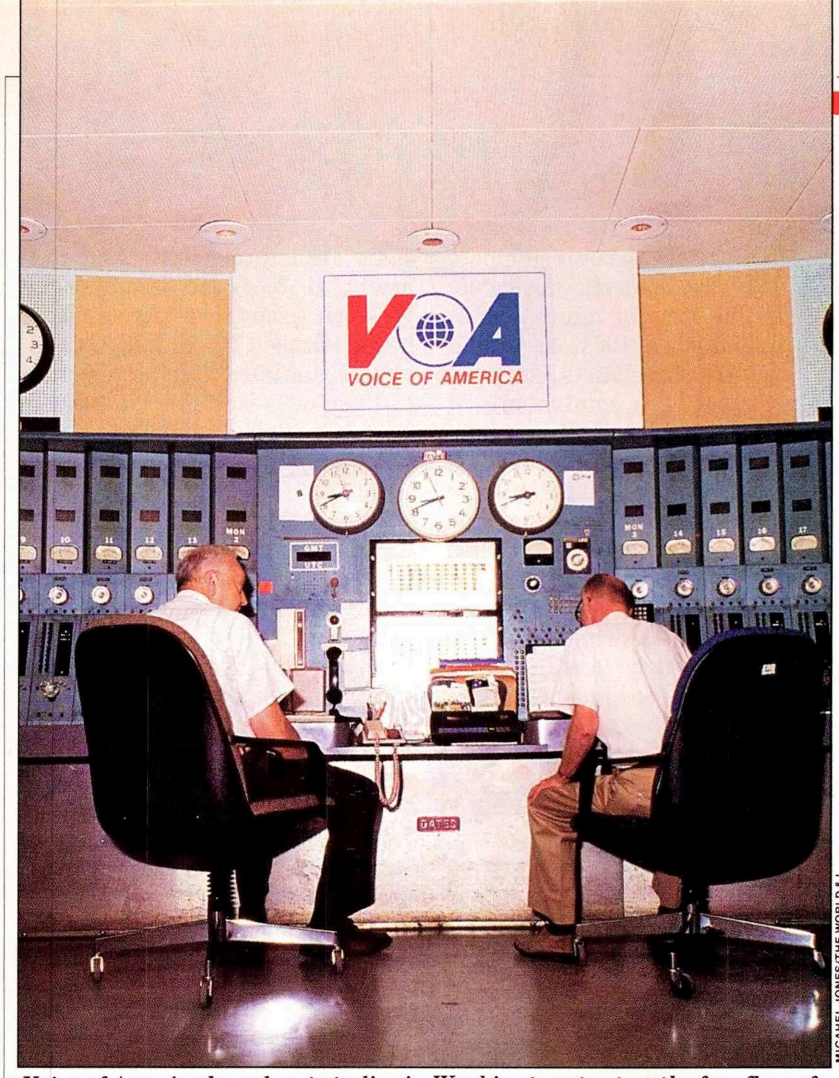
Like all other means of enslavement, jamming has a limited effect. Every time East Europeans listen to Western broadcasts through the noise of jamming, they are reminded that they are being deprived of their freedom. Also, "jamming may make it easier to distort the truth by restricting the information available to the listener, but it cannot change the truth."

Brief history of jamming

The first known case of jamming occurred during World War I, when the Germans tried to block telegraphic communication between Paris and St. Petersburg. After the war, in 1926 the Romanian government jammed Radio Moscow broadcasts to listeners in the province of Bessarabia (later Soviet Moldavia). In fact, this is the only case of broadcasts from the Soviet Union ever being jammed by a noncommunist country. This brings to mind an amusing story about Vladimir Lenin,who was afraid the capitalist world would try to prevent the influence of socialism by using all kinds of jamming, censorship, and bans, and that



Ground-wave jamming consists of three components: ground waves, which are least effective because the higher their frequency, the shorter the distance the signal travels; and direct waves and reflected waves, which are more effective and generally reach to the radio horizon. Usually jammer antennas are placed on higher elevations to reach a wider urbanized area. In some cases the jamming signals are enhanced because the total signal is the sum of both the direct and reflected waves.



MICAHEL JONES/THE WORLD & I

Voice of America broadcast studios in Washington: to stem the free flow of ideas from the West to the East, the Soviet Union has often resorted to jamming radio signals.

Until now, the Soviet Union and other jammers have signed several resolutions, declarations, and conventions that clearly prohibit radio-jamming, but they have not changed their practice.

the Soviet Union would have a very difficult problem with masses of emigrants trying to escape capitalist exploitation.

During World War II, the Axis countries used jamming to block British broadcasts to the continent, but the BBC refused to do the same to German broadcasts. The British rationale for this was classical and is still applicable: "Jamming is an admission of a bad cause. The jammer has a bad conscience. He is afraid of the influence of the truth. In our country we have no such fears."

With the beginning of the Cold War in 1948, Stalin started jamming BBC and Voice of America (VOA) broadcasts. Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL) were jammed from their initial broadcasts. Later, some of the East European countries stopped jamming RFE—Romania in 1963 and Hungary in 1964. Poland did not jam Western radio stations from 1956 through 1970, at which time labor riots took place in the Baltic area. The Soviet Union did not jam BBC, VOA, and other Western radio stations, except Radio Liberty, from 1973 until August 1980, when Solidarity appeared in Poland. The Soviet Union is also jamming broadcasts by Albania, China, and Israel targeted at Soviet listeners. Bulgaria is jamming Italy and the Vatican; the Iraqis jam Israel and Iran.

Jamming, in a manner of thinking, is a type of war, and there is no doubt that, historically speaking, the jammer is always the aggressor. The observer of oscillation in jamming may come to the conclusion that the most important reason for the renewal of jamming is an internal crisis within the communist world. The relations with the West are of secondary importance. Over the years every internal crisis in Eastern Europe has been followed by reinforcement of jamming; the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in Poland in 1970 and 1976 were immediately accompanied by an electronic curtain that gave the communists in power a broad stage for domestic propaganda. Very often, some East European state gives "brotherly help" by jamming outside broadcasts to an "especially threatened" country. The Soviet Union did this for Poland in 1980, after the introduction of martial law by General

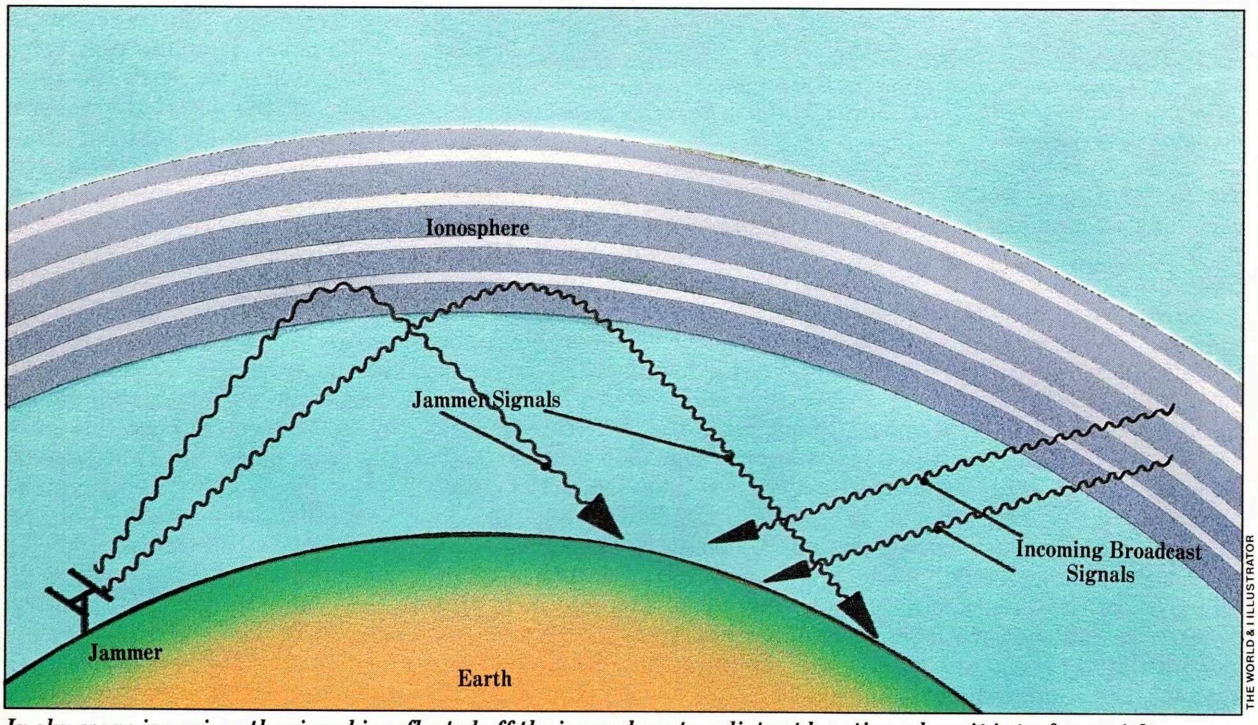
At present it would be possible to stop jamming if Western radio stations would agree to be censored by the Soviets, in much the same way as it would be possible to destroy the Berlin Wall if West Germany would agree to deport all those who escaped from East Germany.

Jaruzelski, and for Czechoslovakia in 1981.

Although the Soviet Union and its allies are not the only jammers (China is also one), the world center of this type of aggression is the Kremlin. In 1971, according to Western specialists, the Soviets spent the equivalent of about $300 million (U.S.) on jamming. This was six times the entire cost of their international broadcasting. At present Moscow spends an estimated $700 million to $1.4 billion annually, or about one billion kilowatt-hours of energy, on jamming. This would be sufficient, as was mentioned at the European Parliament, to produce 375,000 trucks, 500,000 tractors, or 11 million tons of cement.

At the same time, Radio Moscow is the Soviet Union's largest international broadcast operation. Moscow's international broadcasting is on the air 2,023 hours a week in over 60 languages, including English broadcasts around-the-clock. And naturally, it faces no jamming by Western countries. Aside from being jammed by China, the Soviets sometimes become a victim of their own jamming, ironically, because Soviet jamming transmitters obliterate a wide spectrum of frequencies that may include their international broadcasts. But the Soviet Union is ready to pay even this price in order to prevent its own citizens from listening to uncensored information and ideas.

Fortunately, despite some 3,000 jamming stations and millions of dollars, jamming has never been a totally successful business. First of all, one frequency has been deliberately left unjammed to allow the jammers to hear what the other side is saying. Secondly, during some periods of the day it is possible to drive out of



In sky-wave jamming, the signal is reflected off the ionosphere to a distant location where it interferes with incoming radio broadcast signals. Sky-wave jamming is used primarily in rural and suburban areas, as well as smaller population centers that do not have their own local jamming network.

the cities into the surrounding countryside and listen to foreign radio broadcasts because groundwave jamming, which is most effective in heavily populated areas but cannot jam the range of broadcasts that sky-wave jammers can, is not used in rural areas.

Violations of international laws

This is a brief list of international documents violated by the Soviets' jamming operations:

1. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 1948;
2. United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966;
3. Article 48 of the Montreux International Telecommunications Convention;
4. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation on Europe held in Helsinki, of which the free exchange of information is a cornerstone;
5. Resolution on Harmful Interference to Radio Broadcasts from January 1984, by the World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC). Resolution is numbered COM 5/1;
6. Finally, in 1950, the United Nations General Assembly passed (49 against 5 votes) a resolution specifically directed against jamming.

The Soviet Union has tried several times to legalize radio and future television jamming. In August 1972 then-Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko presented a draft resolution to the UN General Assembly that made the relaying of television programs to other sovereign states illegal without the clearly expressed consent of the receiving country. This "jammer charter" did not pass the General Assembly. In 1980, after jamming of the BBC and VOA (as well as a few other Western radio stations) was resumed, *Pravda* on September 23 attacked the idea that jamming was against the principles of the 1975 Helsinki European Security and Cooperation Accords, which included pledges to increase the flow of information. *Pravda* stated that broadcasts by the U.S.-financed Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, in particular, were aimed at subverting the communist system and that therefore jamming them was justified. According to *Pravda,* the Voice of America, BBC, and the Deutsche Welle were also engaged in "psychological warfare" against socialist countries. *Pravda* concluded that such activities were incompatible with the Final Act signed in Helsinki.

In general, it may be said that the Soviets have consistently defined freedom of information as the right of a sovereign state to bar subversive ideas from its people. Like all dictatorships in recent history, the Soviets proclaim that they shall not permit anybody to interfere in their "internal affairs," or as General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev recently stated in France: "We will not accept any dictate what we shall do."

Sometimes Soviet explanations concerning jamming are really very sophisticated (if not ridiculous). In defending its postwar activities before the United Nations, the Soviet Union once went as far as to claim that jamming protects the West from the negative reactions of Soviet citizens to the untruths being broadcast about their country.

Every time East Europeans listen to Western broadcasts through the noise of jamming, they are reminded that they are being deprived of their freedom.

Conclusion

Totalitarian societies are based on the manipulation of human minds, and this is a basic reason why the monopoly of information and ideas is so crucial for the "stability" of totalitarian states. Under such circumstances there is little hope that the Soviet Union and its allies will stop jamming Western broadcasts, whatever any international agreement (also signed by the Soviets) may request. Only deep changes in the nature and structure of East European society may lead to an end of the jamming practice.

Technological progress may lead to a point where jamming will become impossible. Unfortunately, progress in jamming techniques can also be expected. Thus, jamming may be considered a most significant problem for our times—the times of global confrontation between two dominant types of societies today: democratic and totalitarian.■

Mihajlo Mihajlov is a Yugoslav scholar and author of Underground Notes, *among other works. He has lived in the West since 1978 and is currently a special analyst for Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty concerning ideological and intellectual affairs in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.*

Commentary

PHOTRI

LOST OPPORTUNITIES FROM CHERNOBYL

by Rosalyn S. Yalow

The secretive Soviet handling of information about the Chernobyl reactor accident regrettably prevents the scientific world from participating in what would have been an important learning experience concerning reactor safety and radiation biology.

The failure of the Soviets to have provided details about the design of the reactor, the nature of the containment vessel, if any, the cause of the violent explosion, and the precipitating episode makes it difficult to determine whether the accident holds any lessons for American reactors.

However, of even greater concern to me is that this very unfortunate accident could have permitted an enormous increase in our knowledge in the field of ra-

diation biology: the immediate and long-term consequences associated with exposure to radiation at different doses and dose rates.

Much of what we have learned about late radiation effects in humans has come from the Hiroshima–Nagasaki experience. Even now, 40 years afterward, attempts are being made to recalculate the acute radiation doses received by the 82,000 survivors. Certainly, retrospective analysis could never provide the accurate dosimetry that would now be possible if one could study the population in the environs of the Chernobyl reactor.

Based on the studies of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission (ABCC) and its successor, the Radiation Effects Research Foundation (RERF), it has been estimated that, added to the 4,500 cancer deaths normally expected through 1978 among the Japanese survivors had they not received radiation from the bomb, there were only 250 extra cancer deaths that could be attributed to their mean external radiation dose of about 25 rem (250 times natural yearly background radiation).

When effects are so small, the addition of new information with accurate dosimetry and prospective follow-up of the exposed population would be highly significant.

Although the Soviets have not been communicative, it is obvious that a substantial group received exposures in the 400–1,000 rem range or they would not have been chosen for bone marrow transplantation.

Follow-up studies needed

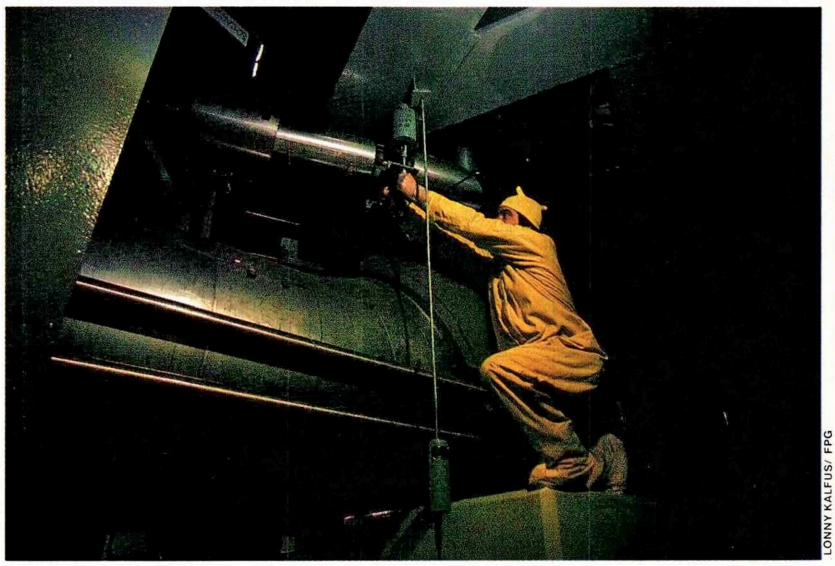
Did the USSR have the facilities to determine the radiation doses and dose rates of the many thousands obviously exposed to levels lower than the lethal range but still greatly in excess of natural background? Newspaper and television pictures of residents being scanned with Geiger counters are not convincing evidence of plans for systematic dosage determinations. Are they prepared for follow-up studies, such as those carried out by the ABCC and the RERF over the past 40 years, which could enormously enhance our knowledge of the effects of internal and external radiation doses delivered at different dose rates?

What were the numbers and species of animals that were also exposed? What immediate and late radiation effects will be observed among them as well?

It would be a tragic loss of knowledge, important to the entire world, if the Soviets have not performed the essential dose determinations and if they are not prepared to perform the needed follow-up studies and to publish this information. From the reports reaching the outside world there is not even a hint that the Soviets have considered such a study. Perhaps they were not equipped to do so—but if so, why did they not call on the international scientific community for assistance?

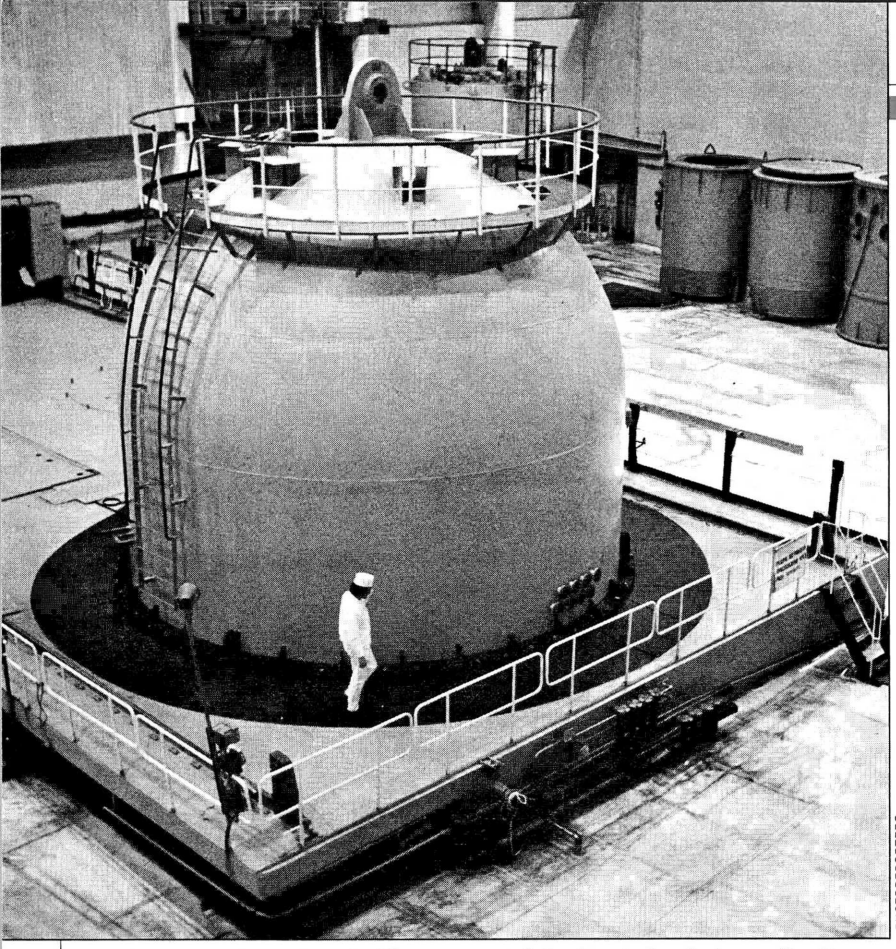
The publicity associated with Dr. Robert Gale's involvement in bone marrow transplantation is no substitute for the apparent failure to have dealt appropriately with the substantive health issues raised by the reactor accident.

A most likely explanation for what would appear to be the reluctance of the Soviets to perform



LONNY KALFUS/ FPG

On facing page, a graphite reactor at Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Right, the emergency core cooling system at the Salem nuclear plant in New Hampshire. Soviet secrecy about the Chernobyl accident makes it difficult to determine whether the accident holds any lessons for American reactors.



PHOTOREPORTERS

The Soviet nuclear plant in Novovoronetch is situated only two miles from the city of 27,000 and 30 miles from the major city of Voronetch, with a population of 800,000.

Newspaper and television pictures of residents being scanned with Geiger counters are not convincing evidence of plans for systematic dosage determinations.

such studies is their failure to be honest with their own people concerning radiation-related effects and the possible harm done to them by carelessness with nuclear power and nuclear waste. After all, neither the Soviet people nor the outside world ever did learn what happened as a result of the 1957 devastation of a large region in the Urals, presumably due to a chemical explosion involving nuclear waste from weapons production.

The world first learned about the Chernobyl accident on the morning of April 28, when personnel at a Swedish power station measured increasing amounts of radioactivity on people entering the plant. The Swedes, suspecting that the radioactivity was coming from the USSR, asked for information—and the Soviets promptly denied responsibility for any emission of radioactive material. Later that night a Tass report stating that there had been an accident at the Chernobyl plant still did not mention radioactive emissions. Since this was more than a day after high government officials knew that the accident was serious enough to have required evacuation of tens of thousands of people from the environs, what was the purpose in not disclosing the extensive release of radioactivity from the damaged reactor?

Swedish radiation monitoring has also suggested that since 1983 there may have been as many as three unreported releases of radioactivity from the Soviet Union, perhaps from reactor accidents. Did these releases occur? If so, were they from other than nuclear power reactors?

Arms control implications

The critical unanswered questions relate to the potential effect of such secretive behavior on arms control. Assurances that arms control agreements are being kept depend on verification —and verification ultimately will require some degree of on-site inspection. It cannot be limited solely to satellites, which can be deceived. After all, satellites can at best detect launchers—not missiles.

The Soviet Union's failure to permit even representatives of the International Atomic Energy Agency to visit the site of an accident at what is presumably a civilian power reactor raises important questions concerning whether they would ever permit the on-site verification necessary for an arms agreement.

Reports of the accident itself are not consistent with the claim that the Chernobyl reactor was functioning only as a civilian pow-

er reactor. Why was there a surge at a reactor presumably functioning at a small fraction of peak power? What were the experiments allegedly taking place at the time of the accident? Before the Chernobyl accident no one had died as a result of radiation exposure at a civilian nuclear power plant any place in the world. Perhaps that statement is still true, if at the time of the accident it was not functioning as a civilian power reactor.

An atmosphere of secrecy is not conducive to the trust necessary for the development of arms control agreements that would be satisfactory to both parties. The new openness that General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev was supposed to project would appear not to be consistent with his handling of this episode.

The world reaction

Although we fault the Soviets for having been secretive about the Chernobyl accident, the international community was not organized to collect and analyze the information on the radiation monitoring that was being gathered in many nations. As a result, people around the world were unnecessarily frightened concerning possible deleterious effects on health.

That radioactivity is measurable does not mean it represents a hazard. American tourists are afraid to take a two-week vacation in Europe although their cumulative radiation exposure arising from Chernobyl reactor fallout would be considerably less than the increased radiation exposure due to cosmic rays on the

An atmosphere of secrecy is not conducive to the trust necessary for the development of arms control agreements that would be satisfactory to both parties.

The development of nuclear power in the United States lags far behind its use as a source of electricity in France, other Western European countries, and Japan.

MARTIN ROGERS/FPG

round-trip flight to Europe. Americans were also reported to have purchased various forms of iodine, presumably to protect against radioiodine intake. However, the probability of adverse health effects from unnecessary iodine intake greatly exceeds any potential harm from the insignificant radioiodine fallout in the United States.

One cannot help but wonder whether the decisions in Western Europe to ban the import of agricultural products from Eastern Europe were based on radiation-monitoring data or on political and economic motivations.

Let us hope that, when the turmoil associated with this accident does die down, the international scientific community will be able to reconstruct the patterns of fallout and the radiation exposures both outside and inside the Soviet bloc countries.

The Chernobyl reactor accident does not change the fact that the world is becoming increasingly dependent on nuclear power for the production of electricity.

U.S. lags behind

The Chernobyl reactor accident does not, however, change the fact that the world is becoming increasingly dependent on nuclear power for the production of electricity. France obtains two-thirds of its electricity from nuclear reactors, and several other Western European countries are not far behind. Japan depends on nuclear reactors for one-fourth of its electricity.

The United States, where it all began, will continue to lag far behind, since we have not been able to overcome the nuclear phobia that pervades our country.

The Chernobyl accident may well prove to be a disaster for the American nuclear power industry. No new nuclear power plants have been ordered since the Three Mile Island accident, and it is unlikely that any will be ordered for many years. Public concerns with the safety of American nuclear plants may well prevent at least some of the almost completed reactors from ever going on-line. The American public will not be well served if this indeed occurs.

Although most scientists continue to support the nuclear option, television reporters and producers are generally opposed. Unfortunately, the American public is educated on this issue not by informed scientists but by the alarmist media. Nonetheless, by the turn of the century, as our need for increased electricity-generating capacity becomes urgent, as concerns with the environmental effects of coal increase, and as the price of oil again skyrockets, we will be forced to return to the nuclear option.

There is no doubt that the nuclear power industry in the United States has suffered from the failure to standardize reactors. Lack of standardization has enormously complicated the problems of licensing. In the interim before we return to the nuclear option, we should attempt to optimize and standardize reactor design. Is the recently tested sodium-cooled experimental breeder reactor designed at Argonne National Laboratory inherently safer than the reactors currently employed? What other options are available in reactor design that should be considered?

Important as are the questions associated with our wise use of nuclear power, even more critical is the broader and more fundamental problem of whether we will continue to have and to enhance sufficiently our scientific and technological expertise to innovate, develop, and compete in the production and management of high-technology systems. The fact that half of the doctoral students in American engineering schools are nonresident aliens—a proportion that is increasing each year—raises the question as to whether in the year 2000 our needed nuclear reactors will have to be imported along with the engineers required to operate them.

Our failure to produce sufficient scientists and engineers foretells a general decline in American technological preeminence. Our nation must initiate, without delay, changes in attitude to prevent so disastrous a decline.■

Rosalyn Yalow is a nuclear physicist whose work on nuclear medicine won her the Nobel Prize for physiology or medicine in 1977. She is senior medical investigator at the Veterans Administration Medical Center in the Bronx, N.Y.

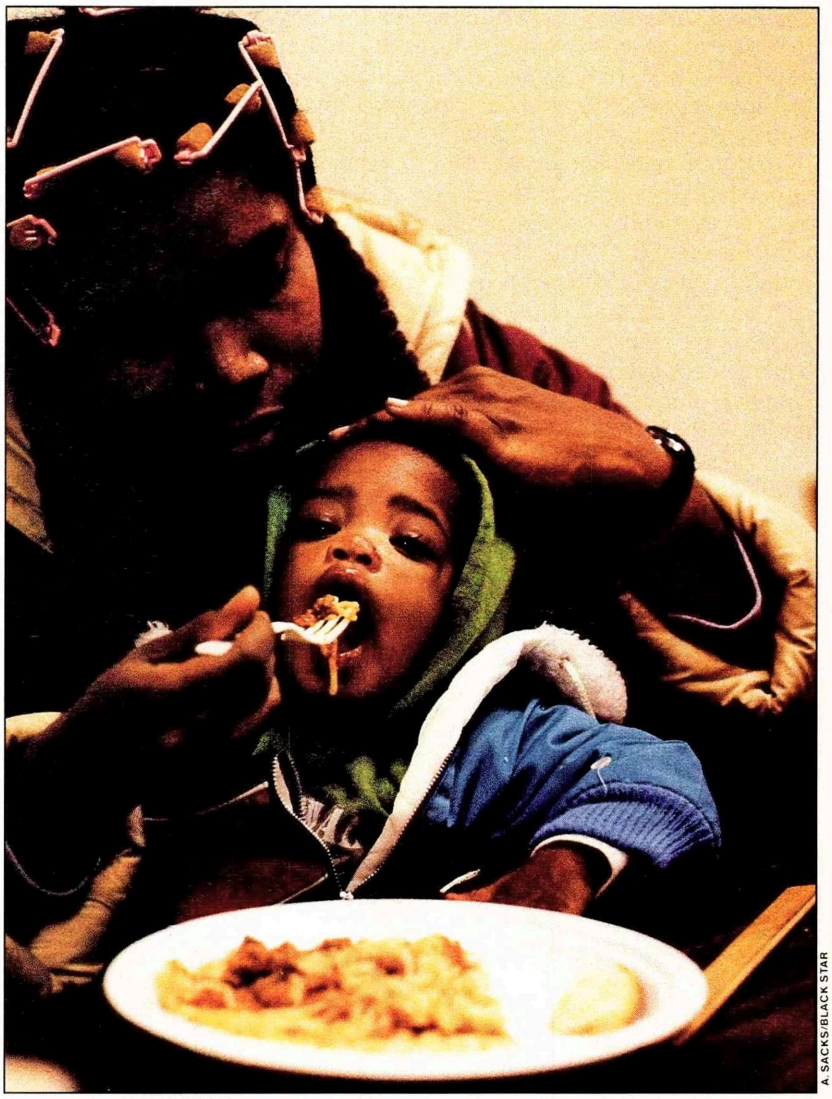
HOLDING HANDS AGAINST HUNGER: HOW AMERICANS WERE CONNED

by S. Anna Kondratas

Americans joined hands across the continent on May 25 to draw attention to what the sponsors of the event referred to as the problem of "millions" going hungry in this country. It has been suggested that there may be as many as 20 million "hungry" Americans. The organizers of Hands Across America even claimed on network television that "there is widespread hunger and famine in America."

There are no facts to substantiate this assertion. To the contrary, in the late 1970s scientific studies reported that hunger and malnutrition because of lack of income were not a problem in the United States; only isolated cases of it remained. Since then, federal spending on food programs has gone up, not down. A greater proportion of the poverty population is receiving food stamps today than ever before. Indeed, one in 10 Americans is a food stamp recipient. Supplementary private-sector food assistance also is expanding rapidly. And food costs comprise a smaller proportion of personal income than five years ago, while per capita caloric consumption is up.

So what would explain rising hunger? Nothing. The truth is that there is no reason to believe the problem is any worse now than it was in the late 1970s, and the likelihood is that it has improved. Moreover, the degree of hunger in the United States is comparatively tiny, and persistent hunger is related more to dietary ignorance than to lack of federal assistance. The perception of widespread hunger is rooted in



A. SACKS/BLACK STAR

Private efforts to aid the hungry need not be seen as a sign that the government's safety net is inadequate.

This article was originally written as a background paper for the Heritage Foundation.

subjective, anecdotal impression, based on isolated and unrepresentative cases.

The methodologies of the much-publicized studies that purported to "find" 20 million hungry Americans and to identify 150 "Hunger Counties" have been soundly discredited. Other studies, also given significant publicity, are based on equally questionable assumptions and shaky methodologies. One claim that the plight of the rural poor is worsening, for example, was based on 1976–1980 nutritional data. Political reports, such as that of the Conference of Mayors, frequently draw conclusions that the ambiguous and incomplete data presented cannot justify. "Field work" frequently consists of going to people's homes and looking in their refrigerators. When refrigerators are empty or nearly empty, individuals are deemed hungry even when they themselves deny it and there is no physical evidence of malnutrition. And even though it is clear that many of the poor really do have too little food, studies also show that many food stamp recipients do not spend all their incremental income solely on food. There is absolutely no credible evidence that hunger in America is either widespread or on the rise.

At the same time, there is no question that intractable pockets of poverty do remain. It is equally true that for many millions, the problem of providing adequate nutrition for their families is a daily concern. These problems should be addressed by the community and all levels of government. For Washington's part, there are several steps that could be taken to improve federal efforts to alleviate the misery of those who find themselves unable to acquire sufficient food. For one thing, Washington should improve the collection and dissemination of relevant nutritional data so that the nutritional status of the general population, including the poor, is not a matter of wild speculation. For another, Congress should continue to reform food assistance programs to ensure better targeting and use of available resources. And lawmakers should step up educational efforts on proper nutrition by coordinating the efforts of the relevant public and private health and educational organizations.

ANDREW POPPER/PICTURE GROUP

A greater proportion of the poor is receiving federal food stamps today than ever before.

Hunger or malnutrition?

Malnutrition is a clinical state easily measured by physicians. Hunger, on the other hand, is a subjective impression, which can be "measured" only by the person actually experiencing it. While this may seem patently obvious, the distinction is important, because different people understand different things by the word "hunger." This complicates policy-making on the issue. It is obviously not the feeling of hunger itself that is the proper focus of policy, because that feeling is experienced voluntarily by millions of dieting Americans every day. It is the association of hunger and poverty or the involuntary experience of prolonged hunger leading to malnutrition that should be of

concern.

This means that the strictly relevant policy questions are: What is the extent of malnutrition and health-threatening involuntary hunger in the United States? To what degree is such insufficient nutrition a function of income? What is the government doing to alleviate such hunger and what more could it be doing? And what are the limits of government intervention in terms of improving the nutrition of the poor?

A 1977 federal report on the status of children noted that "adequacy of nutrition in the United States is not primarily a problem of low income; true malnutrition is virtually nonexistent in this country. However, poor nutrition and poor nutritional habits are found in all income groups, and, over the years, have become perhaps typical for most segments of our society." The report concluded by noting that "good nutrition and diet are ultimately a family matter," dependent on family choice.

This conclusion is consistent with the independent analysis of data from the federal Ten State Nutrition Survey conducted in 1968–1970 before the massive federal involvement in food programs. Economists Dov Chernichovsky and Douglas Coate looked specifically at the effect of diet on children's growth in low-income households and came to the conclusion that, whatever else such families might have sacrificed, they generally provided adequate amounts of protein and calories for their children, based on indicators of physical growth. Moreover, they found no significant statistical relationship between income and food intake. Chernichovsky and Coate noted that known inadequacies in iron, vitamin A, and vitamin C in low-income children might be the result more of lack of nutritional information than of income. In fact, low-income households generally provided far more than the recommended levels of protein to their children, even though it is a relatively high-priced nutrient.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) has conducted dietary surveys for decades, known as the Household Food Consumption Survey. These surveys show that poor people are more likely to have poor diets than are higher income groups, but that poor nutrition is not simply a function of income and most of the poor manage to feed themselves adequately.

The USDA maintains that "diets of individuals are as good or better nutritionally now than in 1977." Indeed, in some respects there are indications that diets are improving. For instance, a comparison of the nutritional status of preschool children in an urban poverty area showed nutritional improvement over the period 1977–1983, in spite of the fact that family incomes declined over the same period.

Despite the data, hunger—together with homelessness—has been attracting attention, mainly because of the efforts of such groups as the self-appointed Physician Task Force on Hunger in America. Despite annual federal expenditures of $18.6 billion on food programs alone, this group claims that hunger is directly "the result of federal government policies." Such statements, however, do not rest on serious studies adhering to scientific standards, but on analyses with flawed methodology and conclusions not supported by the data.

Typical is the Physician Task Force's *Hunger in America, the Growing Epidemic,* published in 1985 by the Harvard University School of Public Health, which concluded that there are at least 20 million hungry Americans—individuals who do not have sufficient income to buy an adequate diet. Understandably, this shocking statistic was reported by the press around the world. The trouble is that the statistic bears no relation to fact. The study simply ignored the dietary surveys available to any analyst, which find that the majority of the poor have perfectly adequate diets, and that many nonpoor have inadequate ones.

The truth is that there is no reason to believe the problem of hunger is any worse now than it was in the late 1970s, and the likelihood is that it has improved.

The clear implication in the study was that the hunger "findings" were based on the field work of the physicians on the task force, many of whom had participated in a similar field study in the late 1970s. But field work had nothing to do with the method used to derive the number of supposedly hungry Americans. Dr. Larry Brown, the report's principal author, simply subtract-

ed food stamp recipients from the total poverty population in 1983 and added to that an arbitrary number of food stamp recipients deemed to have an insufficient diet. This was done on the dubious and unproved assumption that anyone below the official poverty line, but not on food stamps, must go hungry and that the food stamp allotment itself is inadequate for many.

That is shoddy scholarship, and it is dishonest. Using exactly the same methodology in 1979, for example, would result in the "finding" that 18 million were hungry that year. Yet the report contrasts the early 1980s with the late 1970s, noting that the 1977 field team "had reasons to believe that the hunger problem had virtually been eliminated; they took professional pleasure in our nation's having eradicated this dreadful problem." It would seem that the physicians might have noticed 18 million "hungry" people then, if 20 million are so evident now.

In short, *Hunger in America* is a tract that rails against inhumane bureaucracies, analyzes trends in unemployment and poverty, draws analogies between today's economic conditions and the Great Depression, and makes frequent references to the "mean-spirited" political climate created by the Reagan administration. But it fails to establish any cause-and-effect relationships between present economic policies and trends and the Task Force's supposed subject of study—hunger and malnutrition.

The Task Force's most recent effort, *Hunger Counties 1986,* is similarly flawed, purporting to determine where in America hunger is most prevalent. Once again, medical diagnosis was derived not from on-the-spot investigations and field studies but from economic data. The economic data, moreover, were not even relevant. When reporters traveled to the counties identified by the report as America's hungriest, they by and large found no evidence of hunger. More significant, a review by the nonpartisan General Accounting Office of the report's methodology concluded that "the study's overall methodological limitations are such as to cast general doubt on the study's results . . . . these methodological issues severely damage the credibility of the results of *Hunger Counties 1986.*"

MARK PERLSTEIN/PICTURE GROUP

This year, more than $19 billion will be spent on federal nutrition programs, an increase of more than $3 billion since 1981.

Other studies purportedly documenting hunger in America today suffer from similar limitations. For instance, a year-long study, culminating in a 146-page report on the nutritional status of the rural poor, *Rising Poverty, Declining Health,* claims to have found "ongoing deterioration of the nutritional status of the rural poor as well as growing gaps between their status and that of the rest of the nation." Moreover, says the study, "federal aid to rural Americans is shrinking. The result is a state of severely compromised nutritional status in rural America that grows worse daily." While the analysts use poverty data from 1983, they misleadingly combine it with 1976–1980 nutritional data from the Second National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES II), conducted by the National Center for Health Statistics. Moreover, they confuse "rural," "urban," "nonmetropolitan," and "metropolitan" categories to draw completely invalid conclusions about poverty rates. Many other data bases are mismatched throughout the study. Few of the report's conclusions can be supported by the data presented.

The United States Conference of Mayors report, "The Status of Hunger in Cities" (April 1985), is

similarly flawed. Its conclusions are based on surveys of their own urban food program directors. Even if those surveyed could put self-interest entirely aside, the survey provides useless data, which do not support its sweeping conclusions. Example: the report presumes that an increase in the number of emergency food assistance facilities means that hunger is rising. But it could mean just the opposite—that there is less hunger. If previously hungry people have access to food they did not formerly have, hunger then is falling. Nor can hunger be calculated from so-called turnaway data, the number of those seeking food who were "turned away" from food distribution outlets. If a turnaway, for example, goes to another pantry or soup kitchen and gets food, his need is not "unmet." Yet he is, in effect, double-counted in gauging demand in the manner that the mayors measured it.

Sometimes the self-interest of local officials and groups pleading on behalf of "the hungry" is transparent. A *New York Times* story described how one group assailed New York City school officials for "discouraging" students from participating in school meal programs by placing in their way "obstacles such as limited access to lunchrooms and a lack of publicity about the programs." The author of the group's report complained, "That $50 million [in potential federal reimbursements if all eligible students participated] translates into food that is not bought locally and jobs that are not there for local residents. As such, it is a loss to the city's economy." In other words, the students' nutritional needs were not the crucial factor. For the report's author, the purpose of federal food programs is to prop up an ailing city's economy.

There are dozens of such studies. And since officials, lawmakers, and the press rarely have either the background or the time to distinguish between serious work and flawed advocacy projects, the myth of worsening hunger flourishes. These studies, tragically, may discredit sincere and honest advocates of the poor, making the real problems of the poor more difficult to solve.

The federal role

The numbers game is only one part of the hunger myth. The second part asserts that changes in federal food policy since the late 1970s are largely responsible for the alleged but undocumented increase in hunger. An examination of the facts refutes this.

In fiscal 1981, the last budget year of the Carter administration, federal spending on food programs totaled $15.6 billion. By 1984, this had risen to $18.6 billion. This year, more than $19 billion will be spent on federal nutrition programs. The number of food stamp recipients, meanwhile, has climbed from 14.4 million in 1978, to 20.6 million in 1981, to approximately 21 million last year.

There is little indication that recent policy changes have significantly affected the hunger picture. A comprehensive two-volume study by scholars at the Urban Institute, *The Effects of Legislative Changes in 1981 and 1982 on the Food Stamp Program,* which studied month-by-month caseloads and benefit levels over a 13-year period, and adjusted the figures for economic conditions and demographic characteristics, concluded that "the legislation of 1981-82 did not have as large an impact on recipients as previously thought." Caseload reductions because of eligibility changes amounted to 250,000 to 500,000 at most, rather than the "millions" previously projected (budget savings thus were also much lower than anticipated).

Further, "the composition of the caseload did not change as a result of the legislation," and "the average incomes of food stamp recipients were virtually unchanged over the period during which the legislation was implemented." Economic analyst Warren Brookes points out that the Urban Institute study "also confirmed the fact that since 1978, constant dollar benefits per household had risen 18 percent, while the actual percentage of the poverty population receiving food stamps had risen from 49 percent to 59 percent, because of greater targeting, with 95 percent now going to poverty-level, up from 83 percent in 1978."

The methodologies of the much-publicized studies that purported to "find" 20 million hungry Americans and to identify 150 "Hunger Counties" have been soundly discredited.

So if it is assumed, as it should be, that those below the poverty

line are needier than those above it, the Reagan administration's policies actually seem to be doing more to alleviate hunger than previous efforts. Indeed, in the medical study of poor urban preschool children cited earlier, which found nutritional improvement even as family incomes declined from 1977–1983, the authors attributed the improvement to federal food assistance. This study also provides evidence, as noted in a *Journal of the American Medical Association* editorial, that simply providing food does not prevent malnutrition, that personal nutrition practices are critical, and that "reduction of chronic hunger is not the sole responsibility of the federal government."

Are present efforts adequate?

Advocates of expanded federal food programs not only overestimate the amount of income-related hunger but also insist that anyone eligible for food aid must surely be hungry without it. But even this is refuted by dietary surveys showing that there are many poor people with perfectly adequate diets. It is one thing if hungry people are denied food program benefits, but quite another if people choose not to participate because of their own evaluation of their needs.

There is considerable evidence that many food stamp participants do not spend all their incremental income on food in any case. In this sense, federal food programs simply increase the income of welfare recipients and replace food that people would have bought for themselves. For example, a Congressional Budget Office study found that a dollar's worth of food stamps only increased food purchases by 57 cents. An Agriculture Department study of Supplemental Security Income recipients found each dollar of food stamp payments only increased food purchases by 14 cents. The Chernichovsky and Coate study cited earlier also found indications "that the increase in real income resulting from food stamps is devoted to consumption of other goods rather than food."

These studies raise the question of whether simple expansion of eligibility and benefits in current food programs will actually improve the diets of low-income Americans. The only way to guarantee everyone an adequate diet would be to provide the actual foodstuffs and then force recipients to eat them. This is obviously not a realistic policy choice.

Accusations also appear from time to time that the food stamp allotment itself is unrealistically low, set to enable only the wisest and most frugal shoppers to buy the necessary balanced diet. This is inaccurate. If adequate nutrition were the only consideration, it would be possible to devise far lower budgets than the so-called

D. GOLDBERG/SYGMA

Studies show that simply providing food does not prevent malnutrition and that personal nutrition practices are critical.

Thrifty Food Plan, on which the food stamp allotment is based, and still provide all necessary nutrients. In fact, the plan is based on the actual consumption patterns of food-stamp eligible households so as to be "least disruptive" to actual food practices.

The plan is only modified to the extent that higher than necessary consumption of high-priced items, such as meat, is reduced in favor of less expensive acceptable substitutes including grain products and dry beans. It is also modified for nutritional considerations. Thus, the 1983 revision purposefully limits the intake of fat, cholesterol, caloric sweeteners, and sodium. The Thrifty Food Plan provides not only an adequate diet but a healthier diet than the average American seems to prefer.

The plan is also costed out on the basis of consumption patterns, reflecting the prices in stores where food stamp recipients actually shop. The USDA organizes "field shopping trips" in various cities from time to time to make sure that the proper foods can be bought within the budget framework. Allowances are even made for the discarding of edible food. The fact that most food stamp recipients exceed the food stamp budget because of personal preferences does not mean allotments are inadequate. The purpose of food programs is to alleviate hunger and provide sufficient income for an adequate diet, not to guarantee the poor the frequently unwise food choices of the middle class.

Recommendations

Despite the mythology and exaggerations surrounding the hunger issue, policymakers should not be complacent about the plight of the poor, the hungry, the homeless, or any less fortunate American. To ensure sound policy, the federal government should fund annual health and nutrition surveys to produce reliable and current estimates of the nutritional status of all Americans as well as of the poor. This would help identify the scope of the problem and at-risk groups, as well as changes over time. There is currently no methodology to estimate the degree of hunger and malnutrition in the United States. Both health and welfare policymakers would benefit from such information. The Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council is currently evaluating the possibility of developing such methodologies and studying ways to improve the major food consumption and pertinent health surveys. These efforts should be given high priority.

Washington also should continue seeking ways to be more effective in allocating benefits to those most in need and to those needy who are not now eligible. For example, in their January 1984 report, the President's Task Force on Food Assistance suggested raising asset limits for food stamp eligibility on the ground that the assets of many newly unemployed and needy households are not readily marketable or that selling them off may constitute an insupportable drain on the household's resources. The Task Force also suggested a nutrition block grant to states to give them more discretion in distributing funds among the different federal nutrition programs based on each state's particular needs and economic conditions. In the absence of consensus on the direction of a fundamental reform of the welfare system, these incremental changes in nutrition programs to improve local and state flexibility and reach neglected at-risk groups would be a step in the right direction.

The private sector has also been playing, and should continue to play, a fundamental role in food assistance to the needy. This is not a sign of deficiency in the governmental safety net, as some have suggested, but a sign of the strength of the American voluntary sector. The federal government should evaluate and continue to help these delivery networks.

The problem of hunger in America has been vastly exaggerated in recent years. While there is no credible methodology for determining its exact extent, the evidence suggests strongly that there is no mass hunger in America and that there has been no major change in the nutritional status of Americans in recent years.■

The Thrifty Food Plan provides not only an adequate diet but a healthier diet than the average American seems to prefer.

S. Anna Kondratas is a Schultz senior policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation in Washington, D.C., specializing in welfare issues.

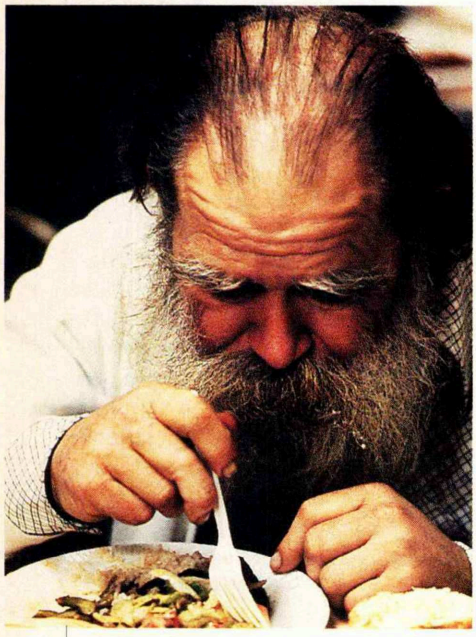
HANDS ACROSS AMERICA: AN ONGOING LINK

by David Fulton

A new face is emerging in today's changing American society. It is the sad, tragic face of the hungry and homeless, and it no longer belongs to just the bearded, grimy indigent on Skid Row. Today's needy include single mothers with children, abused wives with nowhere to turn, mentally ill turned out on the streets, displaced factory workers caught in the transition of an evolving industrial world, third-generation farmers who cannot afford the economics of high-tech agriculture, and whole families whose income does not meet their basic needs each month. These are the faces of the "New Poor."

J.P. LAFFONT/SYGMA

More than five million people, including those in New York City shown above, grasped hands over a 4,124-mile route on May 25 to raise funds for the hungry and homeless, one of whom is shown below.



A. TANNENBAUM/SYGMA

On May 25, 1986, an estimated 5,602,960 people—grasping hands over a 4,124-mile route, with an additional 1.5 million in off-route states—participated in Hands Across America (HAA). The project was designed to raise awareness, funds, and activism to new levels on behalf of the hungry and homeless in the United States. The millions of participants—representing all races, religions, and political persuasions—publicly demonstrated a unified concern about these issues in their own country. They expressed their spirit by linking hands, and expressed their generosity by making donations.

It was an exhibition of historic proportions, yet it was only a beginning.

Certain quarters question the need for a Hands Across America project at all, although the event garnered nearly across-the-board support from Democrats, Republicans, independents, activists, nonactivists, small and large businesses, and many others in between. President Reagan, often criticized for his administration's policies on the issues of hunger and homelessness, came out of the White House with Mrs. Reagan to show his support and link

hands with the millions.

Even taken as a symbolic gesture, the high degree of participation in the United States proved not only to the American citizenry but to the rest of the world that the issues of hunger and homelessness are worthy of attention.

Various studies estimate that there are between 10 million and 20 million Americans who go hungry sometime each month. According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, one out of every five children lives in poverty while 24 percent of children under the age of six are members of poor families.

The U.S. Census Bureau says that half of all black children in America are living in poverty, with 33.8 percent of the entire black population of this country living below the poverty line.

A report issued in April 1985 by the General Accounting Office highlights a variety of factors that contribute to a rise in homelessness: cuts in public assistance programs, decreasing availability of low-income housing, deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill, and alcohol and drug abuse.

Rising need

The first reports about an increase in demand for food and shelter assistance came from the religious and medical communities. These are people who have direct contact with the poor and were surprised at the sudden upsurge of need. Without political motivation, thousands of frontline providers from across the nation continue to report increases in their services.

One example of the New Poor is Judith Broadhurst, a public relations specialist living in Portland, Oregon. Writing in the *Portland Oregonian*, she described moving to Portland from Houston to take a job that lasted only five months:

" 'Well,' I thought, 'I've always been able to find work within six weeks if necessary,' even though seeking professional positions.' 'After all,' I pointed out to my few newly acquired friends, 'I've got a college degree, two years' graduate work, and a 12-year excellent track record in public relations.' "

With no income, she moved into the "cheapest apartment I could find, in a rather seedy neighborhood," and began babysitting for a friend to earn some money. She continued to interview for jobs, but was not hired. Two friends bought her food after she had used all of the money she had acquired by selling personal items.

"I was becoming one of them —one of the forgotten, ignored people living in the building, beaten down over months and years till their spirits were broken,

BILL STRODE/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOC.

A Salvation Army soup line in Painesville, Ohio. Today's needy no longer only include grimy indigents on Skid Row.

their voices silenced," she said.

Broadhurst is still looking for work while living on food stamps and unemployment benefits.

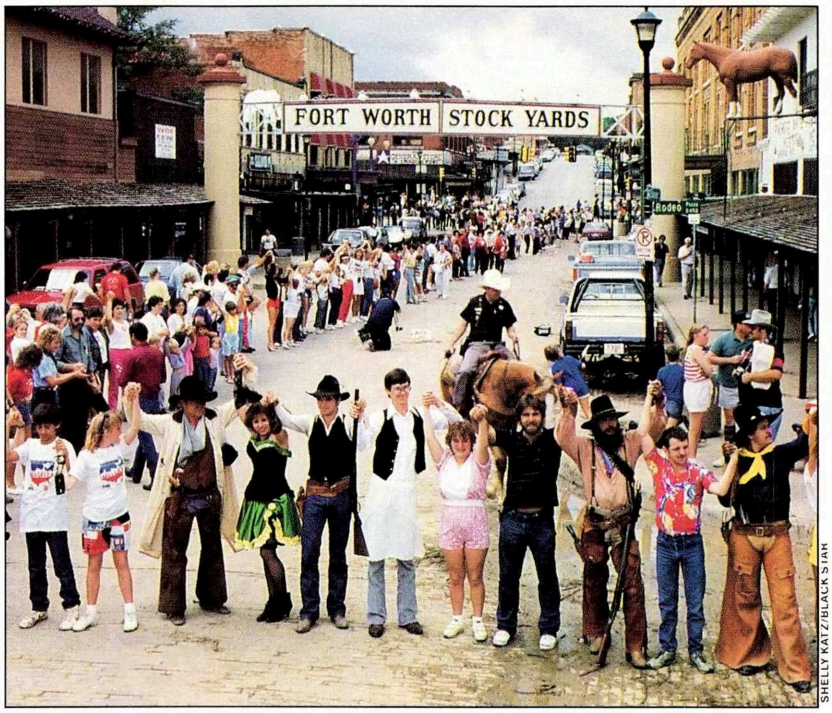
The original goals of Hands Across America were ambitious: (1) to increase public awareness of the problems of hunger and homelessness in the United States; (2) to raise at least $50 million; and (3) to form a human transcontinental link.

Nationwide recognition

In terms of awareness, an independent Arbitron study taken between May 26 and May 28 showed 94 percent of the respondents were aware of Hands Across America. This kind of recognition factor corresponds with that of the president of the United States. One of five people surveyed had listened to the Hands Across America event on the radio, while one of four watched coverage on television. Approximately 40 percent of the people interviewed said they watched or listened to a portion of Hands Across America.

In an era when most topics are addressed, digested, and forgotten, it is notable that hunger has continued to be in the forefront of media attention for the past 18 months.

Media coverage of the issues of hunger and homelessness extended far beyond the May 25 event and the media injected these issues into a national and local discussion of solutions.



SHELLY KATZ/BLACK STAR

Participation in Hands Across America was from all segments of society, from stars in the entertainment world to ordinary people in towns and cities all across the country, such as Fort Worth, Texas, above.

Newsweek ran two pages on Hands Across America and an additional four pages about hunger and homelessness. The *CBS Morning News* ran frequent stories about the project, culminating with a five-part series on this subject during the week prior to the event. ABC News, which featured a Hands Across America segment on their program *20/20*, also rebroadcast related footage from their "Children in Poverty" program. Literally thousands of local newspapers and radio stations provided regional stories on shelters, food banks, and soup kitchens. The extensive media coverage was presented rationally and factually, providing a forum for local and national providers to express their increasing needs.

In an era when most topics are addressed, digested, and forgotten, it is notable that hunger has continued to be in the forefront of media attention for the past 18 months.

The theme of partnership has been the primary message from Ken Kragen, USA for Africa president and Hands Across America project organizer. From the outset, Kragen stressed to the media, corporations, and the public that cooperation would be the key to the success of Hands Across America and, moreover, the first practical step in confronting the problems of hunger and homelessness.

Unlikely coalitions

The media have responded, along with corporations and individuals. One of the more gratify-

ing aspects of Hands Across America that continues to have a residual impact was the formation of unlikely coalitions. On a national level, Coca-Cola and Citibank, along with hundreds of other Hands Across America sponsors, came together to collectively focus on societal problems. Their effect, through marketing expertise and the extent of their combined outreach, has continued to provide both awareness and motivation to the public.

Some of these companies persevere with practical involvement. One such example is the St. Louis Can Rally in Missouri. The combined efforts of Citibank, McDonnell-Douglass, Rolling Rock Beer, Schnucks supermarket chain, and the local media have initiated a monthly drive for the distribution of canned goods and other food to assistance providers in the area. The program was started as a one-time event on behalf of Hands Across America and has now expanded into a commitment to continue for at least one year.

A similar program is the Canned Film Festival in Phoenix, Arizona. Radio station KLZI sponsors a classic film once a month for which the only price of admission is two cans of food that are donated to the local food bank. The project was started in early May as a sign-up event for Hands Across America.

Programs like these are cropping up all over the nation and will continue to surface with some encouragement. The desire to help was expressed on May 25, and now that desire needs to be funneled into appropriate channels.

Since May 25, local food banks, soup kitchens, and shelters have reported a substantial increase in calls. One company, Luminarios, is responding to a flurry of calls asking for direction. The Alexandria-based Virginia firm is currently compiling a national data base of all local assistance providers for interested volunteers and contributors. Establishing a toll-free telephone number, Luminarios has enlisted the support of the National Association of Broadcasters, Cable News Network, and *The Washington Post* to publicize the referral service. The goal is to list every local food bank, shelter, and soup kitchen, giving their specific needs, such as clothing, money, or volunteers.

Sharon Wilson, president of Luminarios, attributes lack of volunteerism to "a lack of knowledge."

With regard to raising funds, Hands Across America organizers hope to reach their goal of $50 million by the end of the summer. Donations are still being collected, and the toll-free 1-800-USA-9000 number will remain active for the rest of 1986. The mailing address—Hands Across America, 7707 American Avenue, Marshfield, WI 54472—will also continue to operate for the duration of the year.

Hands Across America organizers asked for a minimum contribution of $10 to stand in the line. It is estimated that at least 60 percent of the participants showed up spontaneously on May 25 and were given pledge envelopes to make a donation after the event. Those contributions are

People line up for tortillas in El Paso, Texas. Since May 25, local food banks, soup kitchens, and shelters have reported a substantial increase in calls from potential volunteers.

still being received, in addition to others from those who did not take part but want to make a donation.

All proceeds from Hands Across America will be administered by USA for Africa and used to fund agencies and organizations in the United States. A domestic task force, representing local, regional, and national providers from across the nation, will assist USA for Africa in assessing the incoming proposals.

According to Marty Rogol, executive director of USA for Africa, the first disbursement of funds is scheduled for mid-fall. Sixty percent of the money is designated for emergency relief and support of existing programs, while 40 percent will go to fund new and innovative programs that deal with the root causes of hunger and homelessness.

One lesson to be learned from the event is that the American public will respond if motivated. Hands Across America captured the imagination of nearly seven million people across the United States.

A key to success in distributing USA for Africa proceeds among the African nations was a requirement that competing agencies cooperate to receive any of the funds. Rogol wants to apply the same philosophy of "partnership" to the grant recipients of domestic Hands Across America money.

USA for Africa's first project —the "We Are the World" song, albums, videos, and other related merchandise—has so far raised $45 million. Ten percent of those monies went to domestic relief while the remaining 90 percent was allocated to Africa.

Rogol's favorite slogan with regard to the distribution of money bears repeating: "You can spend it quickly or you can spend it right." Elaborate screening and monitoring measures are being initiated to properly disburse the HAA funds.

The May 25 Hands Across America line may have experienced some physical gaps, but the spiritual link was far from broken. One lesson to be learned from the event is that the American public will respond if motivated. Hands Across America captured the imagination of nearly seven million people across the United States and thousands of others around the world.

An active effort

In most recent fund-raising efforts, organizers have made it easy for people to participate: They can buy a record, make a toll-free telephone call, go to a concert, etc. Hands Across America asked people to make an active effort on behalf of hunger and homelessness on May 25 and to continue with that effort.

The spirit, creativity, and generosity of the American public should never be questioned. As evidence of what *Newsweek* described as "A New Spirit of Giving," Americans gave nearly $80 million to worthy causes last year.

Hands Across America was not a panacea for ending hunger and homelessness any more than any other single project can be. Nor did organizers profess it to be. However, Hands Across America has and does serve as a catalyst to action. It inspired some 30 paraplegics to form a kayak flotilla on a Texas lake. It inspired a family to return to the United States from Saudi Arabia for the first time in twenty years and hold a reunion on the line. It inspired a pair of South Americans to fly to Arizona to participate.

In the Arbitron study, more than half of those interviewed who were between the ages of 12 and 17 had either listened to or watched Hands Across America. Today's teenagers and even younger people are the ones who bought "We Are the World" records, watched and donated to Live Aid and Farm Aid, and participated in the more recent Amnesty International concerts.

There are literally hundreds of stories about young people who are taking the initiative to organize fund-raisers in their schools and communities. The act of giving is being integrated into their lives at an early age, and it gives one hope that the future will be better. This younger generation is taking on a new responsibility, beyond dollars—a responsibility to their fellow human beings.

In other words, Hands Across America symbolizes a new age in activism on the part of the public.■

David Fulton serves as deputy press secretary for Hands Across America.

ANTI-AMERICANISM: WHY THEY DON'T AND WON'T LIKE US

by David Gress

PHOTOREPORTERS

The Marxist New Left believes that the world is on the brink of nuclear war not because the Soviet Union is about to attack the West but because the United States is leading an arms race.

Once hailed as the world's champion of freedom, source of technological innovation, and model for others to follow, the United States now appears to many across the globe as at best a crazy, disordered, unbalanced society with little to offer and at worst a sinister conglomeration of ignorant citizens and scheming generals and politicians, a superpower careless of its friends and needlessly threatening to its adversaries.

Nevertheless, immigrants still arrive here by the thousands and, despite all, the American political and economic system and the products of American culture continue to fascinate even as they sometimes repel. What is the explanation of this phenomenon? How powerful is anti-Americanism in different parts of the world? Is it a growing or a declining force? And what should or can the United States do about it?

Fear and admiration

The first question is the simplest to answer. People can despise or fear America yet admire it at different times or in different contexts. I have heard Europeans express extraordinarily harsh criticism of U.S. actions such as the raid on Libya in April 1986 or of U.S. policies such as the opposition to the communist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, and in the next sentence—almost in the same breath—make some

remark showing profound awe at America's technical or economic strength.

In a way, this kind of ambivalence is a tribute to the residual magic America still exercises in the minds of many people, especially those who haven't been to this country or don't know it very well. Deep down, they still believe that America is all-powerful and that anything can and will happen there, and they can't understand why America does things they don't agree with. Something must be wrong, they conclude. They feel anger and disappointment because they expect the impossible: America has to be perfect.

People will often say, "Of course I'm not anti-American! I really love you Americans, but your government is terrible." West Europeans are especially fond of this phrase. I will risk their anger by stating that, in my view, it is the essence of anti-Americanism. It grants the speaker the license to make the most outrageous or ill-founded criticism of U.S. policies or institutions while maintaining that, of course, "I love Americans" and therefore the criticism is made in a spirit of concerned friendship.

This is just as sure a sign of anti-Americanism as the statement "Some of my best friends are Jews" is a sure sign of anti-Semitism. Just as the harshest criticism of Israel is often prefaced by professions of regard for Jews, so the most extreme critics of America often try to refute the charge of anti-Americanism in advance by claiming they love the great, but unfortunately misguided, American people.

Anyone is entitled to criticize, even without justification, evidence, or logic. Moreover, there are certainly things in America or in U.S. policy that one can criticize with ample justification and logic. What makes such an attitude "anti-American" is the lack of a sense of proportion and the double standard that it entails. America is criticized for actions that go unnoticed when committed by other governments and is expected to live up to standards that the same critics admit are impossible and unrealistic. Those who use the camouflage of "I love Americans" often voice attacks that are far harsher than they would otherwise be.

Three variants

There are three main variants of anti-Americanism rampant in the world today: the West European, the Third World Left, and Islamic fundamentalist.

The first is found across the political spectrum in Europe, but mostly on the Left. The second, symbolized above all by the United Nations, is part of the ideology of the elites of certain Third World countries, mostly in Africa and Latin America, who use it to argue for a redistribution of power and resources in their favor. The third type, that of the Ayatollah Khomeini, is the most unappeasable, because it goes directly to the heart of what America stands for and hopes to achieve in the world.

European anti-Americanism is the most influential and widespread. It has existed since the middle of the nineteenth century, when the unique features of the new American society became evident to broader numbers of people. Before World War II it was primarily a phenomenon of the Right. European conservatives, unlike most American conservatives, have never liked capitalism or free enterprise, which they regard as crude and destructive of what they consider the natural order and hierarchy of society. They also have no use for the fundamentalism or puritanism often characteristic of American Christianity. America, finally, stood for equality of rights and promised greater equality of conditions. On all three counts—economic, religious, political—America was a threat to the world of the European conservatives. It was natural that they should despise America, while fearing its effects on Europe.

World War II caused a revolution in these attitudes. Sensible conservatives as well as liberals and socialists in Europe recognized nazism and totalitarianism as threats to democracy that could only be resisted with American help. The Left particularly welcomed American help in defeating Germany, while the Right welcomed American help in reconstructing Western Europe after 1945 and in joining the Atlantic alliance.

Anti-Americanism accordingly went through a period of eclipse from the wartime years to the mid-1960s. During that time, however, the main focus of anti-Americanism shifted from Right to Left, just as anti-Semitism ceased to be mainly a phenomenon of the Right and slowly became characteristic of the extreme Left.

Parallels with anti-Semitism

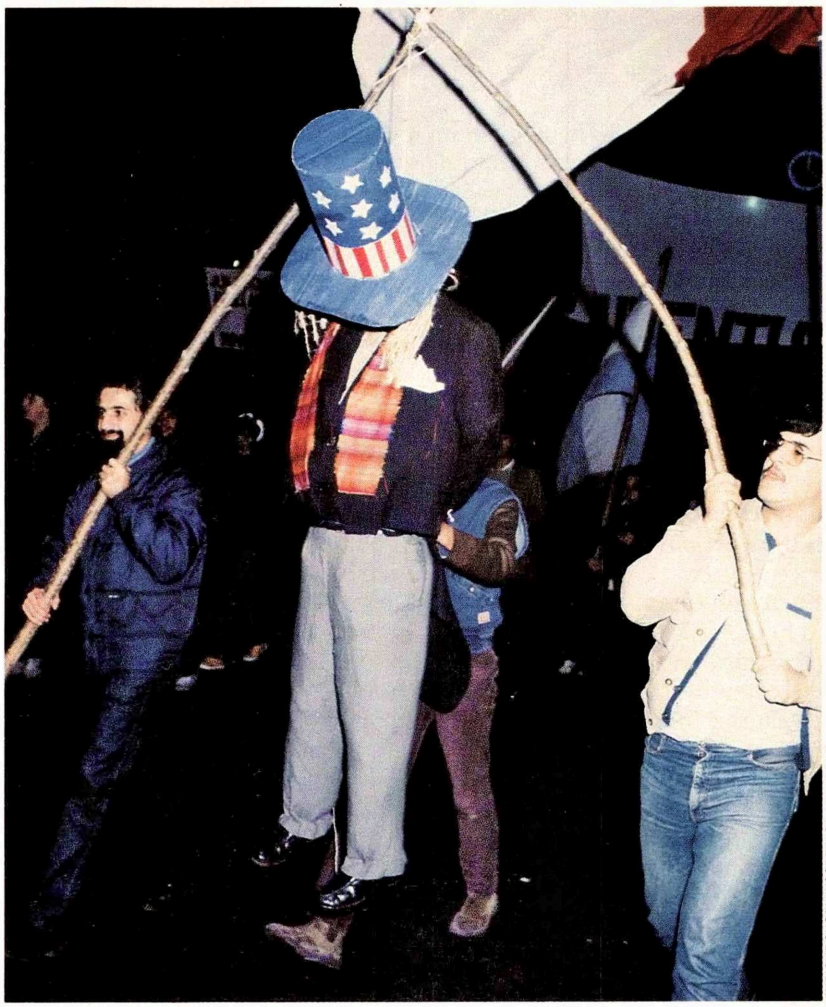
The parallels between anti-Americanism and anti-Semitism

are indeed striking. In both cases a particular society appears to provoke resentment by its very existence and even more by its successes. In both cases that society is attacked for its accomplishments as well as for its (real or alleged) failures. In both cases, standards are applied that are outrageously more strict than those applied to the critics' own society or to others.

Leftist anti-Americanism in Europe took off during the Vietnam War in the late 1960s. It developed, over the next twenty years, a variety of forms that have also influenced the anti-Americanism of the Third World. One form is that of the Marxist New Left. These people, unlike the Old Left, are not particularly pro-Soviet, but they still believe that a humanitarian socialism is possible and necessary to overcome what they see as worldwide oppression and exploitation of the vast majority by a tiny minority of capitalists.

The major obstacle to achieving their goal is seen to be the United States. Everywhere in the world, they say, the United States is on the side of the oppressive minority against the people. In Vietnam this took a particularly overt and violent form, but in essence the situation prevails throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Even in Europe, America is preventing progressive social change, since it controls the actions of the economic and political elite.

Another, more recent, form is that of the West European peace movements of the 1980s. They have revised the arguments of the New Left and applied it to the area of weaponry and security policy. They believe that the world is on the brink of nuclear war, not because the Soviet Union or anybody else is about to attack the West, but because the United States is leading an arms race that will automatically cause war. The United States builds ever more sophisticated and dangerous weapons to secure the power of the American military-industrial complex. By deploying these weapons in Europe, the Americans are forcing the Europeans to take part in their power struggle and their threats to the Soviet Union.



ENRIQUE SHORE/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOC.

Demonstrators in Argentina protest against the International Monetary Fund. The anti-Americanism of the Third World Left springs from a tendency to blame the United States for Latin America's problems.

The anti-Americanism of the European peace movement is intended to remove the American military presence from Europe in the belief that this will reduce the danger of war and ultimately lead to the unification of East and West Europe in a zone of peace and neutrality.

Perhaps the most widespread form of anti-Americanism is the "plague on both your houses" variety, which evolved among weary European diplomats, politicians, and intellectuals who sensed that

they were losing their grip on history to the rash and ignorant Americans, who in their eagerness might ruin all. Some of them went on to argue that Western Europe might best survive by rejecting both Soviet socialism and American liberal capitalism and searching for a third way "between the superpowers," as they put it. Former French President Charles de Gaulle was the leading representative of this trend. For him it was a doctrine of European self-assertion.

European escapism

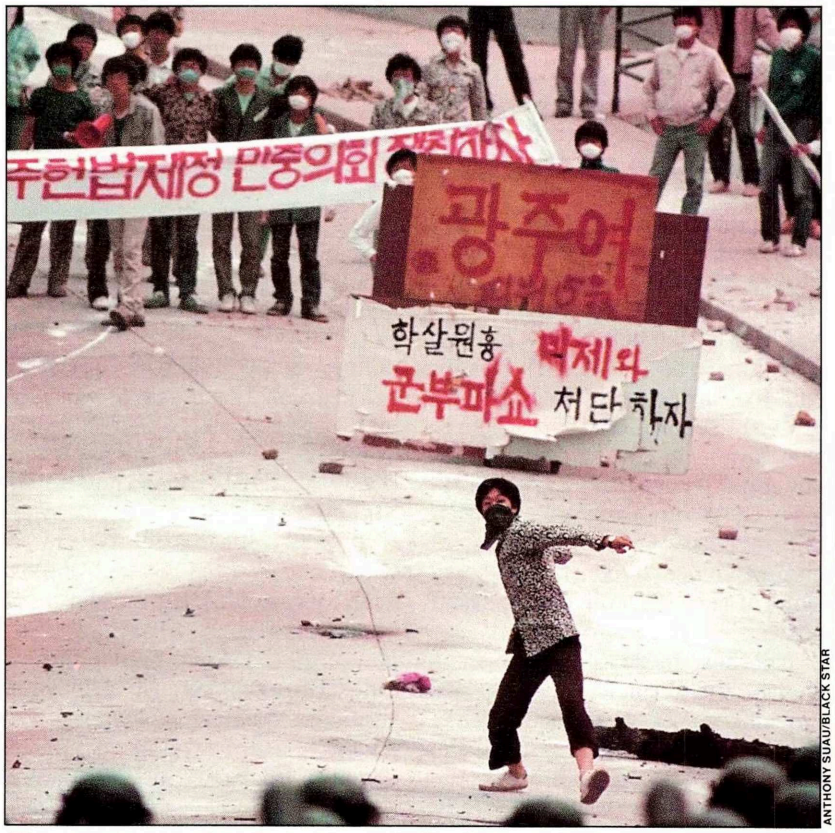
For those who cling to the idea of a third way today, however, it is better described as a doctrine of European escapism. Its adherents, who are found mostly in socialist or social democratic parties, argue that the Soviet-American struggle is a struggle of outdated ideologies. There are no serious values at stake, they allege. In their view, both superpowers are merely pursuing their own narrow interests, camouflaged as principle, and act much the same in doing so. To them, Soviet behavior in Afghanistan is morally no better or worse than U.S. behavior in Grenada or Central America.

This last form of European anti-Americanism is the most pernicious because it pervades such institutions as government, the media, and business. Even many people who genuinely like America and who say in opinion polls that Americans are their favorite people share some or all of the assumptions of the "plague on both your houses" school of thought.

They will say, for example, "Of course Americans are just as dominated by their economic system as the Russians are," implying thereby that freedom is a hoax. Another argument they use is, "How can you Americans think that your particular system is best for everybody," implying that democracy is not a universal good. A third argument is "There really is no Soviet threat, you know. The Soviets can't do anything right, and why would they want to conquer Western Europe anyway? All your military buildup does is threaten peace."

This somewhat more complex argument implies that force in international relations is a thing of the past that we clever Europeans no longer need. The reaction to the raid on Libya showed how far this kind of thinking has gone in Europe. With the British prime minister as the only exception, European political leaders deplored the American action and stated that this was no way to conduct foreign policy. As the *Economist* of London pointed out, "This deep desire not to have to use force has created a desire to believe that force is now unnecessary, that disputes can be settled by civilized discourse, that there is a rule of law."

The fact that this is not so is one very important reason for the growth of anti-Americanism. European politicians have grown used to acting as though their picture of the world were true. The thought that it might not be



ANTHONY SUAU/BLACK STAR

The recent surge of student violence in South Korea is tinged with an unprecedented expression of anti-Americanism.

or that their belief in the universal value of negotiations and concessions as diplomatic cure-alls might even be dangerous is deeply unsettling to them. It causes resentment that is directed not against the Soviets or the Libyans, but against the Americans, whose acts point out the discrepancy. As in the old stories, it is the messenger of truth who is feared, not the reasons for his coming.

Third World Left anti-Americanism springs from two sources. The older source is Latin America, where the United States has been seen as both a threat and a promise since the time of the independence movements of the early nineteenth century. As the United States grew more prosperous and organized, while the Latin American countries —richer by far in natural resources to begin with—remained poor or grew only slowly, admiration of the United States as a model turned to resentment and soon to blame. The United States came to be seen as the cause of Latin American problems.

In the 1950s and 1960s, this Latin American anti-Americanism joined hands with the anti-Americanism of the European Left and with the emerging anti-Americanism of a number of newly independent African countries.

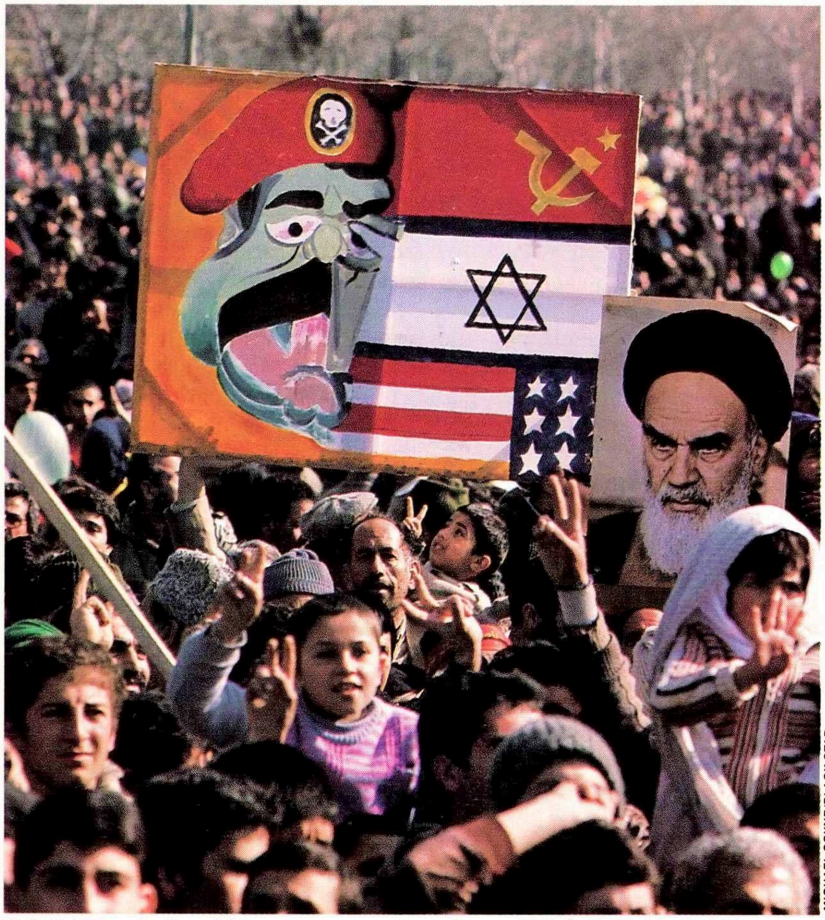
The second source is the ideology of the elites of the newly independent African and Asian states as it evolved in the 1950s and early 1960s. In 1955, representatives of 29 such states met in Bandung, Indonesia, to affirm their common interest in nonintervention and peaceful development. This conference was the beginning of the so-called nonaligned movement, meaning the common principles and activities of Third World states opposed both to U.S. capitalism and Soviet communism. In the beginning, the movement was truly neutral. By the mid-1960s, however, its nonalignment was a fiction; in fact, the nonaligned states were almost without exception antidemocratic, opposed to political pluralism, economic freedom, and the rule of law. Some, like Cuba, were outright Soviet satellites; others, like Tanzania or Mexico, were hostile to the United States because of the alleged threat of U.S. economic and political imperialism.

By around 1960, these new states constituted a majority in the United Nations. At that point, the United Nations ceased to be a force for peace and world order and became to an increasing degree a forum for attacks on the West and especially the United States. So, far from being a pillar of international law, the United Nations has become the chief obstacle to law and an affront to its principles. The Australian jurist Julius Stone has described the understanding of international law held by Third World states in the UN General Assembly as "the 'when-we-holler, it's law' theory."

The evidence indicates that the people of these states are not anti-American. They hope for more political and economic free-

ANDY HERNANDEZ/SYGMA

Anti-Americanism in the Third World is often found among the elite, who have found it advantageous to portray America as a force for evil.



MICHAEL COYNE/BLACK STAR

Islamic fundamentalism proposes a complete and coherent worldview antithetical to all that the West and America stand for.

dom. The anti-Americanism resides rather among the elites, the ruling class that took over from the European colonial administrators. These elites have found it to be in their interest to promote an ideology in which America is a force for evil and the way to avoid evil is to close one's borders, control the economy, prevent political pluralism, and adapt law to consolidate a one-party system.

The victory of communism in Cuba and of socialism in Tanzania and elsewhere in Africa gave the adherents of this ideology their foci of allegiance, the counterpart models to what they saw as the American nightmare of exploitation and violence. Since 1981, the U.S. opposition to the Nicaraguan communist regime has been a powerful factor in promoting anti-Americanism in the Third World as well as in stimulating it in Western Europe. This policy is regarded as yet another example of a powerful United States disregarding the national and social aspirations of a small and inoffensive people in the interests of its own primitive ideology.

In Nicaragua, the use of anti-Americanism as an ideological tool to mobilize support for the regime is particularly obvious. Every newscast begins with shots of President Reagan, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and Adolf Hitler, followed by shots of napalm victims. The not very subtle message is that Reagan is another Hitler and a war criminal. The Sandinista anthem declares that "the Yankees are the enemies of mankind."

The danger of this anti-Americanism is not only that it degrades the United Nations and makes a farce of international law. Over time, it also necessarily influences the thinking of many people who are not in the political elite and who have no immediate interest in adopting that ideology. In Mexico, it is so pervasive that even anti-Marxists cannot help using its phrases and slogans. Carlos Fuentes, a writer who spends a great deal of effort criticizing the totalitarian Cuban regime and its admirers among the Mexican intelligentsia, has stated that "the U.S. has one big problem: its failure to understand others." That is a typical slogan of Third World anti-Americanism. The fact that the United States is different (and more successful politically, culturally, and economically) is turned into an accusation. The implication is that there would be no anti-Americanism if the United States were a dictatorship with an inefficient economy and no political freedom. And this is probably true. What the Third World elites cannot tolerate is that America works. As long as we exist, we are a challenge to their own tyrannical regimes.

As the ideology and the slogans of anti-Americanism become embedded, there is also the danger that they will be used by all political factions, not just the Left, as a means of gaining support. We saw this in the Philippines just before the fall of Presi-

dent Ferdinand Marcos. His regime was usually, and rightly, identified with U.S. interests. Nevertheless, his last bid for political survival was to threaten to go to the Soviet Union for support. He must have thought that a move against the United States might save him.

The failures of the Cuban, Tanzanian, or Nicaraguan regimes to provide other than poverty, disorder, and oppression to their subjects have had little or no impact on the growth of anti-Americanism among Third World elites.

Anti-modernism

This more than anything proves that such ideas cannot be opposed with reason or evidence. They are part of an ideology that can best be described as anti-modernism. Its adherents have examined the promises and the achievements of modern society: political pluralism, increased economic prosperity based on free enterprise, and the rule of law. They have rejected these achievements in favor of a collectivist vision in which the will of the individual is subsumed in the will of the collective, in which an all-encompassing social mesh protects the individual from material and psychological doubts and threats while assigning him his permanent place.

For the intellectuals among its adherents, this ideology has above all the advantage of promising them positions of control. One of their grievances against America is that money is king; having the right thoughts counts for little. In the world they want, ideas—*their ideas*—will at last be taken seriously. They will be the rulers and the rest their slaves.

The third major form of anti-Americanism is more overt in its rejection of modernity than either of the two others. It is found most clearly in the Islamic national fundamentalism of the mullah regime in Iran, but traces of it are becoming evident elsewhere as well. It is, if possible, even more intractable than the two others.

The Islamic revival began as part of the anti-colonial movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At first it was not hostile to modernization, technology, and social change. The revivalists simply wished for these developments to occur under their own control and not to be imposed by imperialistic outsiders. In the last two decades, however, Islamic revivalism has become increasingly anti-Western and especially anti-American. The reasons are the same as for leftist anti-Americanism. The difference is that Islamic revivalism proposes a complete and coherent worldview antithetical to all that the modern West and America stood for. It does not need the diffuse, ideological collectivism of the Left; it has what it considers to be its own much better system.

Islam always was much more than a religion in the Western sense. It was the entire framework of political, social, cultural, and economic life. There was no church-state conflict in Islam in the way it is known in the West, for in Islam the church is the state and vice versa. Adopted as symbols of combat against Western modernization, the Islamic principles are powerful and convincing to intellectuals and others who feel threatened by Western economic and political power. It gives them strength to reject that power. That is why their anti-Americanism is unappeasable. They don't hate us because they don't know us. They hate us precisely because they know us.

One cannot prescribe a general U.S. policy to counter anti-Americanism. In regard to the Islamic form there isn't much to do except to define our interests and act accordingly. We will be hated no matter what we do or how we do it. In regard to the leftist Third World form, there may be some hope in bringing more Third World leaders to the United States, but probably more in trying to work with groups in these countries that are less anti-American. The power of example is great, and the more people who see that the American beliefs in free enterprise and political pluralism really do lead to more economic prosperity for a greater number and to more genuine freedom, the better the chances that they will, in time, modify their countries' policies.

In regard to Europe, the prescription is for both sides to learn more about the other. We are dealing with cultures more similar to ours, and the anti-Americanism there is less a matter of profound fear or contempt than a matter of ignorance and misunderstanding.■

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News In Review

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Wrong message: ***President Reagan warned Congress on June 3 that proposed arms cuts undermine America's negotiating position, sending "precisely the wrong message" to Soviet leaders.***

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

SECURITY UNDERMINED

Washington—President Reagan urged Congress on June 3 to continue financing his Strategic Defense Initiative and national nuclear modernization.

The president's eight-page appeal warned that Congress was on the verge of jeopardizing national security. He added that "precisely the wrong message" is being sent to Soviet leaders and that proposed arms cuts undermine America's negotiating position.

COOPERATIVE EFFORT

Former civilian navy counterintelligence analyst Jonathan Jay Pollard pleaded guilty to reduced charges of spying for Israel in exchange for providing government prosecutors with details of a massive Israeli espionage ring.

Pollard confessed to selling classified information to the spy ring. The Justice Department has identified but not charged four Israeli conspirators involved in the case. Pollard's wife, Anne Henderson Pollard, confessed to two lesser charges.

The embassy in Washington made no comment; however, the Israeli Foreign Ministry deputy spokesman Erud Gol said, "We would like to stress that the government of Israel continues to cooperate fully with the United States government."

POOLING INTERESTS

President Reagan slipped the Saudi arms package through the Senate on June 5 by one vote.

In May Congress blocked the trimmed version of the arms deal;

however, Reagan vetoed that resolution. To override that veto, the opponents needed a two-thirds victory but came up one short: 66 to 34.

Eight senators switched over after Stinger anti-aircraft missiles were removed from the arms package.

Party leaders agreed that a Reagan victory was needed to sustain Washington's role in Mideast negotiations.

CLOSE FRIENDLY RELATIONS

President Reagan sent a letter of congratulations to newly elected Austrian President Kurt Waldheim, the White House announced on June 9.

Reagan administration spokesman, Larry Speakes, said, "The people of Austria have made their choice in a free and democratic election." He added that the United States and Austria would continue with their "close friendly relations." The United States announced that it would not bar Waldheim from entering the country because of his diplomatic status.

NO BUSINESS

The House of Representatives voted on June 9 to force five U.S. oil companies that are still operating in Libya to pull out by the end of June.

Rep. Mel Levine said, "The United States has no business in engaging in activities which add revenues to the coffers of one of the world's premier terrorists." President Reagan signed an executive order that required the five firms to leave Libya by June 30, and the House resolution solidifies the compliance and blocks any legal loopholes in the deadline.

The five firms, Amerada Hess, Conoco, W.R. Grace, Marathon, and Occidental Petroleum, were granted extra time so that the companies would be able to negotiate their assets.

RED HANDED

Werner Bruchhausen, the number two man on the 10 most-wanted high tech smugglers list, was extradicted to the United States on June 13 for selling sophisticated communications and computer systems to the Soviet Union.

According to Customs Agency commissioner William Von Raab, Bruchhausen worked through phony California and West German corporations to smuggle out equipment without the knowledge of the manufacturers and suppliers. A 60-count indictment was made against Bruchhausen in 1981 but he had fled the country and was arrested in Britain in 1985.

The Reagan administration has asked its allies to tighten sales of sophisticated equipment to East bloc nations.

HANGING IN THE BALANCE

"History will judge us severely if we delay any longer," Secretary of State George Shultz told Congress on June 13 in an effort to persuade them to approve the $100 million in aid for Nicaraguan Contras.

Speaking to a State Department conference Shultz said that delay has already helped the Sandinista communists and that "we cannot afford to wait." He warned that any Contadora plan must be worked out with specific procedures for ensuring democracy in Nicaragua.

COUNTER SALES

Magazine distributors claimed on June 15 that since January 1, 1986, more than 8,000 convenience stores around the nation have removed pornographic magazines from their shelves.

"Adult" magazine sales plummeted when drugstores and convenience stores stopped marketing the magazines after receiving a letter from a commission created by Attorney General Edwin Meese. His letter stated that their involvement in the "sale or distribution of pornography" would be written up in the commission's report.

Penthouse magazine editor Bob Guccione claimed that the company has lost "upward of 15,000 outlets." That magazine has filed suit against the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography.

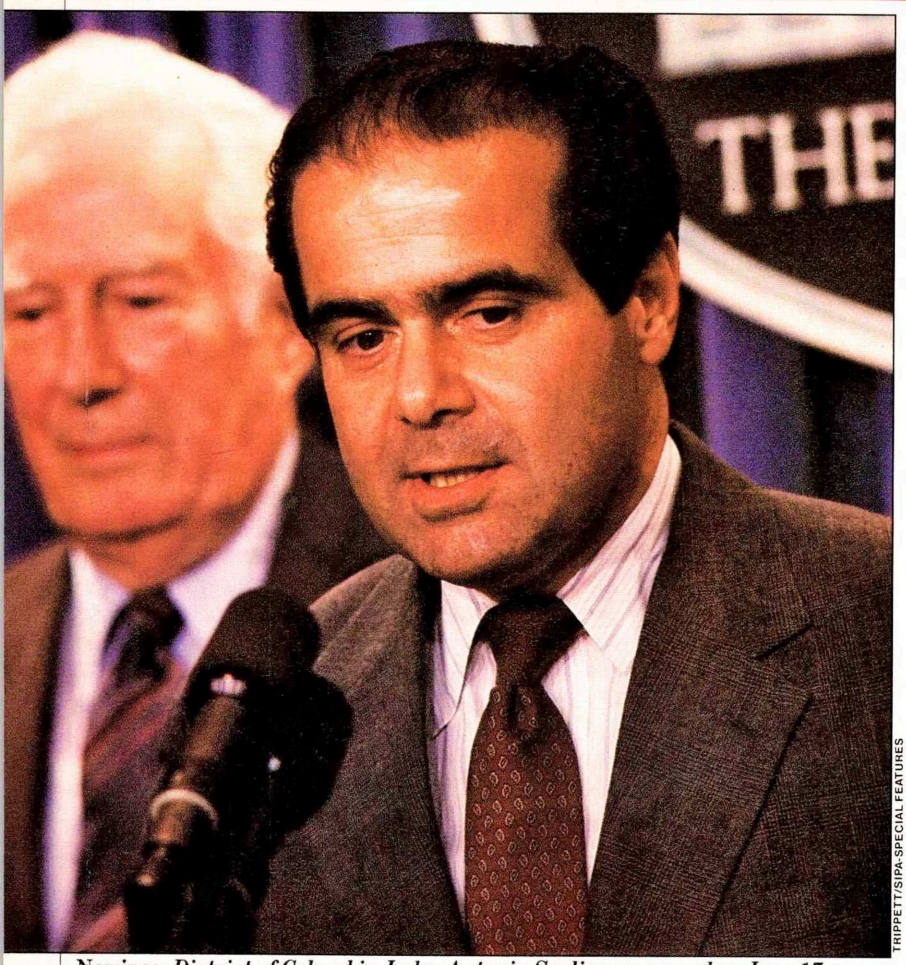
SWAYING JUSTICE

President Reagan announced on June 17 the retirement of Chief Justice Warren E. Burger and the nomination of Associate Justice William Rehnquist as a replacement.

Reagan also announced the nomination to the Supreme Court of District of Columbia Judge Antonin Scalia of the Court of Appeals upon Justice Rehnquist's confirmation.

Senate Republicans were reported to have approved of the selection, but there were grumblings among Democrats. Judge Scalia's service on the Supreme Court bench would swing the balance of the Court to the Right.

Burger, who is 78 and has served for 17 years, said "I wasn't weary of being Chief Justice. It's a lot of fun. I have never felt better in my life." He



TRIPPETT/SIPA-SPECIAL FEATURES

Nominee: *District of Columbia Judge Antonin Scalia was named on June 17 as a potential appointee to the United States Supreme Court.*

said the reason for retiring was to devote more time to organizing the ceremonies of the 200th anniversary of the Constitution.

LESS TAXING

In a resounding 97 to 3 vote on June 24 the Senate passed a revised tax bill that will affect tax rates substantially for almost every person and business in the United States.

Reconciliation of a December 85 House tax-revision bill is the next step on the road to what President Reagan termed the "second American revolution."

A committee will be formed from members of the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee, chosen by the committees' respective chairmen, Representative Dan Rostenkowski (D-Illinois) and Senator Robert Packwood (R-Oregon), and must represent the congressional balance of Democrats and Republicans. A July conference is expected and the president has asked that he be able to sign it into legislation by September.

ROUND ONE

The Reagan administration won a major victory in the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives on June 25 in round one of the bout for U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. The purse was set at $100 million in military and humanitarian assistance and the vote was 221 to 209.

The decision reverses a March vote of 222 to 210, which rejected aid to the rebels. The measure will be sent next to the Republican-controlled Senate. President Reagan said the vote was only "round one, but, oh boy, what a round."

Reagan, after being denied permission to speak to the House of Representatives on the eve of the Contra-aid vote, instead addressed the American public. He warned Congress that "Nicaragua is becoming a Soviet military base every day that we debate."

NEW YORK

COMMON OCCURRENCE

United Nations—Berhane Deressa, Deputy Commissioner of Ethiopia's Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, announced on June 6 that he would not return to his country.

A written statement by Berhane said, "The political situation in Ethiopia is going from bad to worse. The revolution that issued from age-old aspirations of the Ethiopian people has been perverted to serve the political and ideological interests of a clique that has continued to trample underfoot all human values." He went further to say that "death has become a common occurrence in Ethiopia. There are also thousands of people in detention. Arbitrary arrests with utter disregard for due process of law have become the norm."

Berhane has not yet asked for asylum or stated in which country he will reside.

OUT OF BOUNDS

A Security Council resolution that would have imposed limited economic sanctions against South Africa was vetoed on June 18 by the United States and Britain.

The Angola-initiated resolution condemned South African attacks into that nation and demanded South African troop withdrawal. It also requested that United Nations members help Angola and other African nations to boost their defense capabilities against South Africa.

"The goal of this council should be to quell intransigence, not to fuel it," said the United States delegate, Herbert S. Okun. He said that the United States could not accept military aid to Angola.

TRIPPETT/SIPA-SPECIAL FEATURES

"I work an honest day and I want an honest deal" (Safeway jingle): ***Senior Soviet military attaché Col. Vladimir Izmaylov leaves the Safeway supermarket in December 1985 after attempting to "shake" counterintelligence off his trail. Izmaylov was arrested by the FBI on June 20 for receiving classified documents from a U.S. Air Force officer.***

MARYLAND

TRIED AND CONVICTED

Baltimore—A federal jury in Baltimore convicted Ronald Pelton on June 5 of selling classified information to the Soviet Union.

Prosecution finally agreed that Pelton had confessed. In an earlier testimony Pelton claimed that the FBI had tricked him into believing he was being recruited as a double agent.

Pelton's lawyer, Fred Warren Bennet, said he would appeal.

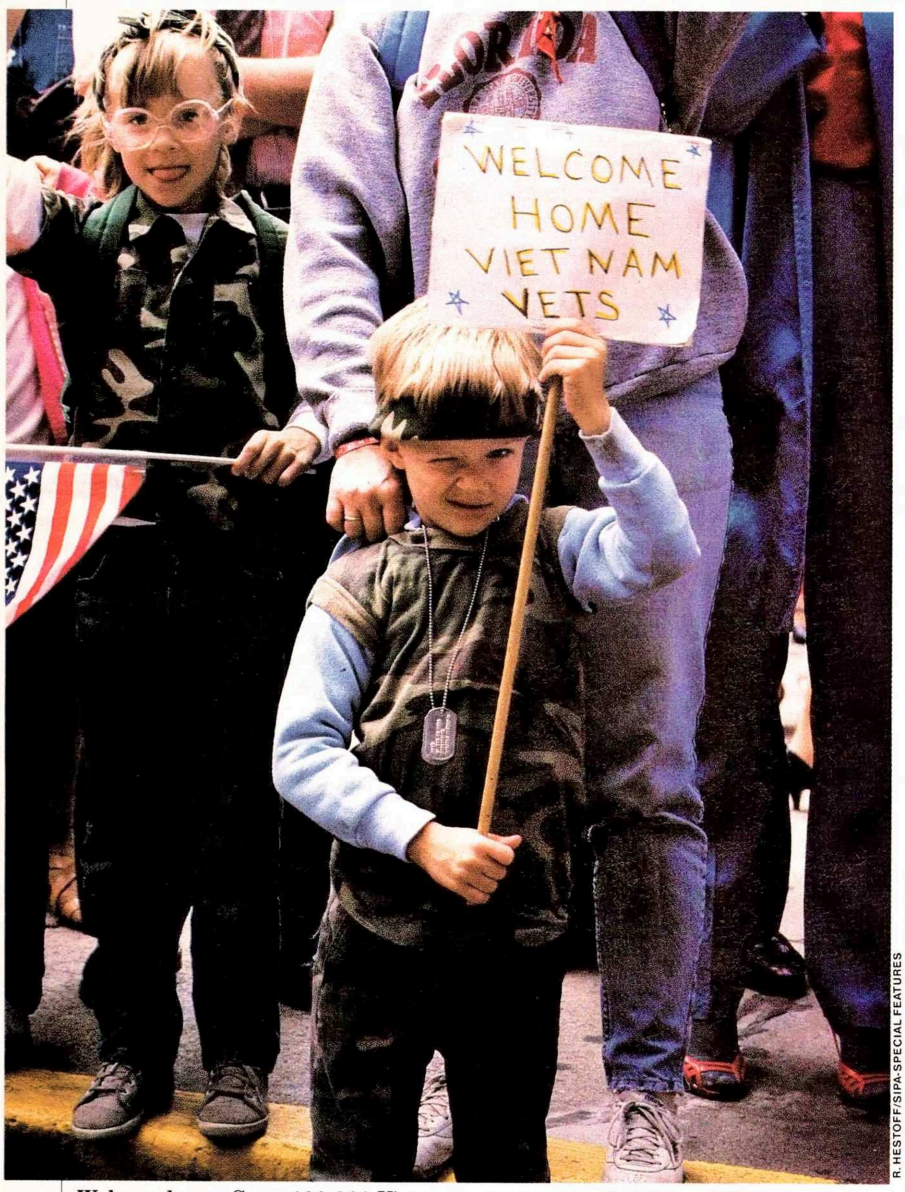
BEAT THE BOX

Fort Washington—Senior Soviet military attaché Col. Vladimir M. Izmaylov was arrested by the FBI on June 20 for receiving secret documents from a U.S. Air Force officer who was working undercover with counterespionage agents.

Izmaylov, 43, the highest-ranking air force officer at the Soviet embassy in Washington, was reported to have scuffled with FBI agents after burying a milk carton with a portion of the $41,100 he had agreed to pay the officer for the documents.

Washington office FBI Chief Dana Caro said the Soviets were seeking information on the Strategic Defense Initiative research program, cruise missiles, and the Stealth bomber.

Material given by Izmaylov to the U.S. officer included a camera for quickly photographing office documents, ultrathin film hidden in a regular film cartridge, cellophane paper, and chemicals that together produced secret messages and a "beat the box" pamphlet with instructions on how to escape detection during a lie detector test.



R. HESTOFF/SIPA-SPECIAL FEATURES

Welcome home: ***Some 100,000 Vietnam veterans paraded through Chicago on June 13 to receive the hero's welcome they were deprived of more than a decade ago.***

COLORADO

CHANGE OF HEART NEEDED

Denver—Drawing applause from the National Right to Life convention on June 13, potential Republican presidential candidate, the Reverend Pat Robertson, attacked the Supreme Court's pro-abortion ruling, and called the justices "despots" who have turned the Constitution into a "sentence of death."

Meanwhile, another presidential hopeful, Jack F. Kemp (R-New York), received four standing ovations as he announced recently won legislative victories to restrict abortion. Kemp urged anti-abortion forces to network economic and social policies in order to build stronger communities because more than a change of law, a "change of heart" is needed.

ILLINOIS

HEROES' WELCOME

Chicago—On June 13, more than a decade late, some 100,000 Vietnam veterans including Gen. William Westmoreland paraded through Chicago to receive the welcome home they were deprived of eleven years earlier.

Soldiers carried banners and photos of friends who did not make it home, and buses drove the disabled. Ticker tape and confetti fell as did tears from many of those on the sidelines.

The Chicago Vietnam Veteran Parade Committee, backed by the city and several corporations, estimated that one-fourth of the 3.5 million veterans lived within five hours of Chicago.

One spectator said, "It's long overdue. If you look behind the words, 'Welcome home,' it's finally saying 'thanks'."

INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONS

Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan returned to Chicago on June 29 to speak on what he termed the "triumph" of his trip abroad.

Farrakhan now faces prosecution for defying a Reagan order against travel to Libya. He visited Libya from March 12–28 on an 11-nation tour that was described by several publications as a conference for international terrorists. The Black Muslim leader said that Libya is not a base for terrorism, but rather a base for "international revolutions against oppressive regimes."

AMERICAS

BRAZIL

AN OUNCE OF PREVENTION

Sao Paulo—A Brazilian court on June 6 ordered the country's only nuclear reactor to remain closed until official evacuation plans have been approved.

The Angra dos Reis plant, 88 miles southwest of Rio de Janeiro, was shut down in January for repairs. The plant was due to reopen in mid-June but the Rio State secretariat for the environment asked the court for a suspension.

TYING THE KNOT

Rio de Janeiro—Foreign Minister Roberto de Abreu Sodre announced on June 25 that Brazil's diplomatic relations with Cuba, cut off 22 years ago, have been formally reestablished.

De Abreu Sodre said it was in his country's "national interest" to restore relations. Brazilian President Jose Sarney has stated several times that a responsible foreign policy could only be carried out by having good relations with all nations. Most major Latin nations now have ties with Havana.

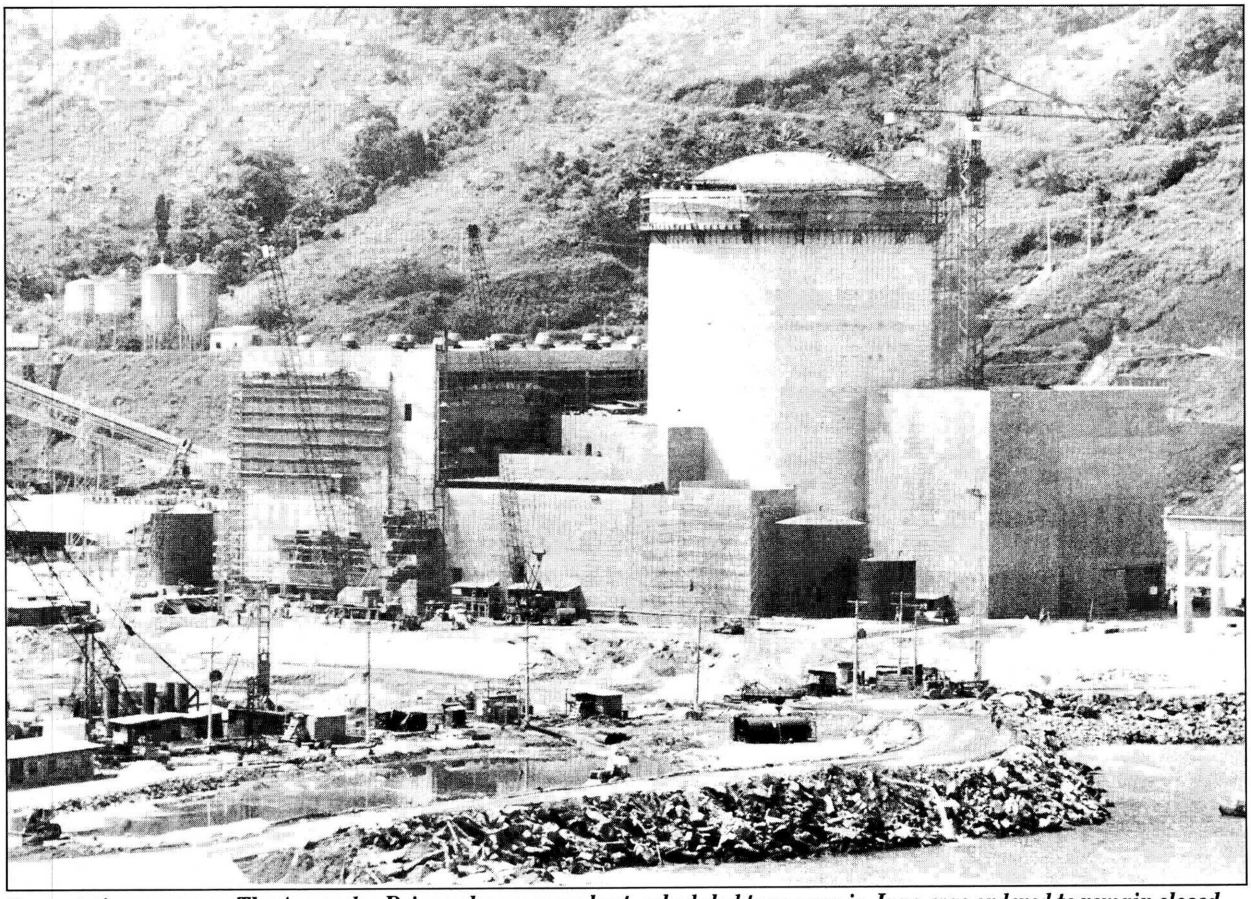
ECUADOR

REASONS OF STATE

Quito—Finance Minister Francisco Swett resigned in mid-June, saying that he would be replaced by Alberto Dahik, a Princeton-educated economist.

Swett, 38, did not elaborate but said only that he left for "reasons of state."

The new minister of finance, Dahik, 32, is president of the Monetary Junta, which has massive powers in economic policy.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Preventative measures: ***The Angra dos Reis nuclear power plant, scheduled to re-open in June, was ordered to remain closed until official plans for evacuation have been approved.***

CUBA

COMMANDER RELEASED

Havana—Col. Ricardo Montero Duque, one of six battalion commanders involved in the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, was released on June 7 after having served 25 years of a 30-year sentence.

A State Department report said that Montero Duque, 60, arrived at Homestead Air Force Base in Florida the following day. The release came after appeals made by Sen. Edward Kennedy and other officials. The invasion was an ill-fated attempt to overthrow Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

Seventeen released prisoners called at the U.S. Embassy in Havana to seek admission to the United States but were rejected because the U.S.-Cuban immigration agreement has been suspended.

On June 9, Cuba's Roman Catholic church was reported to have held high- level talks with the Reagan administration to press it to allow 75 long-term prisoners to immigrate.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Liberation: ***Col. Ricardo Montero Duque, a Cuban officer who was imprisoned for 25 years after the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion, was released on June 7. Many others involved in the invasion are on the immigration waiting list.***

BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS

Attempted assassination: ***Colombian guerrillas rammed a truck into the motorcade of Interior Minister Jaime Castro on June 17. Castro was unhurt but a security officer was killed.***

VENEZUELA

MAJOR CONTAMINATION

Caracas—Lake Maracaibo beaches and fishing areas were contaminated by the state oil company Petroleos de Venzuela (PDV) on June 13, after 1,500 to 2,000 barrels of heavy crude oil leaked from a cracked pipeline.

PDV originally estimated the leak, which occurred near the town of Pueblo Viejo, at 50 to 100 barrels. When a mile-long oil slick appeared on the water where the lake empties into the Carribean, officials realized the damage was several times that amount.

Some 130 people are working on the cleanup operation, which is expected to take four to six weeks. No information on the effects has been reported.

COLOMBIA

GUERRILLA GLUT

Bogotá—Leftist rebels crashed a truck into a motorcade carrying Colombia's Interior Minister Jaime Castro as he rode through Bogotá on June 17. Castro was unhurt, but a policeman was killed.

The truck missed the official's limousine but rammed into a second car carrying his bodyguards. M-19 rebels called a radio station in the capital and claimed the attack was revenge for the November 1985 army raid of the rebel-occupied Palace of Justice.

President Belisario Betancur and cabinet ministers, who had been expected to repeal a two-year state of siege, instead decided on June 18 to maintain it.

MEXICO

THE MEXICAN WEEK

Mexico City—Finance Minister Jesus Silva Herzog was dismissed on June 17 and replaced with presidential amigo Gustavo Petricioli, who is termed by government officials as more of a "team player."

Herzog, who is well liked by U.S. bankers, stood alone in the Mexican cabinet after he opposed a payment

suspension on Mexico's foreign debt. The dismissal hikes up the default probability and plummets hope for a new credit package.

Herzog has led the negotiating team since 1982—nine months before Mexican President de la Madrid took office. He was viewed by Latin analysts as the most likely successor to the president in 1988.

Both Petricioli, 57, and Herzog, 53, are Yale graduates.

PULLING IN THE SAILS

Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid in a June 23 pretaped televised interview denounced recent allegations by U.S. officials that members of his government are involved in drug trafficking.

U.S. Customs Commissioner William von Raab was sharply criticized by de la Madrid for his congressional testimony that Rodolfo Felix Valdez, governor of the Mexican state Sonora, owned land where drugs were grown. "In my opinion, Mr. von Raab is an official who does very little to further Mexican-U.S. relations."

Von Raab testified before a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on May 13 that Valdez "is alleged to own four ranches located near Alamos in Sonora on which . . . is grown marijuana and opium poppies." Valdez later denied the charges and threatened to sue von Raab . . . at which time de la Madrid intervened and said, "We say it is useless to blame each other . . . . Now is the time for each of us to recognize his responsibilities and not to blame the neighbor."

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Shock market: ***Finance Minister Jesus Silva Herzog was dismissed on June 17 in a move that shoots up the probability of a partial suspension on Mexico's foreign debt repayment.***

PANAMA

MASS MANIPULATION

Panama City—The New York Times reported on June 22 that the United States has "assembled conclusive evidence" indicating that Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega ordered the Panama Defense Force to manipulate the 1984 presidential election results.

The *Times* quoted both a "senior State Department official" who has "absolutely no question" about Noriega's involvement and a White House source who claims to have seen "original" documents. The reports implied that vote manipulation became apparent after the Noriega-supported candidate, Nicolas Ardito Barletta, was found to be running behind the opposition candidate, Arnulfo Aria Madrid.

On June 12 the *Times* alleged that Noriega is extensively involved in the illicit international drug market and money laundering, as well as supplying leftist Latin rebel groups with arms. U.S. Sen. Jesse Helms, speaking on the *NBC Today Show*, became the first U.S. official to step forward and affirm the allegations on the record.

Noriega also was reported to be a secret investor in export businesses that sell restricted technology from the United States to Cuba and Eastern European nations. Other allegations state that he has been buying and selling intelligence information, including classified documents from the National Security Agency, to both Cuba and the United States for the last 15 years.

Noriega, the *Times* said, has been

tied as well to the killing of a political opponent.

A Defense Force spokesman denied the assertions, brushing them off as "political attacks."

PERU

LOYAL COMPLIANCE

Lima—Peruvian Justice Minister Luis Gonzales Postada resigned on June 30 over his involvement with the excesses used by security troops to retake three prisons where incarcerated guerrillas rioted on June 22.

A press statement from President Alan Garcia's office said an investigation into the death of 250 Shining Path guerrillas "guaranteed" that punishment would be given to those guilty. However, the government expressed its support for the army, which it claims had "loyally complied with their obligation of service to the nation."

The government also defended its recent attempts to negotiate an accord with the rebels—an accord that was rejected. It called to attention the July 1985 release of some 159 prisoners who were imprisoned for terrorism.

TRAVELING TERROR

Lima—Seven people were killed and 28 wounded on June 25 when a time bomb exploded on a tourist train at the Cuzco station in Peru.

Although no group has claimed responsibility for the attack, police believe the Shining Path guerrilla movement was involved. The official news agency Andina reported that among those wounded were several Americans, Europeans, and other foreigners traveling to the Inca ruins.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Political manipulation: ***Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega was accused by several U.S. officials throughout June for his alleged involvement in election-rigging, drugs, arms, and espionage.***

An assistant station manager, Emma Zamalloa, said that the "terrorist attack" blew a hole in the roof of the train.

CANADA

TECHNOLOGY TREASON

Toronto—Joseph Lousky, a French citizen and engineer, was charged on June 24 in Montreal with illegally shipping American technology to the Soviet Union.

A Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer in Ottawa said the engineer was charged with five counts of exporting computer equipment. Although released on $75,000 bail, Lousky, 38, faces a fine of $125,000 and five years in prison.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

DISHONORABLE DISCHARGE

Santo Domingo—The commanding general of the military police force accused of having machine guns fired on a crowd in the May national elections was dismissed by Dominican President Jorge Blanco on June 25.

Gen. Marino Polanco was in charge of troops that killed two people after fighting broke out between rival political factions. Government sources claim the election demonstrations were calm until the soldiers intervened.

NICARAGUA

ALTERNATIVE VOICE MUFFLED

Managua—*La Prensa,* the only opposition newspaper in Nicaragua, was shut down by the goverment on June 26. The decision came one ay after the U.S. House of Representatives voted to send military aid to the Contras.

"The Sandinista government's decision to silence us, after subjecting us to opprobrious and humiliating censorship for four years, shows the government's weakness, not its strength," the *La Prensa* editors said. The Nicaraguan flag flew at half-mast outside the paper's offices and, inside, the news room was covered with signs declaring "down with the totalitarian regime."

A government announcement said, "The new situation demands the strict and severe application of the state of emergency [imposed on October 15, 1985]."

The government newspaper, *Barricada,* and the pro-Sandinista *Nuevo Diario* are the only daily papers remaining in Nicaragua.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Religious convoy: ***Militant Sikhs converge on the Golden Temple of Amritsar to mark the second anniversary of its invasion by the Indian army.***

ASIA

INDIA

RESOLUTION OF DEATH

Amritsar—Sikh militants occupied the Golden Temple of Amritsar on June 6 to mark the second anniversary of its invasion by the army under orders from then-Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

Threatening to kill any government ministers, more than 2,000 radicals converged on Amritsar in a convoy of trucks and buses. The militants approved a resolution of death to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Punjab's moderate Sikh chief minister, Surjit Songh Barnala.

Earlier in the week, violence by the extremists left one dead and several wounded.

ONE DOWN

New Delhi—The head of the Mizo National Front, an insurgent guerrilla group in northeast India, on June 25 announced the end of a 20-year rebellion and the beginning of a formal coalition with the government's party congress.

The New York Times reported that the 60-year-old guerrilla leader Laldenga will become the chief minister of the Mizoram territory.

The group's revolution for independence began in 1966 and spanned two decades. Laldenga, who spent most of that time in jail or exile, conceded in the early 1980s that reforms could not come about militarily and began peace talks with former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

The agreement is said to be a major political victory for Rajiv Gandhi, who is facing several other insurgencies. Rioting in the Punjab by Sikh extremists raises the death toll daily.

PHILIPPINES

CACHE COMMISSION

Manila—Some $750 million in cash and property allegedly owned by ousted President Ferdinand Marcos and his cronies was seized by the government on June 10.

A report issued by a special commission set up after President Corazon Aquino came to power in February stated that the cache included bank deposits, aircraft, ships, jewelry, cars, and shares in 218 companies.

Commission officials suggest that Marcos' fortune—including land, other property, and overseas bank deposits—may total over $10 billion. Several Marcos associates were reported to have turned over 37 companies to the commission.

ECONOMIC OVERLOAD

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz arrived in the Philippines on June 24 to sign a $200 million agricultural projects agreement with Philippine Vice President Salvador Laurel in order to help that nation out of its current economic overload.

The agreement is said by Washington officials to be a sign of the Reagan administration's confidence in the government of President Corazon Aquino.

The money had been approved by Congress several years ago but was not sent due to questions over how it was to be spent. Aquino's executive secretary, Joker Arroyo, said the money is actually part of "a debt owed by the U.S. government to the Philippines for use of their bases here . . . ." The Aquino government has asked for an additional $150 million in new economic aid.

VIETNAM

IN THE BOOKS

Hanoi—Information on 21 Americans listed as missing in action in Vietnam was turned over to an American negotiating team on June 14 and there is speculation that the reports identify several soldiers who are still alive.

The four-man negotiating team had been working steadily with the government, but talks were suspended after the April 15 U.S. air raid on Libya. Talks resumed on June 10.

Lt. Col. Joe Harvey, head of the American Joint Casualty Resolution Center, told reporters that "additional information on the status of its investigation" had been given to the team. Hanoi had cited an additional 49 cases it is still investigating.

AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

Eight ministers were dismissed or reassigned on June 21 in what is believed to be an attempt by Vietnam to regain control of the economy in time for the next Communist Party congress.

Deputy prime minister and national poet laureate To Huu was removed. She was rumored by many analysts to be a potential prime minister. The ministers of communica-

COURTESY OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

Unknown soldier: ***Inside lie the remains of an unknown serviceman from the Vietnam era. On June 10, talks with Hanoi resumed after information on 21 Americans reported as missing in action was turned over to the negotiating team.***

tions and transportation, domestic trade, culture, finance, foreign trade, food industries, and mines and coal were also dismissed. Also let go was the head of the state bank.

Economic planners who have introduced new agriculture and industry programs remained in place.

A new generation of leaders is expected to be named during the next party congress.

BANGLADESH

COMBATING TERRORISM

Dhaka—Representatives from seven South Asian nations ended a three-day meeting on June 14 by agreeing to unite in the effort to combat terrorism in their regions.

The closed-door session attended by officials from Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and the Maldives was said to have enhanced cooperation among the countries' security agencies.

SOUTH KOREA

SOCIAL SECURITY

Seoul—Special security teams have been set up by South Korean police to protect U.S. citizens from terrorist attacks after a week of death threats were lodged against them.

Security was tightened at the U.S. Embassy, the U.S. Cultural Center, banks, and commercial offices. Some 13 Americans received telephone threats. One of the callers identified himself as an "anti-U.S. youth."

PROPAGANDA PLOY

The South Korean Defense Ministry on June 17 confirmed receipt of a letter from North Korea's armed forces minister asking for an unprecedented meeting of the two nation's chief military officials and the U.S. commander of the UN forces.

The South Korean Ministry wrote off the North's proposal as a "mere propaganda ploy . . . not worthy of attention."

According to a radio broadcast from Pyongyang, North Korean Armed Forces Minister O Chin U proposed that a preliminary meeting be held on June 27 at Panmunjom, a city on the line of demarcation.

MALAYSIA

FATAL REJECTION

Kuala Lumpur—An appeal to the Malaysian board of pardons on June 21—the last resort for two Australians sentenced to death for drug smuggling—was rejected. The two were the first Westerners executed under that nation's harsh anti-drug laws. Already Malaysia has hanged some 35 Asians for drug offenses.

Kevin Barlow and Brian Chambers, both 28, were arrested for heroin possession at Penang airport in 1983 and convicted in July 1985.

AFGHANISTAN

BITING THE BULLET

Kabul—The policy of compulsory military enlistment announced by the Afghani government on June 14 was reported by Reuters news service on June 24 to be directed at forming a 9,000-member force to be spread out in and around Kabul by the end of June.

Reuters said that Western diplomats reported broad Afghan media coverage and that in several interviews with young soldiers in army recruitment centers the men claimed it was their "sacred duty to defend the motherland."

Afghan exiles said the conscription rules were enforced by making access to higher education impossible without completion of military service. The Reuters report said 15- and 16-year-old boys were being drafted into the army to fight against the Mujahideen and that parents have spent days trying to locate sons who may have been rounded up for the draft.

CHINA

THE GOLDEN AGE

Beijing—Wang Meng, a writer exiled for 17 years for a piece of work that Mao Tse-Tung considered "destructive" was appointed minister of culture on June 25 and will oversee what domestic and foreign works should be published.

Wang, 51, wrote a short piece in 1957 about a young idealistic party worker who determines to make the factory in which he works more efficient. He fails, but remains true to his ideals. Wang was accused by the party for writing a "destructive, anti-party, anti-socialist work" and was ordered to a Beijing farm to do years of manual labor.

Wang's rise comes at a time when China is attempting to relax its political and economic policies. He told writers that the "golden age" was at hand when they should not "go with the tide or follow the wind" but let their conscience be their guide. He said, "Neither administrative measures nor propaganda are effective in defining what is true, good, and beautiful."

NEW ZEALAND

ANZUS IS DEAD

Wellington—The United States is no longer bound to the defense of New Zealand, according to a statement by Secretary of State George Shultz on June 27. The 35-year-old ANZUS accord is dead.

"We part company as friends, but we part company as far as the alliance is concerned," said Shultz. The treaty was nullified as a result of Wellington's restrictions on nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed ships.

New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange dismissed the seriousness of the decision, claiming that the nation faced no threat from anyone. Shultz defended the Washington position by saying that "we don't have ships with nuclear weapons on them because we like it. We have them because the United States has a responsibility to deter aggression —and that comes from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has very large stockpiles."

Written notification will be sent to New Zealand in August after the official passage of the "no-nuclear" law.

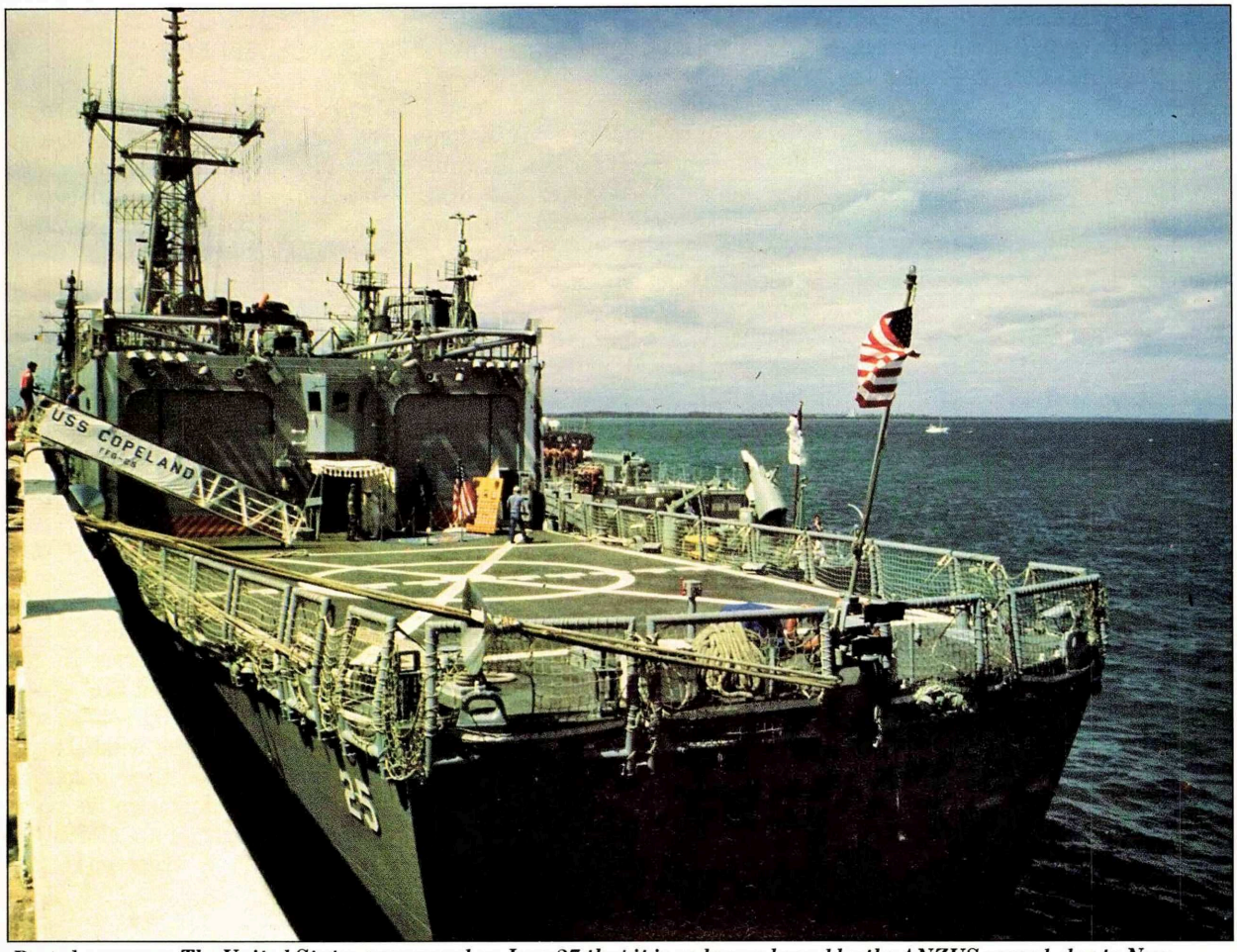
VANUATU

THE ART OF THE POSSIBLE

Port Vila—The South Pacific nation of Vanuatu, a group of 80 islands off the eastern coast of Australia, announced on June 30 that it has formally established diplomatic relations with the USSR.

Prime Minister Walter Lini, in a statement issued from the capital, said the two nations would soon exchange ambassadors.

The Soviet Union is the 45th nation to establish diplomatic links with Vanuatu.



COURTESY OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

Parted company: ***The United States announced on June 27 that it is no longer bound by the ANZUS accord, due to New Zealand's restriction on port visits by nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed ships.***

EUROPE

FRANCE

SHOT IN SPACE

Paris—European officials on June 1 halted further space launchings after an Ariane rocket veered off course and had to be destroyed in midair.

The decision, made by the French controlled Arianspace, leaves the West without launch capability. The United States space program was grounded after the shuttle *Challenger* tragedy and two rocket disasters.

Ariane, the only rocket capable of regularly placing commercial satellites into space, was carrying the *Intelsat V* communications satellite when the third-stage ignition failed. French ground controllers were forced to destroy the rocket after four minutes and 36 seconds into the flight.

USSR

IMAGINATION BOGGLING

Moscow—Soviet President Andrei Gromyko told several members of Britain's Parliament on June 2 that President Reagan's decision to abandon the Salt II treaty was "an imagination-boggling" move that could affect prospects for a U.S.-Soviet summit.

"This is undoubtedly a major blunder. We do not believe the American people want to bury this treaty. We make a distinction between the American people and the politicians," Mr. Gromkyo was reported as telling Martin Flannery of the British Labor Party and member of Parliament.

Edward Djerjian, White House spokesman, said that President Reagan did not abandon a "regimen of restraint" but instead added "an element of a new structure." The United States pledged not to surpass Soviet arms levels.

LEHTIKUVA OY/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOCIATES, INC.

Soviet President Andrei Gromyko: ***Considers abandonment of Salt II "imagination-boggling."***

LONG-TERM EFFECTS

Dr. Robert Gale, a prominent U.S. bone marrow specialist, told reporters on June 6 that he signed an agreement with the Soviet Union to study the long-term effects of the Chernobyl nuclear accident.

Gale, who has performed bone marrow transplants on several of the Chernobyl victims, said "one of the major objectives of our joint effort is to follow carefully cancer incidences in the Ukraine for a definite period."

The disaster has claimed 26 lives. Gale said the death toll would probably not "change by greater than 10 percent."

ON THE RUN

The official Soviet newspaper *Pravda* reported on June 15 that the director and chief engineer of the Chernobyl nuclear plant have been dismissed for improper handling of the April disaster.

Director V. Bryukhanov and N. Fomin, an engineer, were charged with negligence for failing to "insure correct and firm leadership in the difficult conditions of the accident." Another plant worker, Deputy Director R. Solovyev, fled his post and has been charged with desertion.

The paper said a few foremen and technicians are still "on the run."

AUSTRIA

POLITICAL IRONY

Vienna—Kurt Waldheim, the former secretary general of the UN, was elected on June 8 as president of Austria.

In an election runoff for the six-

year term, Waldheim beat the odds and won 53.9 percent of the vote. The opponent, Kurt Steyrer, took only 46.1 percent of the 4.7 million votes cast.

Political analysts believed that recent accusations of Waldheim's involvement in Nazi war crimes would hurt his chances for victory. Ironically, Austrians felt that foreign hands were interfering with national issues and in turn supported Waldheim.

Israel has stated that it will trim its diplomatic and trade relations with Austria.

EAST GERMANY

BORDER DIPLOMACY

East Berlin—East Germany announced on June 8 that it will reissue diplomatic passes and stop passport checks on the border.

The East German border patrol was checking the passports of Western diplomats who claimed that the procedure was a violation of Berlin's independent status. The United States, Britain, and France filed a high-level protest with the Soviet embassy and threatened further action if East Germany did not cease its border controls.

ENGLAND

THE HAPPY CROSSBREED

London—Chinese Communist Party leader Hu Yaobang met with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on June 9, marking the first full day of an official visit.

Talks centered on the power transfer of Hong Kong to China in 1997. Progress on the 1985 Anglo-Chinese agreement was also on the the topic list as well as international economic and political issues. Traveling with Yaobang were Vice Premier Li Peng and a 40-member delegation.

Trade relations improved in May after the two nations signed an agreement for a $450-million British loan.

W. WOBRAZEK/PHOTOREPORTERS, INC.

National issue: ***Former UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim was elected president of Austria on June 8 despite international controversy over an alleged Nazi past.***

SPAIN

SEPARATISTS SUSPECTED

Madrid—Two army officers, Maj. Ricardo Saenz de Ynestrillas and Lt. Carlos Besteiro Perez, and a driver were killed in southern Madrid on

June 17. The police suspected that Basque separatists arranged the shootings to disrupt the national elections.

The major was jailed in 1980 for six months for planning a right-wing coup.

Witnesses reported that a man and woman, both well dressed and in their 20s, approached the victims' car on foot as it pulled up to a house in a military residential area at lunchtime. The assailants opened fire with a machine gun that was hidden behind a newspaper, and then ran to a waiting car.

In reference to the killings, the Basque Nationalist Party, which governs the Basque region, said, "the violent ones have presented themselves for the elections in the only manner they know how: with blood, with deaths, and with violence."

ENCORE

Madrid—The Socialist Party won an overwhelming victory in Spain's June 22 elections, turning over to Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez another four-year term.

The Spanish Interior Ministry said the party had taken 184 of the 350 seats, 18 less than held prior to the election, but more than was needed for the majority.

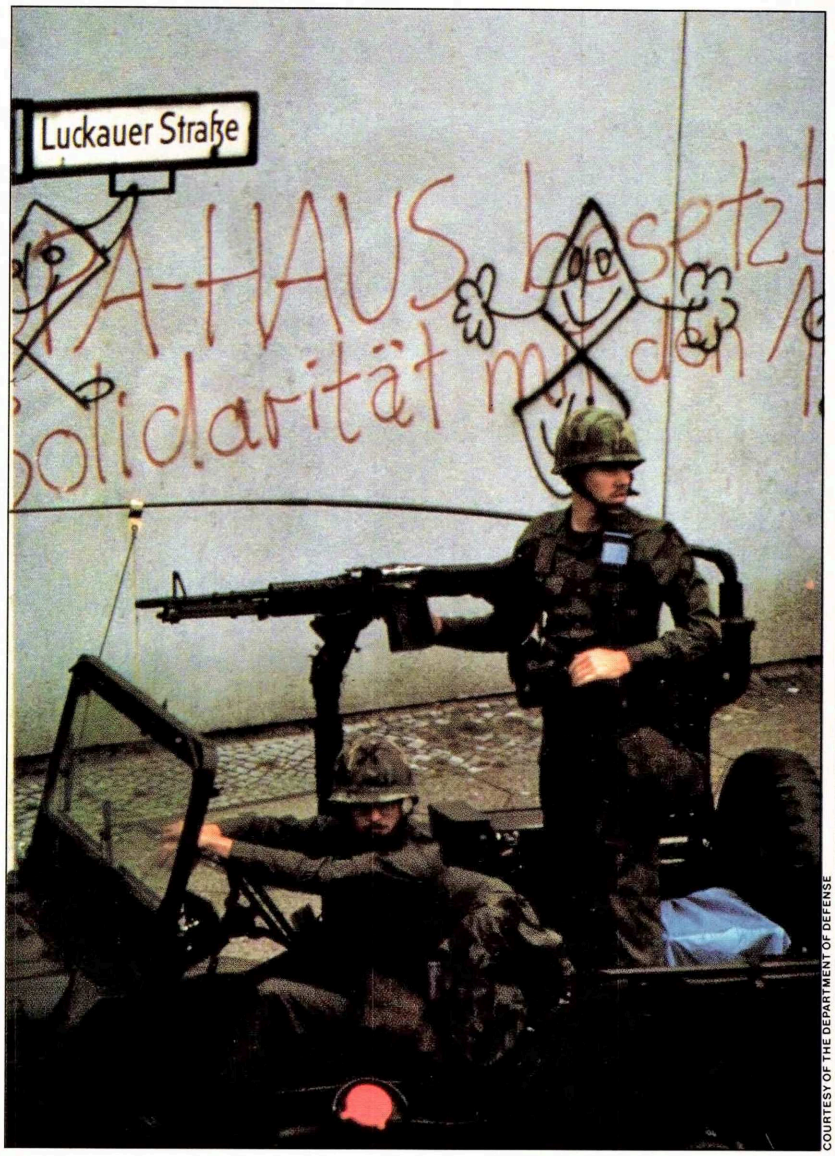
Analysts suggest that Gonzalez called the elections four months early to take advantage of the massive support he built after his victory in a March referendum that kept Spain in NATO.

The conservative Popular Coalition, the major opposition party, lost one seat from 106, and the Democratic and Social Center, led by former Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez, claimed 19 seats.

BARBARIAN BUSINESS

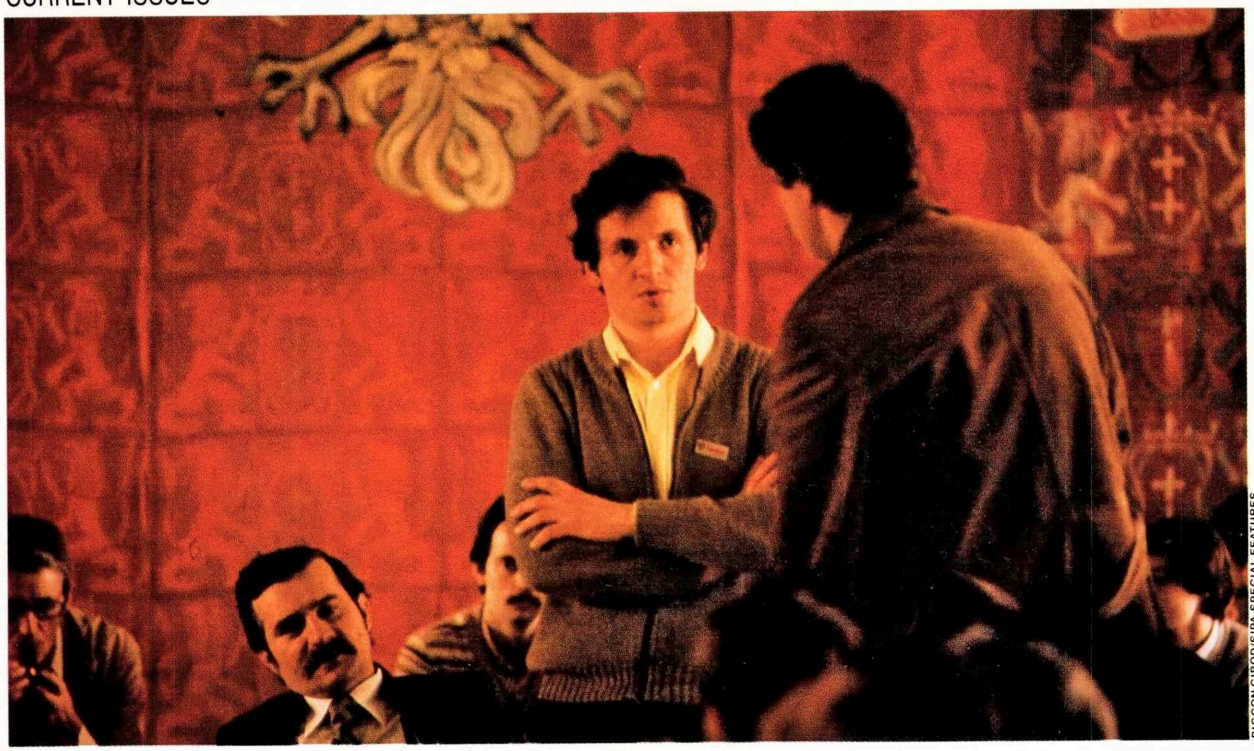
A suitcase that passed an X-ray examination and was to have been loaded onto an El Al flight to Tel Aviv, Israel, exploded on June 26 at the airline's check-in counter, wounding 12 people. Nasser Hassan el-Ali, a Palestinian, claimed responsibility for planting the bomb.

Isaias Manuel Jalafe, a Spaniard, arrived at the Barajas Airport late for the flight carrying the suitcase and was arrested immediately after the explosion. Airport officials said his luggage was being checked thoroughly when an El Al attendant spotted smoke coming from the suitcase. Witnesses said that had the



COURTESY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

High level protests: ***The border area returned to normal on June 8 after East Germany announced it would stop passport checks on the border and re-issue diplomatic passes.***



BICCON GIBOD/SIPA-SPECIAL FEATURES

Public unrest in Poland: ***The deputy director of the administration and finance departments was arrested on June 14 for "obstructing the investigation" against Solidarity leader Zbigniew Bujak (standing at left).***

guard not shouted immediately, the injuries would have been more severe.

According to Spanish police, Jalafe said he was paid $1,000 to take the case, which he believed contained illegal drugs, to Israel.

In 1985 Arab extremists claimed responsibility for the bombing of the British Airways and Royal Jordanian Airlines offices in Madrid to protest diplomatic relations that were established between Spain and Israel.

POLAND

SOLIDARITY STRIKE

Warsaw—Anna Walentynowicz, the woman whose dismissal led to the creation of Solidarity, was arrested on June 17, according to a government spokesman.

Jerzy Urban claimed the reasons for the arrest were "attempts to cause public unrest." He gave no further comment.

Solidarity sources said that some 30 people were arrested June 14 in Juszczyna, southern Poland, after they had visited a pro-Solidarity priest.

Urban also announced the arrest of Zbigniew Wroniak, the deputy director of the administration and finance departments, for "obstructing the investigation" against Solidarity leader Zbigniew Bujak.

BELGIUM

IGNORANCE WAS BLISS

Brussels—The former Prime Minister of Belgium, Paul van den Boeynants, was convicted on June 25 of tax fraud and forgery. He was handed a three-year suspended sentence and fined $13,500.

A "compulsive and visceral cheat" was the court description given for Boeynants, who was prime minister from 1966–1968 and again in 1977–1979.

The court claimed Boeynants had created several companies to launder income from his real estate businesses and later forged documents to hide the fraud. Defense lawyers said that Boeynants was honest but financially naive.

ITALY

INCOMPREHENSIBLE COLLAPSE

Rome—Italy's longest lasting postwar government collapsed on June 27 after Prime Minister Bettino Craxi resigned when his government lost the vote on a finance bill.

The five-party coalition vote (293 against 266 for the finance measure)

indicated that some 70 to 80 administration deputies helped bring the government down. "Every time I go away, something happens," Craxi said on his arrival from the Netherlands, where he was attending a meeting of the European Community.

Craxi, 52, will stay on as a caretaker prime minister. He said, "it may appear incomprehensible that all this can happen at a moment in the life of the country when we are just beginning to reap, nationally and internationally, the first benefits of unusual political stability."

THE NETHERLANDS

EX POST FACTO

The Hague—The World Court ruled on June 27 that the United States had violated international law and Nicaraguan sovereignty by supporting the anti-Sandinista Contras.

The judgment ordered the Reagan administration to stop the "arming and training" of the rebels and to pay war reparations for damages caused by military attacks.

The United States rejected the court's verdict. State Department spokesman Charles Redman said the administration, which withdrew from the court in 1985, reiterated its stand that "the [World] court is simply not equipped to deal with a case of this nature involving complex facts and intelligence information."

IRELAND

'TIL DEATH DO US PART

Dublin—A 49-year-old constitutional section that states "no law shall be enacted providing for the grant of a dissolution of marriage" was upheld on June 27 by an overwhelming vote of the Irish. The voters rejected divorce 935,843 to 538,279.

Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald, who led the battle to amend the ban, presented a proposal that would ease divorce into society and remove that nation's status as the only Western European nation without legal divorce.

"Today is an historic day. The people have decided they want to keep their constitutional right to lifelong marriage," said Sen. Des Hanafin, chairman of the anti-divorce campaign.

Verdict handed down: ***On June 27 the World Court decided U.S. aid for Nicaraguan Contras was illegal.***

BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS

THE MIDEAST

ISRAEL

SELECTIVE COOPERATION

Jerusalem—Prime Minister Shimon Peres on June 6 claimed that allegations of government involvement in the Pollard spy case were an attempt to "foul the atmosphere" between the two nations.

Speaking publicly for the first time on the Washington espionage ring, Peres reiterated his nation's readiness to cooperate fully with the investigation by the United States. FBI Director William Webster said earlier that the government of Israel had given only "selective cooperation."

COUNTERMEASURES

Israel will receive $38 million in electronic countermeasure equipment for its fighter jets according to a June 10 Pentagon statement.

The sale, expected to be completed in 30 days without congressional protests, includes 20 AN-ALQ 131 electronic rods, which are installed in sophisticated planes to thwart offensive weapons systems used by enemy air and ground forces.

A Pentagon statement said, "This proposed sale is consistent with the United States policy of ensuring that Israel has the means to defend itself within secure borders."

OVERZEALOUSNESS

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres on June 16 warned secular and religious Jews to discuss their differences calmly and threatened to jail those who vandalize synagogues.

The appeal came after a week of vandalism by secular radicals who painted swastikas on Tel Aviv's main synagogue and tore up Bibles in a seminary. The vandals set fire to books and pamphlets in a downtown office of a citizens' rights group. Television reports said slogans were painted on the wall by an extremist right-wing party founded by Brooklyn-born Rabbi Meir Kahane.

The antireligious sentiment was allegedly stirred up by ultra-orthodox Jews who set fire to bus-stop shelters carrying advertisements of women in bathing suits.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Selective cooperation: ***Gen. Raphael Eitan, the former military chief of staff and alleged initiator of an Israeli spy ring in the United States, was removed from his post by the Israeli government in order to protect him from prosecution.***

PROSECUTION IMMUNITY

Tel Aviv—Avraham Shalom, the head of Israel's secret intelligence service, resigned on June 25 in exchange for prosecution immunity from the investigation into the killings of two Palestinian terrorists captured by the General Security Services (GSS). A Government spokesman said three other officials granted immunity were allowed to remain in their positions.

The Israeli government, long at odds with Attorney General Yitzhak Zamir, and most recently dissatisfied with Zamir's criticism of the secret security organization Shin Bet, replaced the attorney general on June 1 with District Court Judge Yosef Harish.

Zamir had turned in his resignation in February but continued in his position because the assembly could not agree on a replacement.

Zamir's successor, Harish, 62, agreed that a probe is necessary but

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

John Cardinal O'Connor meets with Lebanese President Amin Gemayel in Beirut: ***The cardinal claimed the visit was "purely pastoral."***

said that it should be carried out "in the innermost of inner chambers."

On June 17 it was reported that the former attorney general leaked information to reporters in order to pressure Harish to investigate the case.

IRAQ

COMMUNICATIONS CUTOFF

Assad Abad—Iraq attacked an Iranian satellite ground station on June 9, cutting off all telecommunication with the rest of the world.

An Iraqi report said that its air raid in southern Iran left the station "ablaze and wrecked." Persian Gulf officials said the bombed complex was Iran's largest reception and transmission station.

IRAN

WAR ENTERPRISE

Tehran—Iran announced on June 17 that it would resume shipment of oil to Syria. The move was seen as an attempt to undermine relations between Syria and other Arab nations that support Iran's longtime foe Iraq. The Iranian government fears the possibility of a Syrian reconciliation with Iraq despite the cancellation of a meeting between the two nations recently. Sources claim that foreign ministers of Iraq and Syria were to have met secretly on June 13.

Stronger ties between Syria and Iraq could alter the course of the war between Iran and Iraq. Diplomats suggest that the Iranian oil deal may be a ploy to withdraw greater funds from other Arab states who favor Iraq.

LEBANON

PURELY PASTORAL

Beirut—John Cardinal O'Connor, archbishop of New York, entered the Muslim sector of Beirut on June 16 to meet with the spiritual leader there, but afterward reported that inquiries concerning the five American hostages had led nowhere.

The cardinal met with Sunni leader Sheikh Hassan Khaled only a mile from Palestinian refugee camps. Bullets and rockets flew just minutes before O'Connor's convoy drove into the war-torn area. Hours earlier, on the same road, several Christian printers were abducted by unknown gunmen.

O'Connor arrived on June 14 to meet with President Amin Gemayel. He said his visit was "purely pastoral" but that he would be willing to help in the attempt to release the American and foreign hostages.

LAMY/SIPA-SPECIAL FEATURES

Liberation: *Frenchmen Philippe Rochot and Georges Hansen, kidnapped from Beirut in March, embrace family members upon arrival at France's Orly airport.*

PAVED BY GOOD INTENTIONS

French television correspondent Philippe Rochot and camera operator Georges Hansen, two members of a television crew of four kidnapped in March, were released near a West Beirut hotel on June 20. Both men said that they had been well treated and well fed.

The two said they had not seen one another since they were captured on March 8 and that they had little communication with their captors due to the language barriers. They said their captors repeated how sorry they were and that they had "nothing against the French people." Two men, both sound tecnicians, are still being held.

In an announcement made with the release of the two, the captors said they hope "France will seize this opportunity and show its good intentions by rectifying its policies and making good on its promises so the rest of the hostages will be released."

The release follows an apparent shift in French policy toward Iraq and Iran. On June 6 an Iranian opposition figure was expelled from France and Paris-Tehran talks have been held to resolve the dispute over financial investments made by France after the Islamic revolution.

LIBERATION EPIDEMIC

Two Greek Cypriots were freed on June 21, just one day after two French hostages were released. The Christian radio station Voice of Lebanon reported that the two had been taken to Cyprus by a Lebanese army helicopter. No other details of the release were made public.

Stavros Yiannaki and Panayiotis Tirkas, both 25 and students at the American University in Lebanon, were abducted by gunmen on April 28 while walking from their home to the campus. There was no motive and no group claimed responsibility.

AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICA

TOWN REPOSSESSED

KTC Squatter Camp—A shanty town taken over by black anti-apartheid radicals was reclaimed June 10 by black vigilantes who were allegedly backed by white police. Riots plaguing the nation throughout June have left some 50 people dead.

The police denied taking sides in the gang war, but witnesses claim that the police fired tear gas at the rebels, thereby aiding the Witdoesk (White Cloths) faction.

Fourteen blacks were killed in a 24-hour period. The fall of the camp was said to be a victory for the government that has long tried to evict the squatters to an area farther from Cape Town.

EMERGENCY DECREE

Johannesburg—Bishop Desmond Tutu met with South African President Pieter Botha on June 13 marking the first time in six years the two held talks. Neither would comment on what was discussed.

"If we do have any calm it will be brittle, it will be sullen, and at the slightest chance, it will be broken again," Tutu said after the meeting.

The meeting came one day after Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange signed emergency measures into effect that banned all public meetings.

The emergency decree provoked international condemnation. Washington described the action as a "serious mistake," but Botha firmly replied, "We are not a nation of weaklings. We do not desire and we do not seek it, but if we are forced to go it alone, then so be it."

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Indistinguishable signs of victory: ***Black South African vigilantes reclaimed their Crossroads home on June 10 from anti-apartheid squatters.***

HAMANN/SIPA-SPECIAL FEATURES

The state of emergency: ***Conflict in South Africa intensified on June 12 as sweeping governmental powers were signed into effect.***

OUT OF PRINT

On June 24, Israeli news correspondent Dan Sagir became the third journalist ordered out of the country since the June 12 government-imposed state of emergency.

Sagir works for both the Israeli radio and newspaper *Ha'aretz* and has been in South Africa for two years. He claims he has not received an explanation for his expulsion and may not appeal the decision.

South African Director General of Home Affairs Gerrie Van Zyl said the government was not required to give reasons for the expulsion or permit Sagir to appeal.

South African *Newsweek* correspondent Richard Manning was told to leave the country by June 26. He will appeal. CBS cameraman Wim de Vos was expelled June 16 after losing an appeal against the government order.

LIBERIA

PRESIDENTIAL PARDON

Monrovia—Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, a former Liberian finance minister, who had faced the death penalty on charges of treason, was pardoned on June 6 by Liberian President Samuel Doe.

The former finance minister, who was indicted for participation in the November 1985 coup attempt, denied any involvement in the plot.

Several years earlier, Sirleaf was convicted and sentenced to 10 years in prison on sedition charges for calling the government "a bunch of idiots." The Harvard-educated economist was released following pressure from Washington. Others allegedly involved in the attempted coup were also released.

LIBYA

APPARENT APPARITION

Tripoli—Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi, scheduled to appear publicly for the first time since the April 15 U.S. air raid on Libya, instead delivered a two-hour speech on the government-owned television June 11.

Some 30 Western journalists from

major American publications and networks were invited to witness the Libyan leader's appearance at a rally marking the 16th anniversary of the American departure from Wheelus Air Force Base.

Qaddafi, according to translations by Arabic-speaking journalists, said, "We don't have long-distance missiles to use, but we have other things to counter American military strength . . . . We have suicide squads, so there is a deterrent. We are capable of striking America, and we are capable of exhausting it."

A MESSAGE FROM "CORY"

Col. Muammar Qaddafi received a message from Philippine President Corazon Aquino on June 20 that expressed "deep regret" over the U.S. raid on Libya.

The government news agency JANA, in a report monitored by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), said Aquino reiterated her stand against "all forms of violence" and noted her government's concern over U.S. aggression.

On April 15 the United States struck terrorist training camps in Libya to retaliate against Libyan international state-sponsored terrorism.

BURKINA FASO

MAP OF EVIDENCE

Ouagadougou—The Burkina representative to the International Court of Justice on June 17 presented a Michelin map purchased in the tiny border village of Bamako to strengthen his nation's right to a piece of border land that is being disputed by Mali.

The representative Jean-Pierre Cot displayed slides that supported his assertion that the land actually belonged to the Burkina Faso side. "To my knowledge, this is the first time Michelin maps have been produced as exhibits in a border dispute," Cot said.

Wars were fought over the strip of land in 1974 and more recently in 1985.

THE SEYCHELLES

HOOK, LINE, AND SINKER

Victoria—In an effort to strengthen sea defenses, the Seychellois Navy received its third patrol boat from the Soviet Union on June 21 according to PANA, the offical news agency, reported by FBIS.

Youth and Defense Principal Secretary Ralph Adam said the boat, to be used to protect the Seychelles waters from fish pilferers, was given, as was all "aid" from a foreign government, without stipulation. Adam said, "The Soviet Union has always understood and respected our policy on this issue, as well as respecting our policy of nonalignment."

NIGERIA

POLITICIAN PRECLUDED

Lagos—Nigerian military chief Major General Ibrahim Babangida announced on June 27 that "all past politicians are hereby banned from seeking or holding any public office for 10 years." He said they may vote but "cannot be voted for."

COURTESY OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

No strings attached: ***The Seychellois Navy received its third fast patrol boat, similar to that above, from the USSR in June. A navy spokesman claimed the Soviets "understood" Seychelles policy of accepting gifts without strings attached.***

A VICTORY FORGED IN "HEAVEN"

by Y. Watanabe

Media and political soothsayers in Japan predicted modest success for the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in the July 6 parliamentary elections—but the voters handed down a landslide mandate instead. Even Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone was stunned by the magnitude of the victory and declared the election results an act of divine intervention.

"This is not the result of human power," a smiling Nakasone said of the election results. "What shall I say—the voice of the people, the voice of Heaven, the voice of God. I feel great responsibility and I have to accept [the victory] with humility."

Predictions by the Japanese media prior to the elections gave the LDP around 260 seats. What the voters gave the LDP was the largest majority in the 31-year history of the conservative party. The strength of the party's success, several observers said, enhanced Nakasone's stature as one of the world's conservative figures and served as further proof of the continuing wave of conservatism that has swept Free World democracies during the past decade.

In the final count, the LDP won 304 seats—48 more than required for an absolute majority in the Diet's 512-seat decision-making lower chamber, or House of Representatives. In the 252-seat upper chamber, or House of Councillors, the party won 72 seats of the 126 that were contested. In contrast, the Japan Socialist Party, the main opposition in the Diet, won only 86 seats in the lower house, a loss of 25 seats and the worst showing in its history. The Socialists' close ties with the fading labor movement, especially the National Railroad Union, which continues to fight for the subsidized rail system, appear to have played a major role in their disappointing result. Nakasone has championed the efforts to privatize the state-run railroad, which will revert to private hands in April 1987.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone led his Liberal Democratic Party to an unprecedented margin of victory in parliamentary elections on July 6.

Although two other major opposition parties, the Japanese Communist Party and the Buddhist Clean Government Party, maintained virtually the same number of parliamentary seats as they held before the elections, 27 and 57 respectively, the Conservative Socialist Democratic Party lost 11 seats, due in large part to a bribery scandal that rocked the party in June.

Several factors were credited in the LDP's overwhelming victory. In a season that is usually rainy, the weather was especially sunny and comfortable on the election day. The result was an unusually heavy turnout, 71.4 percent,

which in the past has tended to favor the LDP. Also, the competition among those "New Leaders" who have been tabbed to succeed Nakasone was so fierce that voters followed the election with great interest.

But a fortunate turn of the weather and in-party political squabbling alone cannot fully explain why voters swung to the LDP in such unprecedented numbers. Widely commented on in the Japanese media but unreported in the West was the grassroots-level support lent to many of the LDP's candidates by members of the International Federation for Victory Over Communism (IFVOC), which was established by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon in 1968 and claims 7.5 million members in Japan. According to General Secretary Tetsuo Kasai, the IFVOC supported 159 of the LDP candidates, and among them 134 won in their districts. The group made a special campaign effort to help "borderline candidates," whose chances of election seemed slim, and thus contributed to the victory of 40 more of them than had been predicted.

Although the IFVOC does not normally align itself with any of Japan's mainline parties, Kasai said, the group worked with the LDP because the party has been fragmented by internal fighting, a situation the communists have exploited in their efforts to destabilize the Japanese political structure. "Our organization supported the LDP for the sake of Japan's future development," he said. As a result of these elections Japan can be expected to adopt a more strongly anti-communist stance within the next session of the parliament, he added.

After his party's landslide victory, Nakasone will likely seek a solution within the party that will win him a third term. Party rules stipulate that the LDP nominate its president when the lower house meets to elect a prime minister. The LDP's president is elected by the members of the party and a maximum of two two-year terms is permitted. Nakasone's second term as party president will end on November 24, 1986. Party rules can be amended only by a two-thirds vote of LDP members. The strength of Nakasone's popular victory and his emergence as an international figure unprecedented in Japanese political history will serve as persuasive arguments when Nakasone seeks support for a third term from such senior party members as former prime ministers Fukuda, Suzuki, Tanaka, and Miki.

Among the "New Leaders," Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe has stated publicly that he opposes a third term for Nakasone. After the election Abe told reporters that Nakasone should respect party rules. Two other leaders, Finance Minister Noboru Takeshita and LDP Executive Council Chairman Kiichi Miyazawa are leaning toward supporting a third term.

Nakasone is currently enjoying a very high level of public support—64 percent, unusual for a second-term prime minister—for his domestic and foreign policies. He has brought success domestically through policies of *gyo-kaku* (administrative reform) and reorganization of the financial structure. Of international import is the fact that, under his leadership, Japan has increased its defense budget and has passed on defense technology to the United States. During the election campaign Nakasone indicated that he would seek passage of legislation that would stiffen Japan's lax espionage laws.

By Japanese standards, Nakasone is considered "flamboyant," and much of his popularity, like that of his personal friend Ronald Reagan, stems from his ability to communicate with people. (He has cultivated his friendship with the American president to the extent that they are known to each other as "Ron" and "Yasu." There has never existed such a close relationship between the leaders of the two nations.) Nakasone has as well scored points with his countrymen through his aggressive, outgoing style in world politics, which has bolstered Japan's self-esteem. ■

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe opposes a third term for Nakasone.

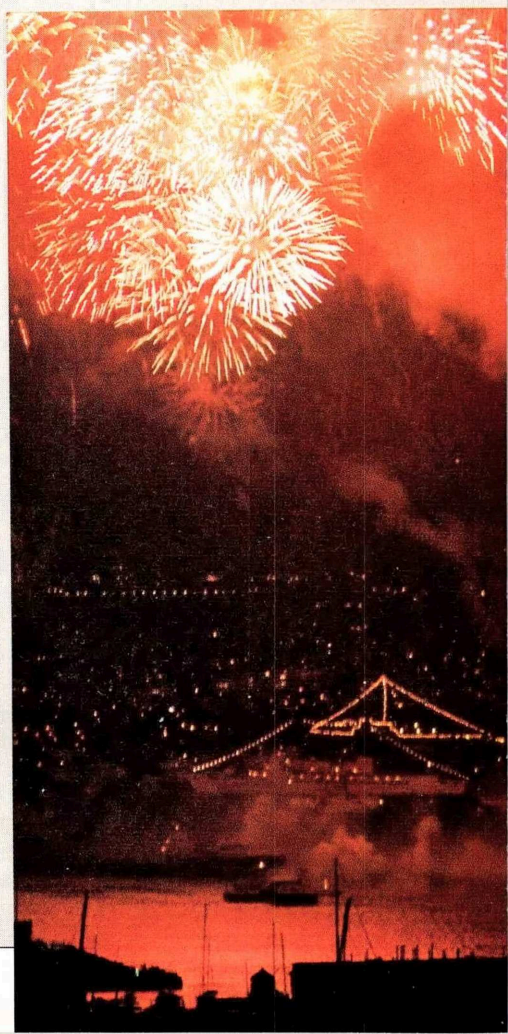
Y. Watanabe is the overseas editor for THE WORLD & I *magazine.*

Focus

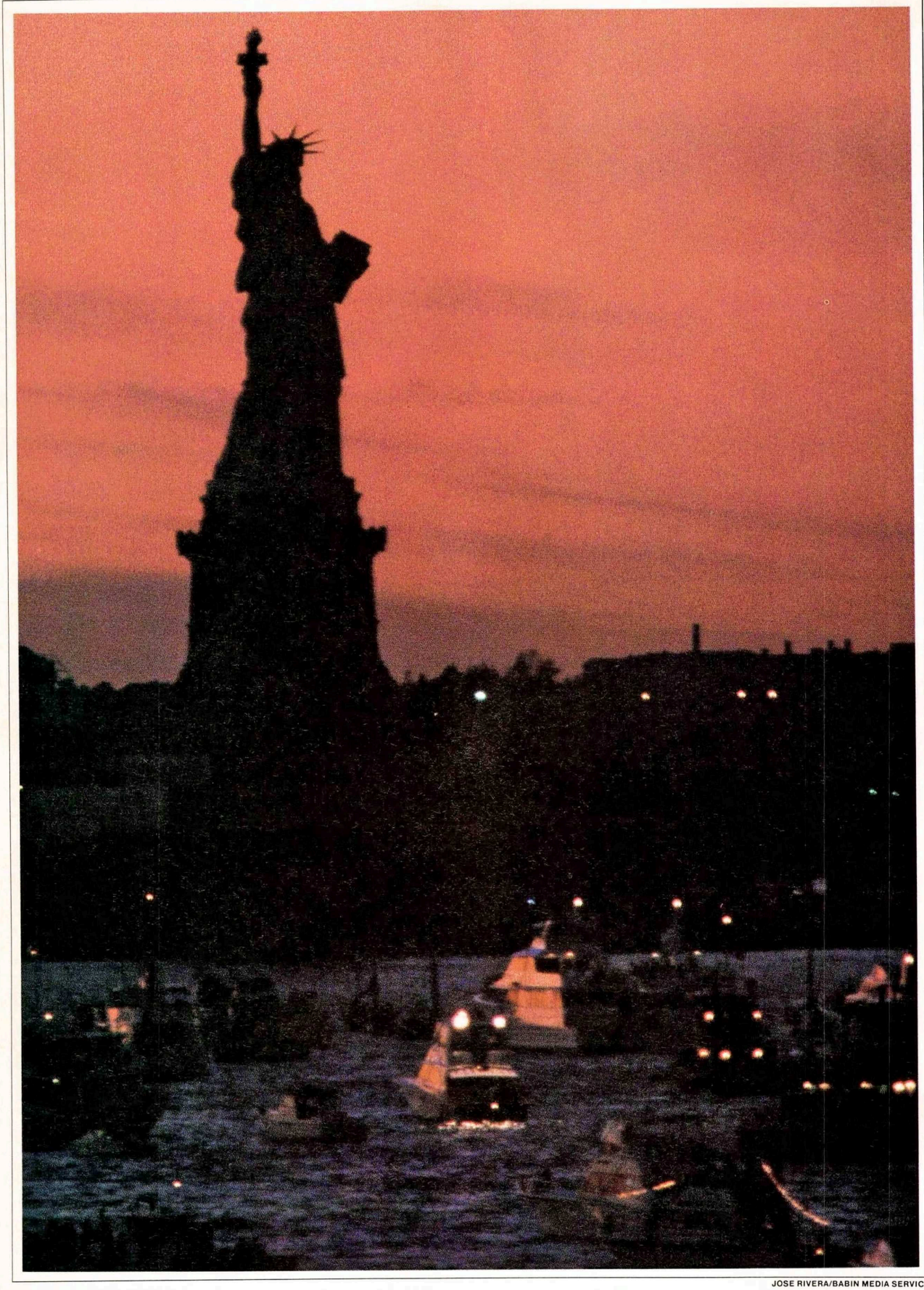
CELEBRATING LADY LIBERTY

An estimated six million people gathered on the tip of Manhattan to watch the gala celebration of the 100th birthday of the Statue of Liberty. Some 20,000 boats of every size dotted the harbor, including 22 tall sailing ships like Norway's *Christian Radich,* right, and the American aircraft carrier *John F. Kennedy,* left. It was a time for Americans and all freedom lovers to feel good and have fun, by partaking of such activities as watching the biggest fireworks display in U.S. history.

PHOTOS BY HANS JORDAN/BABIN MEDIA SERVICE



CHRISTIAN RADICH



JOSE RIVERA/BABIN MEDIA SERVICE

Focus

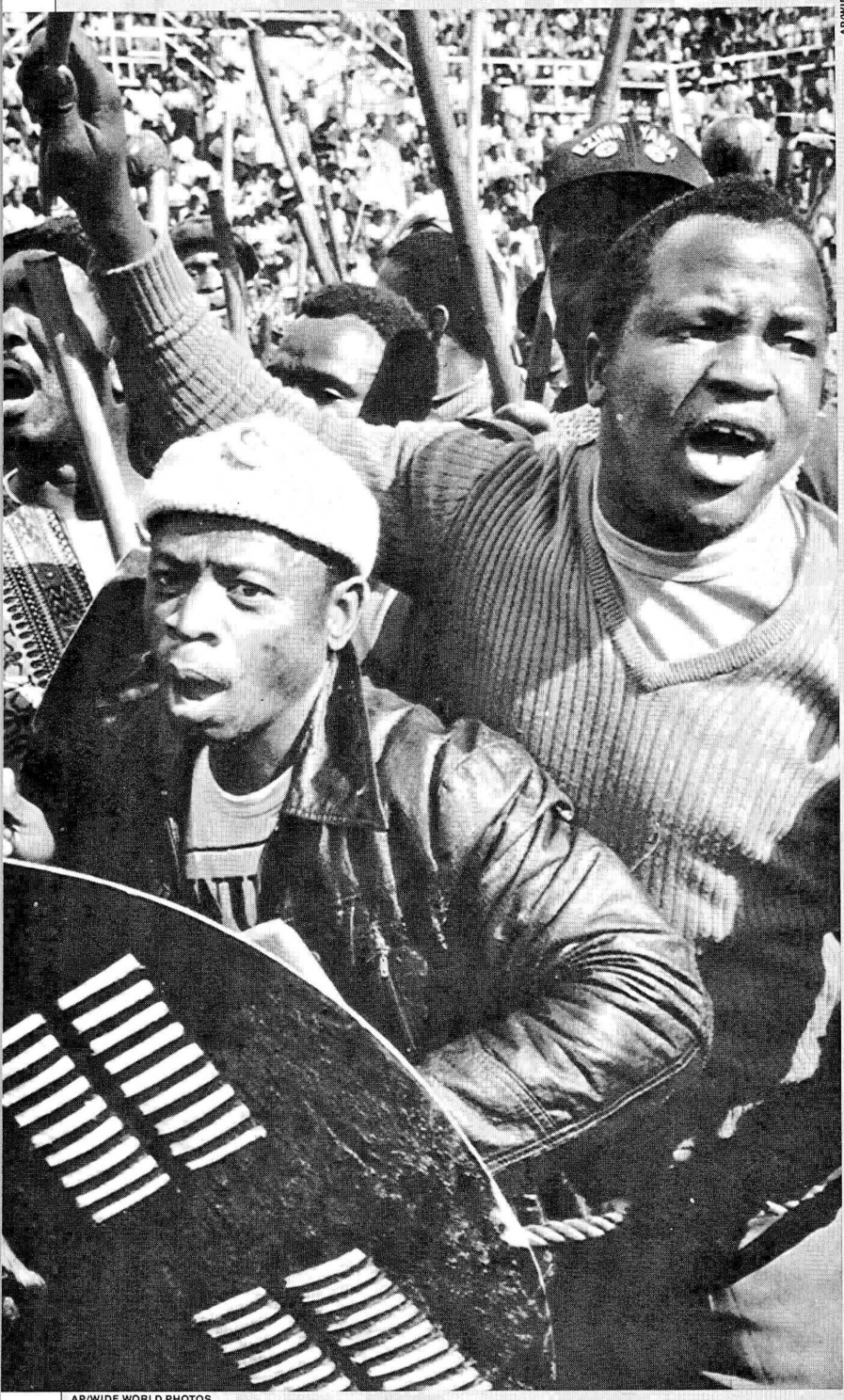
OPPOSING FORCES

The threat of international sanctions grew larger, thrusting two key black leaders into opposing positions. Bishop Desmond Tutu, right, advocates sanctions—and, if necessary, even violence—to overthrow apartheid. Below: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi decried U.S. moves toward sanctions at a meeting in Soweto on June 29.

DURAND/SIPA-SPECIAL FEATURES

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

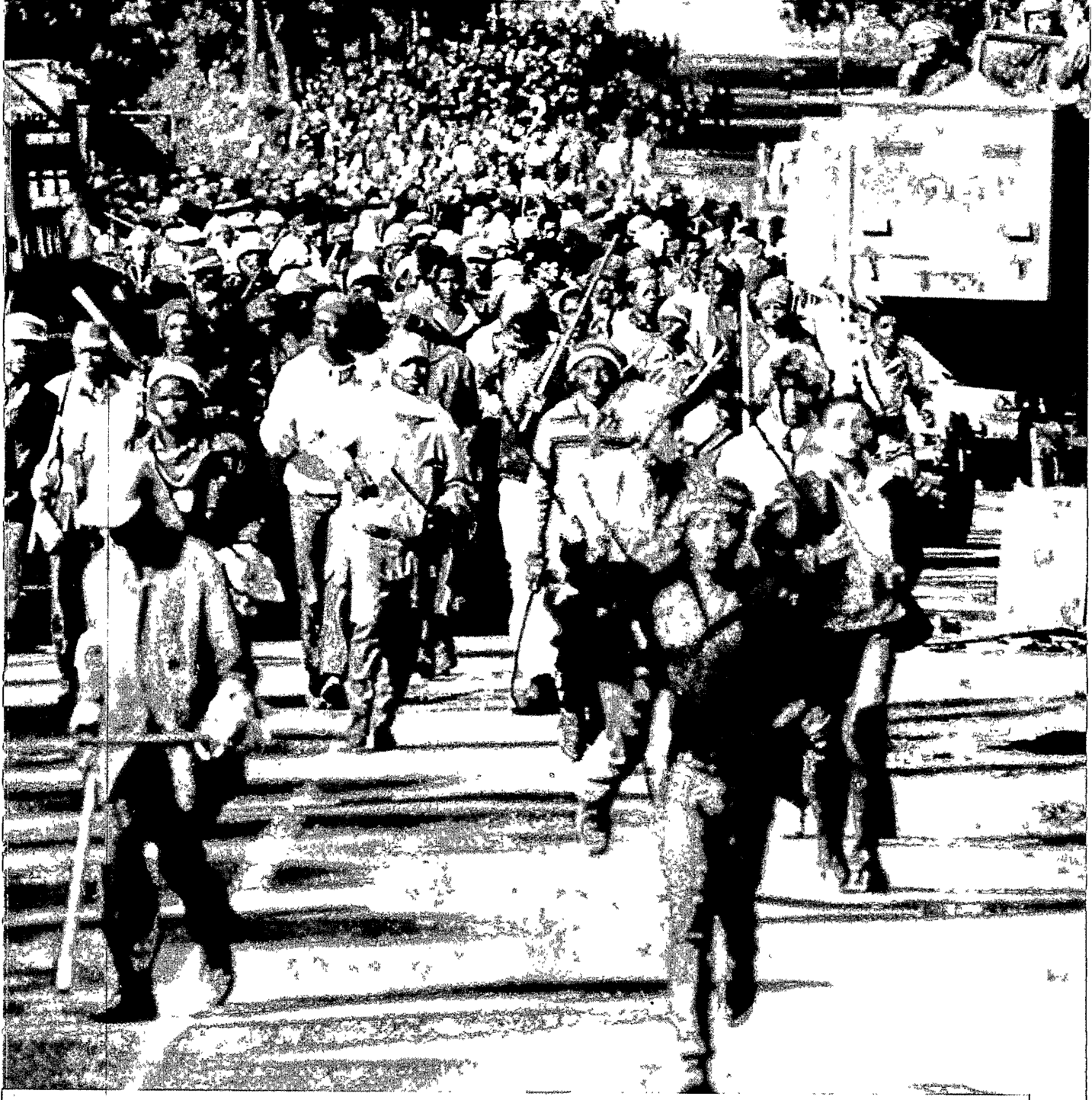
Focus



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Supporters of moderate black leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi shout their support at a rally in Soweto. Buthelezi appealed for an end to violence between blacks and for negotiations between blacks and whites on sharing power.

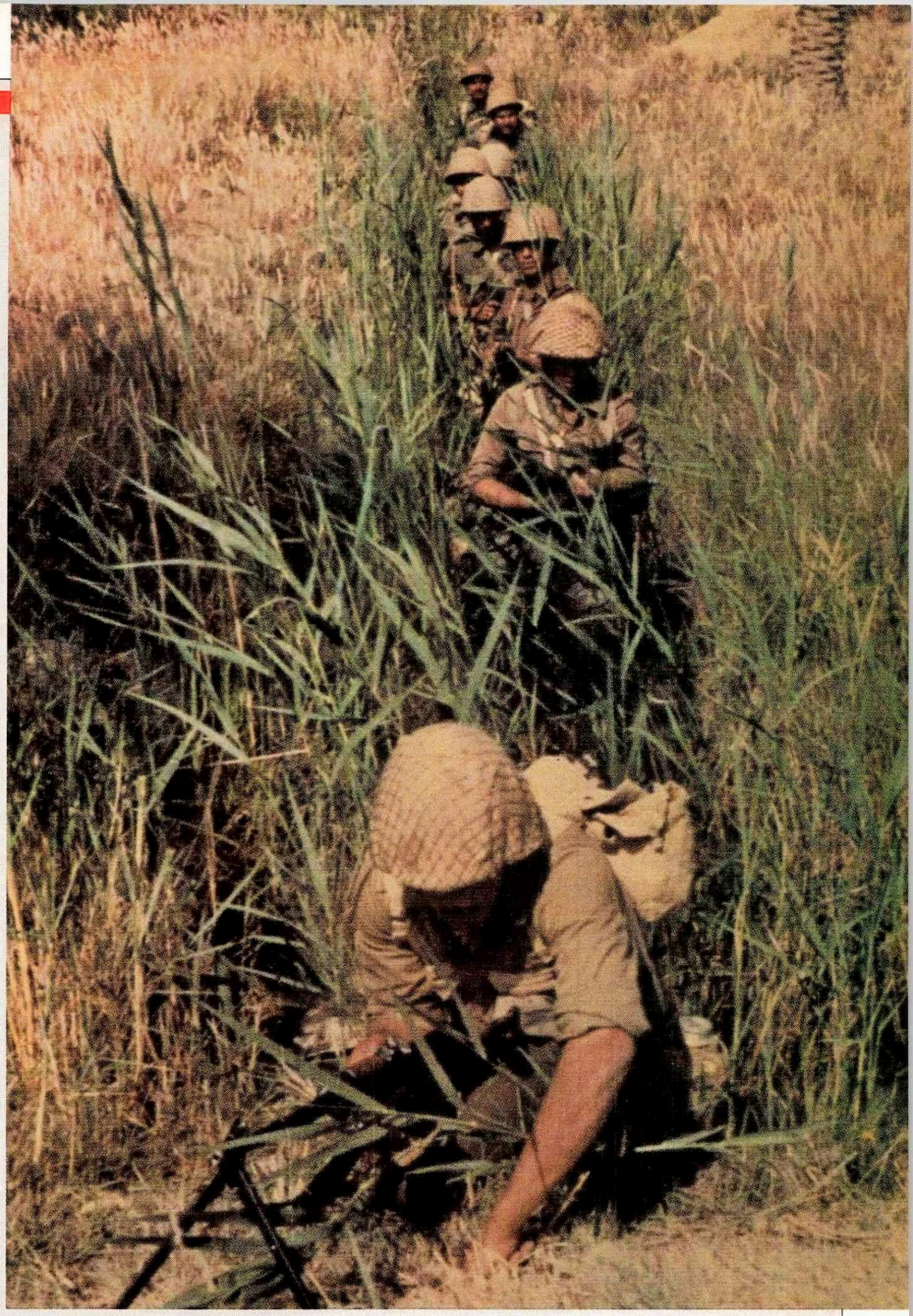


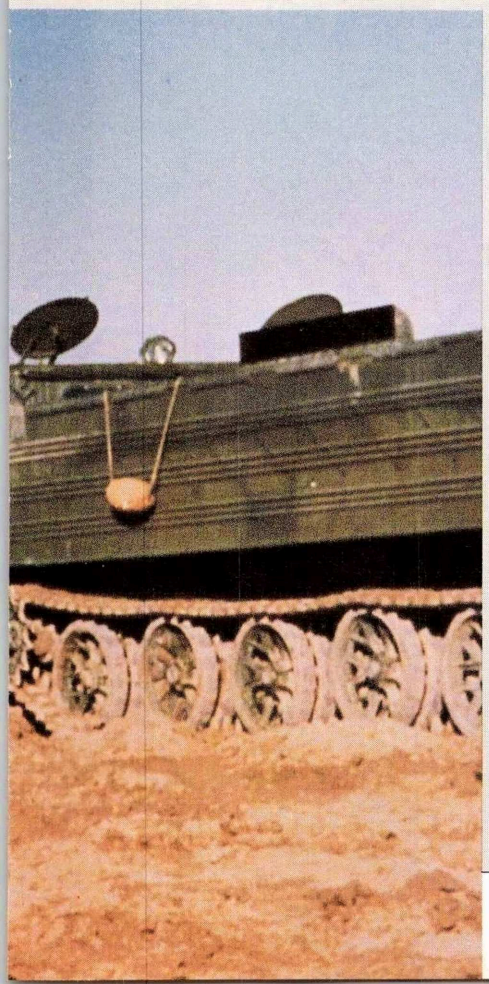
Violence erupts in the Crossroads shantytown as the Witdoeke (militant vigilantes) swarm through police and Defense Force lines on their way to do battle with the Comrades (the radicals) armed with spades, spears, daggers, and knobkerries.

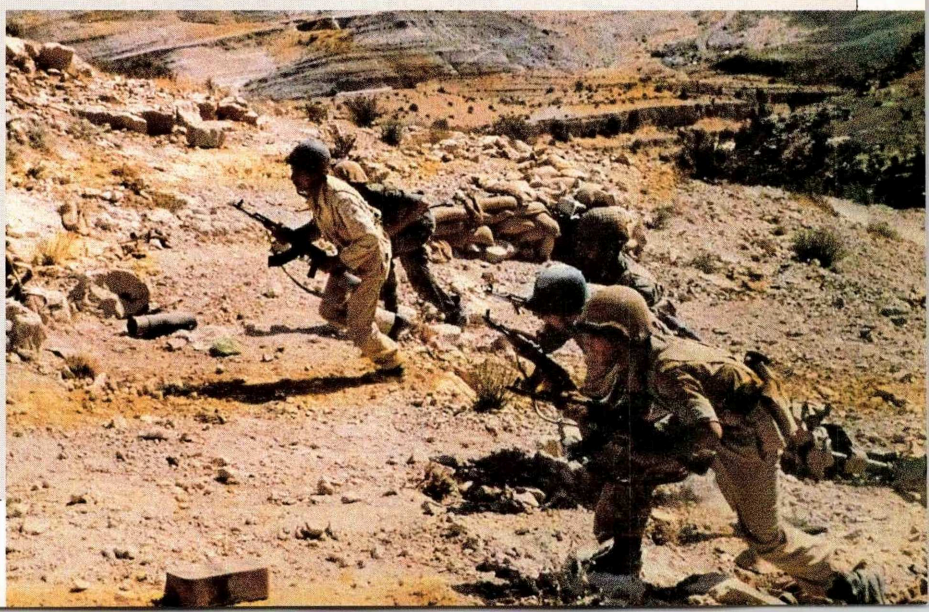
THE WAR THAT GOES ON, AND ON

Iraqi forces defend their positions in the south and central fronts from Iranian troops as the longest war of this century drags on. In late June, university students were dispatched to military training camps before being sent to the rear of the front line for the remainder of the summer.

PHOTOS BY ROL-AL-ARAB/SIPA SPECIAL FEATURES



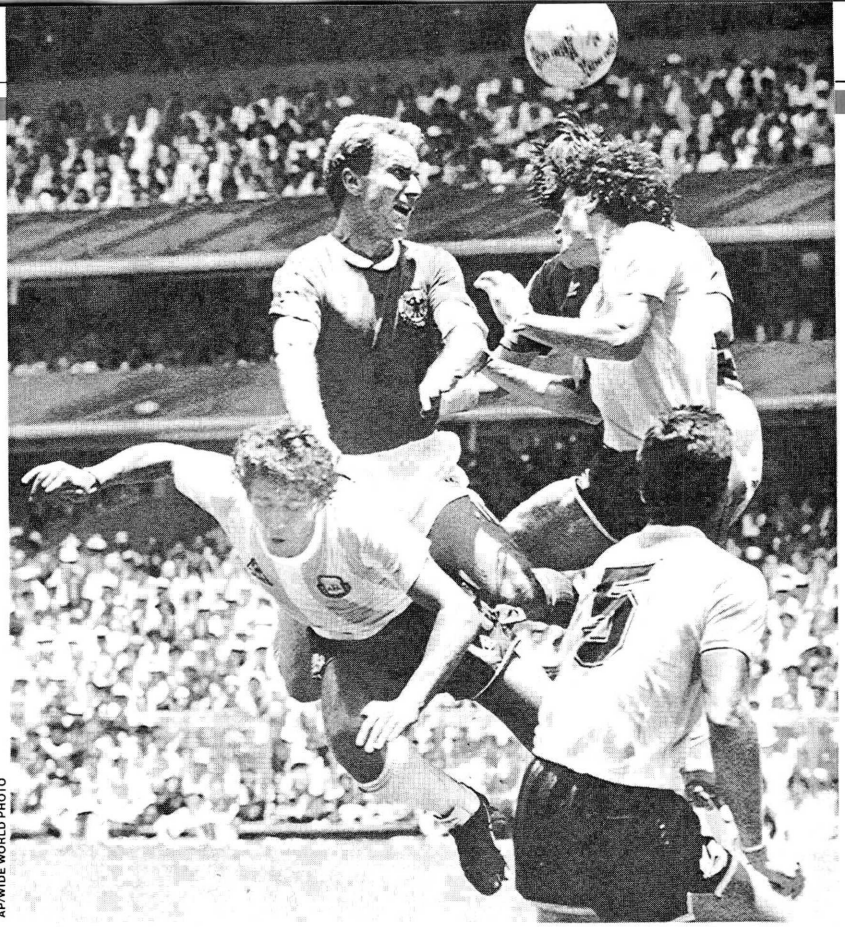




Focus

VICTORY IS SWEET . . .

Right: West Germany's Karl Heinz Rummenigge, upper left, fights for the ball with three Argentinians during the final soccer game of the World Cup in Mexico City. Below: Diego Armando Maradona, superstar of the Argentine soccer team, holds aloft the treasured cup he and his teammates won with their 3–2 victory over West Germany.



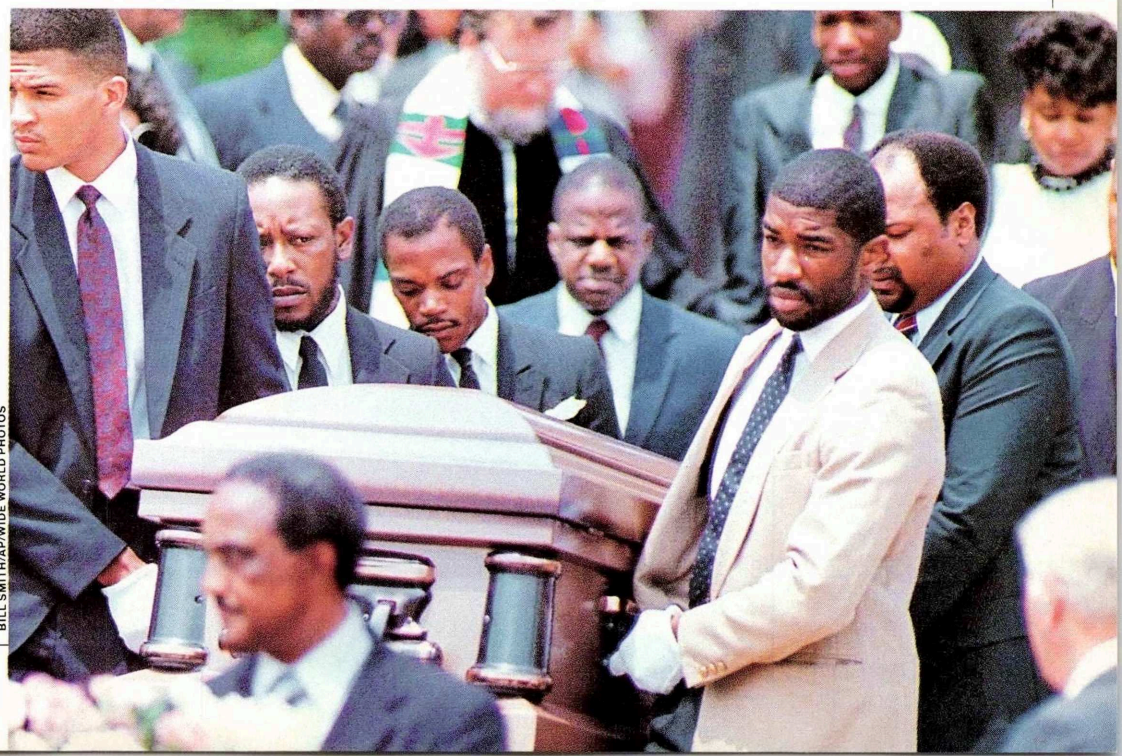
AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

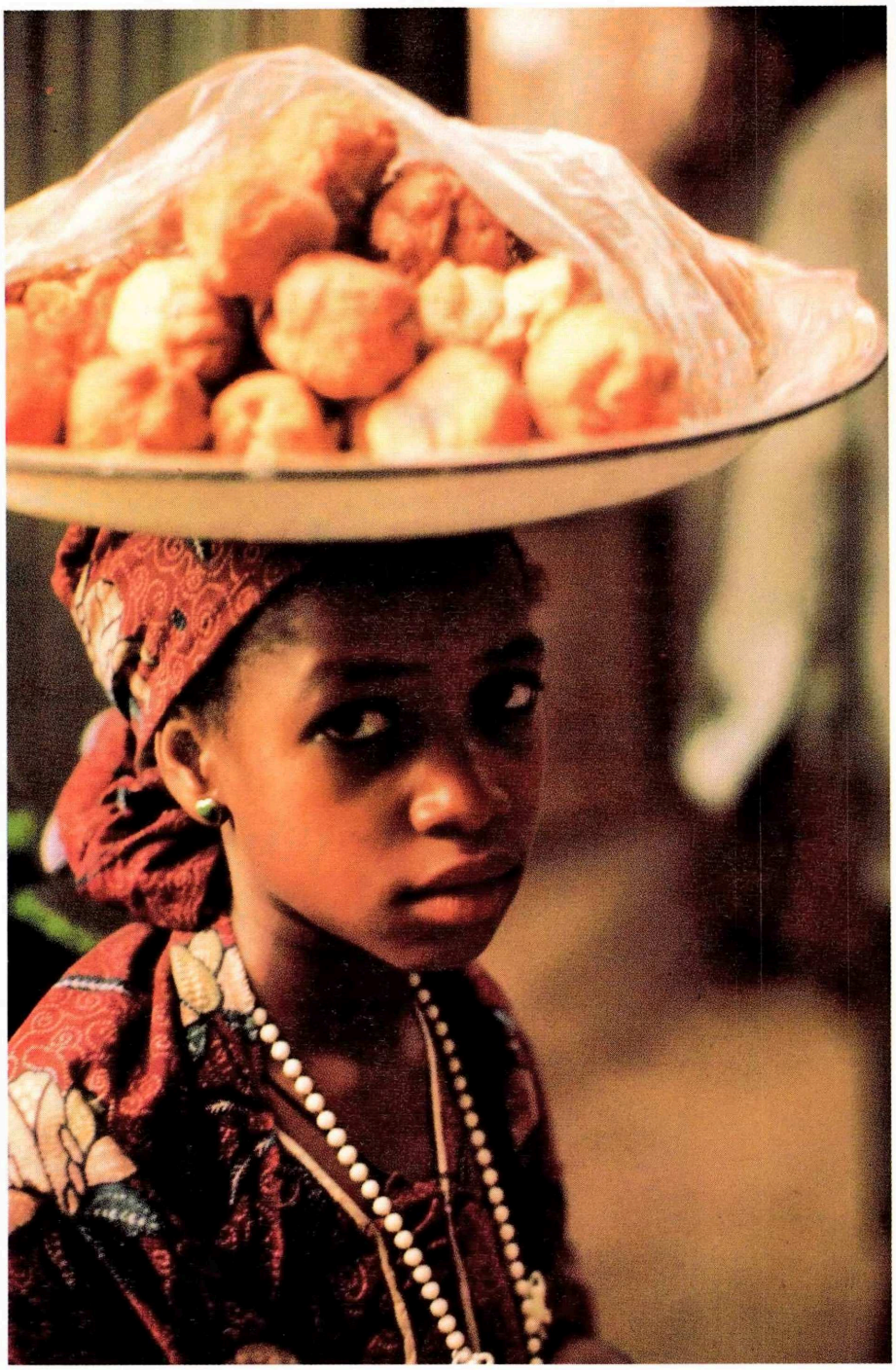
. . . BUT TRAGEDY IS BITTER

University of Maryland basketball star Len Bias, shown in a January game, died of a cardiac arrest caused by the use of cocaine, bringing national publicity to the problem of drug use among athletes. Below: Friends carry Bias' casket from the university chapel; James Bias (fourth from left), the athlete's father, follows the casket.

JOE GIZA/AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



BILL SMITH/AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



Senagalese woman. (p. 183)

CULTURE

HERITAGE

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COFRADÍA
Thomas J. Steele
Through their penances and rites the penitent brotherhood in New Mexico proclaim that at the intersection of the upright and the crossbar lies the center of the world and its history.

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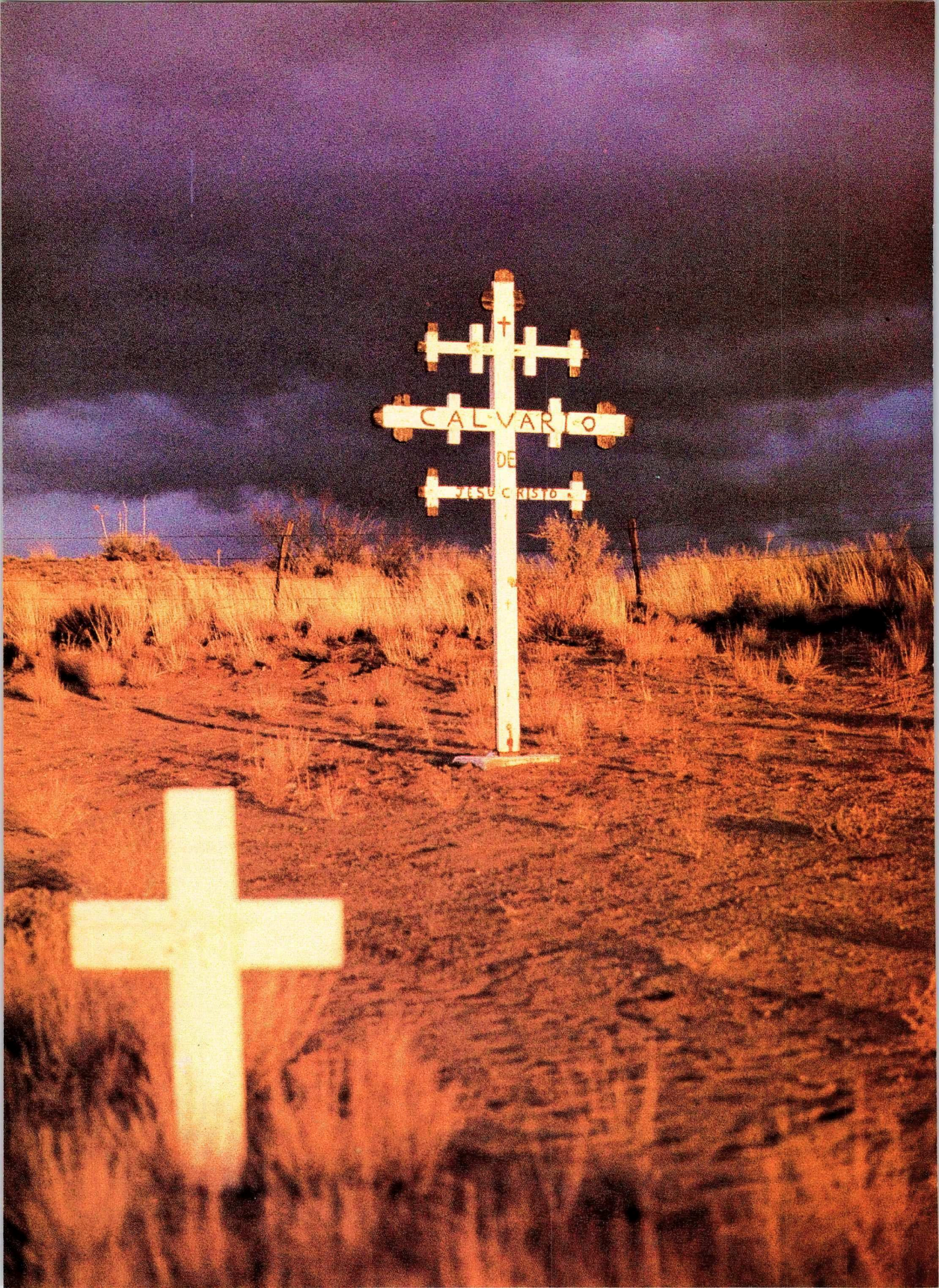

CALVARIO
DE
JESUCRISTO

Cofradía

The ritual penances of the Penitentes proclaim an eternal and sacred validity

Written and photographed by Thomas J. Steele

Like an ocean wave riding up the slope of a beach and gradually coming to a halt, its power expended, so the wave of Spanish colonization, about a century after it had exploded from a Spain that had just defeated the Moors, slowed and stilled in the high mountains of northern New Mexico. This farthest edge of the ragged rim of Christendom, a couple of thousand miles from the viceroy's palace in the City of Mexico, finally rested in a land of both natural and cultural beauty.

Those lovely mountains were already the home of civilized Indians, the Pueblos. For centuries they had tilled their fields, dug their *acequias* (irrigation systems), built their homes, fired their pottery, danced their dances, and carved their *kachinas* (dolls). But, like that dying wave which finally expended the power built thousands of miles away on the far shores of a great ocean, the Spanish experience in New Mexico held a great, strange, and terrible beauty all its own.

To some degree, this exotic condition arose from the meeting of the two cultures. It was not, as may be thought, that the Hispanics and the Indians synthesized their cultures into a third thing, a new culture born of the previous two. Rather, exactly the opposite, the recalcitrance of the Pueblos to acculturate seems to have heightened Spanish self-definition.

Simple penitente crosses make a dramatic symbol of faith outside a Socorro County *morada* at sundown.

The meeting of these two cultures fascinated and enticed such figures of world and national culture as D.H. Lawrence, Marsden Hartley, Willa Cather, and Georgia O'Keeffe. In the rich cultural soup of these primitive and folk peoples, the Brotherhood of Our Father Jesus the Nazarene—the Penitentes—stands out as a particularly dramatic feature. But the brotherhood was, and is, truly akin to the prevailing religion and culture of the Hispanics of New Mexico.

To understand and relish the phenomenon known as the *Cofradía*, the brotherhood or confraternity, it is necessary to explore some of the region's unique and little-known history.

The colony was founded in 1598, when even Jamestown was only a conjectural policy of Queen Elizabeth's England. Its story had begun more than a half-century earlier when survivors of an ill-fated expedition limped into Culiacán, on the Gulf of California. They brought with them second- and third-hand tales of cities of gold. These were instantly identified with the fabled Seven Cities of Cíbola, founded by seven bishops and their flocks who had sailed away to the west during the Moorish invasions centuries before.

A few years later a small expedition, viewing the stone and adobe town of Zuni at a distance, believed they had seen the first of the mythical cities that they had come seeking. They returned to the City of Mexico to prepare a major expedition. During the

PHOTOS BY THOMAS J. STEELE

next years, 1540–1542, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado led a futile expedition in search of golden cities in what is now western Kansas. So disappointed were the Spanish that for fifty-six years they left New Mexico almost completely alone.

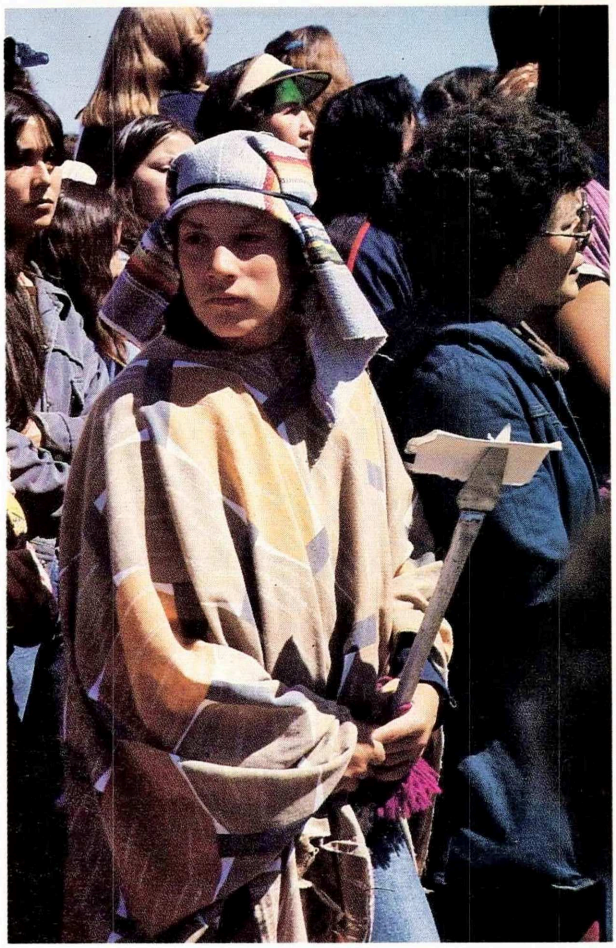
When the Spanish finally returned, their intention was to remain. They instituted a version of the European feudal system in their new home. Their soldiers would become the lords of the realm, and the Pueblos were cordially invited to be the serfs. Each officer was given a certain area of the Pueblo world in *encomienda,* in fealty to the crown. While the Indians would owe their new lord obedience, and a portion of the products of their hands and fields, he would owe them leadership, the protection of his sword, and (with a Franciscan friar's help) the benefits of Christianity—whether the natives considered them benefits or not.

In other words, the Spanish came to live among and off these peaceful, settled, agricultural, and architectural Indians. The newcomers founded only one town for themselves, Santa Fe, in 1610.

The Indians saw too much of the Spanish for either their pleasure or the Spaniards' good. The friars and the soldiers squabbled with each other over the Indians' labor. The friars wanted to build suitable churches, each with a comfortable *convento* (rectory). On the other hand, the soldiers wanted only to get rich quickly by amassing tanned hides, woven blankets, piñon (pine) nuts, and other such products of the land and its people.

The Indians wanted only to get rid of the Europeans. Finally, in 1680, they rose up in rebellion, killed all of the despised Spanish that they could catch, and drove the rest south to El Paso.

When the Spaniards returned a dozen years later, they offered a new deal to the natives. No longer would they try to alter their lives so drastically. Each pueblo would have to accept its Franciscan friar, promising not to kill him any more often than was absolutely necessary! Furthermore, they had to cooperate with the Spanish in military actions against their common enemies, the Comanche and Ute, the Navaho and Apache, and all the rest of the roving warlike tribes that ringed the settlement. The Spanish, for their part, founded towns for themselves, such as Santa Cruz and Albuquerque in addition to the restored Santa Fe. They set out to



prosper by the sweat of their own brows, not by the sweat of the brows of other men and women.

There were a few minor uprisings in the earliest years of the reconquered colony but, by and large, the new deal worked much more productively than the old feudal arrangements. Sadly the Pueblo Indians declined in numbers, principally because they lacked immunity to such European diseases as measles, whooping cough, and smallpox. Conversely, the number of Spaniards increased dramatically, especially after one particularly effective governor, Juan Bautista de Anza, had defeated the Comanche. He entered into a treaty of alliance with them that (in contrast to every treaty made by the U.S. government with conquered Indian peoples) the Spanish Empire and the Mexican Republic adhered to for as long as they held sway in the region.

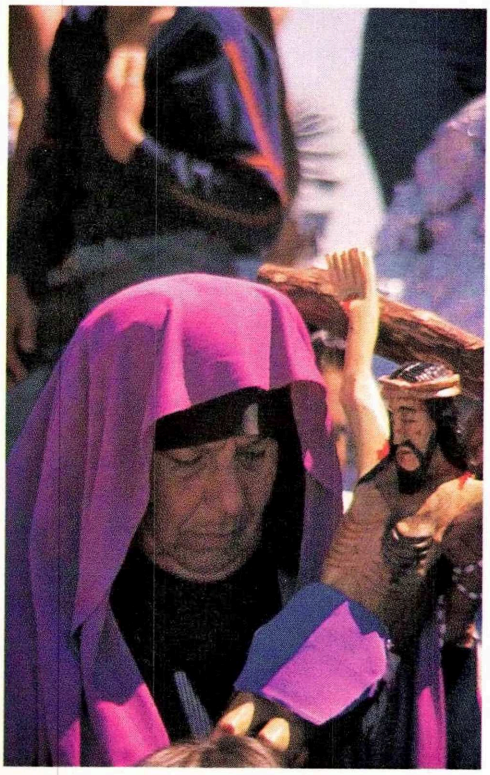
But while the number of Spaniards was rising, the number of Franciscan friars was declining dramatically. Since they thought of themselves as missionaries and not as parish priests, and since they were

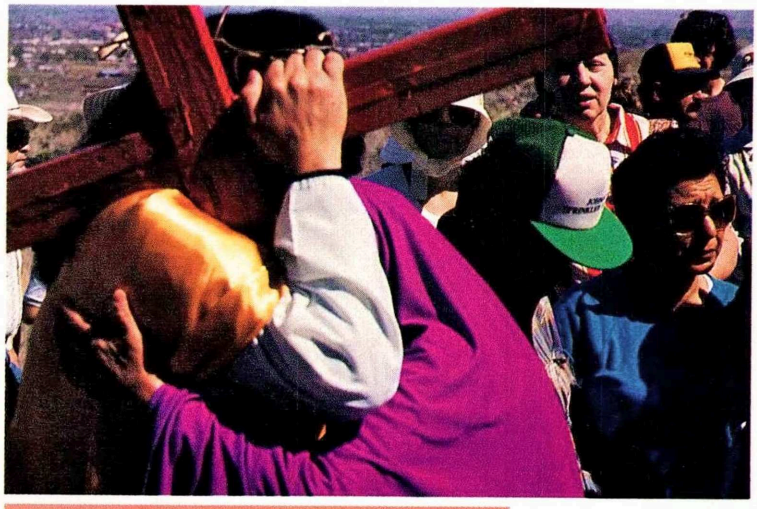
paid by the crown to work with the Indians, the dwindling numbers of Franciscans remained in the Pueblo towns. At the same time, there was a general movement by many Hispanic settlers into the mountain valleys. The surplus population had to leave the broad river valleys to go where new farmland might be found. In a farming and ranching economy, a town (as Harvey Fergusson wrote in his 1931 *Rio Grande*) will, like a desert plant, get only so big and then get no bigger. In the latter years of the eighteenth century, the Hispanic Catholics founded upwards of a hundred new settlements on the fringes of the colony—and not a single one boasted a resident priest.

Not only the church failed these people. The state failed them as well. During these same years, the Spanish empire was neither capable of keeping Napoleon out of the Iberian peninsula nor of keeping a Bonaparte off the very throne itself. Realistically therefore they exercised no more than a tentative control over their colonies. And that control was destined to collapse shortly.

The Spanish people of New Mexico seem hardly to have missed their priests. Also there is some doubt as to whether or not they would have been able to afford the clergymen's expensive services, even had they ventured with the settlers into the hinterlands. To replace the church's liturgies during Holy Week, which to Franciscans was the most important time of the Christian liturgical year, the people learned to enact passion plays. These dramatized, in a manner even more emotionally satisfactory than any ordinary church services, the events of the passion and death of Jesus.

These events had been organized into the Stations of the Cross, a very popular devotion throughout the church during the first half of the eighteenth century and especially popular with the Franciscans. They retained a late-medieval spirituality that focused on the actions of Christ's humanity. During these passion plays, the people of northern New Mexico meditated upon the *hesed* (loving-kindness) of God the Father as it manifested itself by reconciling the world to Himself through the sufferings of Jesus Christ. Their own hesed summoned them to a generous response which surpassed the passion plays in kind and not merely in degree. Hence it was that the Hispanic men of northern New Mexico, in about 1800, began to embody in their own flesh the hyperboles of devotional language, striving to suffer, in union with Christ and for His sake, what He had suffered for them.

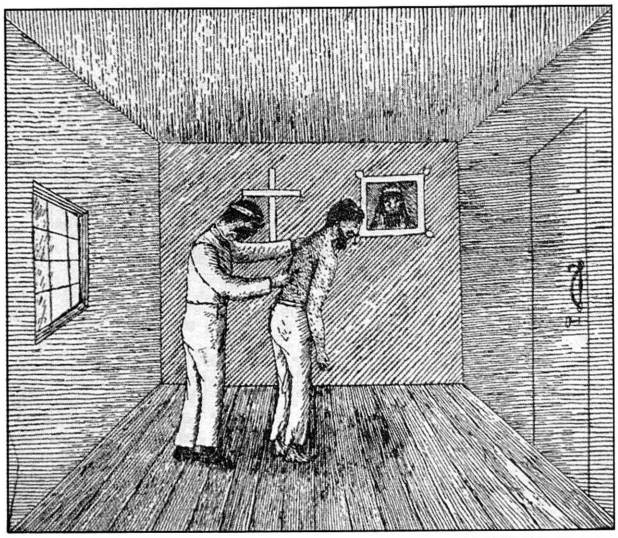




Opposite page: **A "Centurion's servant" participating in a contemporary New Mexican Hispanic passion play.** ***Above:*** **Other dramatic scenes depicted include the encounter between Jesus and Mary on the Way of the Cross.** ***Left:*** **"Mary" holding a crucifix.**

Precedents for their penances can be found in the self-scourgings of the Franciscan friars, and some of the laity, during Holy Week. Certainly the only men's organizations that performed similar deeds were the famous penitential confraternities of Spanish cities, such as Seville, and certain regions of New Spain, which they had influenced. The New Mexican cofradías exhibit many more resemblances to Iberian models than coincidence can possibly explain. Whether those resemblances originated through the personal knowledge or experience of some Spanish or Mexican immigrant, or whether it was through some inspirational tract or book, remains a matter of mystery.

Additionally, the five Sorrowful Mysteries of the Rosary served as paradigms for the five most characteristic forms of the brothers' penitential activity. Christ's bloody sweat at the start of His sufferings becomes the cutting of the *sello*, three skin-deep incisions down each side of the spine at the start of the individual brother's penitential exercises. Christ's Scourging at the Pillar gives rise to the brothers' flagellations. The Crowning with Thorns becomes the brothers' several modes of using cactus. Jesus' Carrying the Cross is ritualized by their carrying of their *maderos* (wooden crosses). Ultimately His Crucifixion is reenacted by the propitiatory act of tying a chosen brother to the cross to be the *Cristo* for that year, and to expiate in his human flesh, in likeness, in unity, and even in identity with Christ Jesus, the sins of the people of the village.



This drawing, photographed from the Reverend Alex Darley's 1893 "Passionists of the Southwest," depicts the cutting of the three skin-deep incisions, the *sello* (the seal), on either side of the penitent brother's spine to symbolize Christ's bloody sweat, the first mark of His suffering.

In this light, the brothers' activities are clearly neither random brutality nor idle death-worship, nor even a primitive sadomasochism. Yet they have been interpreted as these or other aberrations by casual and careless observers who fail to reflect that such peculiarities do not turn on and off with the periods of the Christian liturgical year. For forty-five weeks of the year the members of the brotherhood are the most normal men in the community, and during the six-and-a-half weeks of Lent they perform a thoroughly institutionalized and traditionally validated set of penances.

They have a lively sense of sin—not the psychological malady which is guilt-consciousness. These shrewd villagers do not deny life by their activities. They affirm life, recognizing sin as an antisocial activity that strikes threateningly at the root of the village society in which a peasant possesses his being. As Harvey Fergusson put it half a century ago, "The New Mexican embraces death because he loves life, because death is a part of life and until death had been accepted life is but a subterfuge."

From such an origin, in such a time of need, the Pious Fraternity of Our Father Jesus the Nazarene *(Fraternidad Piadosa de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazereno)* spread phenomenally, skipping from village to village and from one valley to the next all across the colony. A snoopy Franciscan visitor in 1776 would have seen nothing in the colony that even slightly resembled a confraternity of penitente brothers, but by 1833, when for the first time in more than seventy years the bishop of Durango came to call, the brothers were all over the place.

As bishops will, the prelate issued a stern decree:

> To forestall another great evil which might become even worse in the future, I prohibit these Brotherhoods of Penance—or more accurately of Butchery—which have taken their rise under cover of an unsuitable tolerance. Each pastor or administrator should take care that not a single one of these Brotherhoods

remains in the entire district under his charge and that there remains no store-room or other place to keep those great crosses or other instruments of mortification with which some of them half kill their bodies, while at the same time they pay no attention to their souls, which they leave in sin for years at a time.

But even if he had tried blandishment instead of insult, honey instead of vinegar, getting the brothers to comply would have been harder than the bishop supposed. In the first place, the practices of the Brotherhood of Our Father Jesus the Nazarene were satisfying to the men themselves. Salvador de Madariaga, in his 1931 volume *Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards,* declared the essence of the Spanish soul to be passion. In New Mexico that soul achieved a passionate union with the Holy in a down-to-earth mysticism, which found expression not in elegant personal poetry like that of Juan de la Cruz but in rough-hewn communal folk hymns:

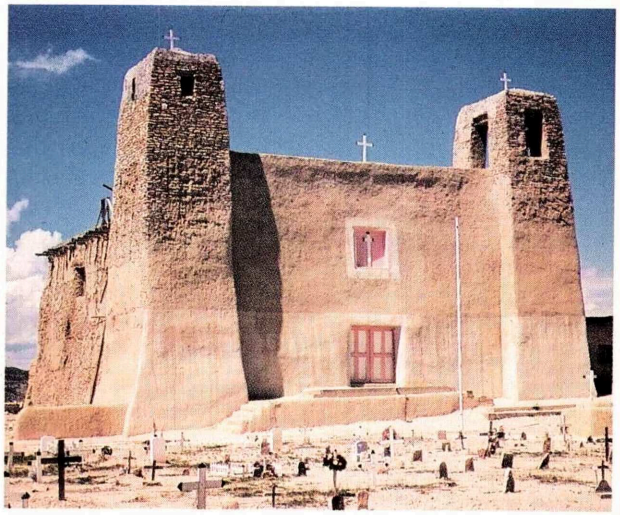
O Jesús, Dios verdadero
O Jesús mi Salvador,
O Jesús, infinito amor,
O Jesús, manzo Cordero!
[O Jesus, true God,
O Jesus my Savior,
O Jesus, infinite love,
O Jesus, gentle Lamb!]

Ven pecador y verás
Al Señor sacramentado
Padiciendo por el hombre
Tan cruelmente y' azotado.
[Come, sinner, and you will see
The Eucharistic Lord
Suffering for mankind,
Already so cruelly scourged.]

There was something here that episcopal decrees could not replace.

Secondly, the bishop could not have obtained compliance since he could appeal to no unified organization to which all the village chapters of the brotherhood belonged. Each village chapter was autonomous, and the only wider leadership was purely charismatic. A few brothers were able to get the attention, and earn the loyalty, of groups beyond their own little valleys, but they were not likely to have passed along the unpopular and indeed impossible prohibitions of a distant prelate. Probably neither Don Bernardo Abeyta, builder of the Santuario de Chimayó, the "spiritual capital of Hispanic New Mexico," nor Cura Don Antonio José Martínez, the talented and powerful padre of Taos, nor Don Manuel de Jesús Hurtado, leader of a cluster of chapters in the Rio Grande valley south of Santa Fe, could have gotten the brotherhood to disband, to cease doing penance, or to stop being brothers—even if they had wished to try.

The mission church of Acoma was built in 1625. Like so many other seventeenth-century mission churches it was built by somewhat reluctant Pueblo Indian labor under Franciscan direction. All the materials for this massive structure were carried on the shoulders of both men and women up a 300-foot ladder-pathway.



With the 1851 arrival of French clerics such as Jean Baptiste Lamy, the historical original of Willa Cather's Jean-Marie Latour in her *Death Comes for the Archbishop,* the prelates of New Mexico started living far closer to the brothers and became fearful of any exercise of religious power that was not their own. But the archbishops of Santa Fe had no more luck than had their Durango predecessor in changing the brothers' ways. It may be noted that there were abundant brothers in the southern counties of Colorado, but the bishops of Denver were far less worried about men who formed a much smaller

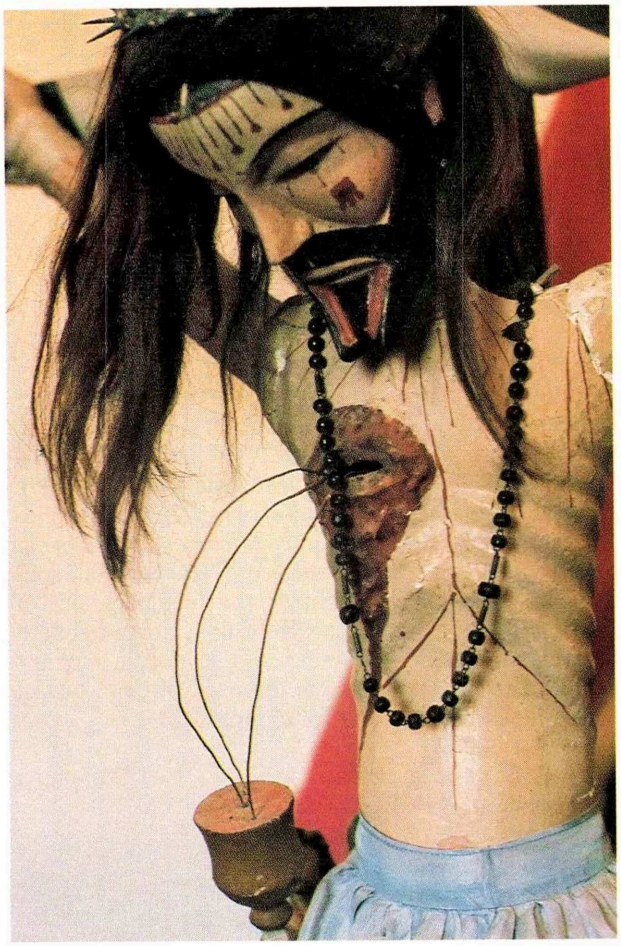
portion of the total population than they did in New Mexico, where perhaps three-quarters of the Catholic population were brothers or their family members.

In fact, however uneasy they made the archbishops feel, suppressing the pious fraternities would have been disastrous for the Hispanic people of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. The penitentes were the glue that held the village societies together. Through all the times of transition from the Spanish Empire to the Mexican Republic (1821) to the United States of America (1846) and even into the 1920s, the 1930s, and the 1940s, the peasant people of the valleys continued to live in isolation from the great tradition of Spanish imperial society. These villages depended on the brotherhoods.

In the first place, the *hermandades* (brothers), both by default and by design, were the welfare delivery systems of the village. The brothers provided any needed help in their local social environment in the form of social services, the maintainance of law and order, and assistance in dealing with the outside world, especially the judicial system of the territory, the state, or the nation. They comforted the sick by sitting with the invalid at night, which allowed family members to rest, sent for the local folk-medicine specialist—*curandero* or *curandera*—to help with herbal medicines, and even paid the town doctor in particularly serious cases.

They buried the dead. They would do so both financially and quite literally, by making the coffin, digging the grave, conducting an all-night wake and funeral service, and serving as pallbearers. All this in times and towns before the establishment of undertakers. Financially they acted as a burial insurance society in later years. They cared for the widowed and orphaned, and saw to it that a woman's fields were plowed, planted, tended, and harvested until she could make provision for herself and her children by remarrying, or until her sons became old enough to care for her themselves.

Similarly, the brothers maintained law and order in the village by punishing those who consistently violated village norms. They were especially concerned with trying, convicting, and punishing guilty fellow penitentes. They settled local disputes. As the bylaws of a Colorado chapter specified, "If any difficulty arises among the Brothers, the Hermano Mayor [Elder Brother, chief internal officer] shall act as a competent judge, and if one of the parties among whom the difficulty exists is not willing to justly submit himself to the decision of the Hermano Mayor, the latter is authorized to impose a penalty proportionate to the offense."



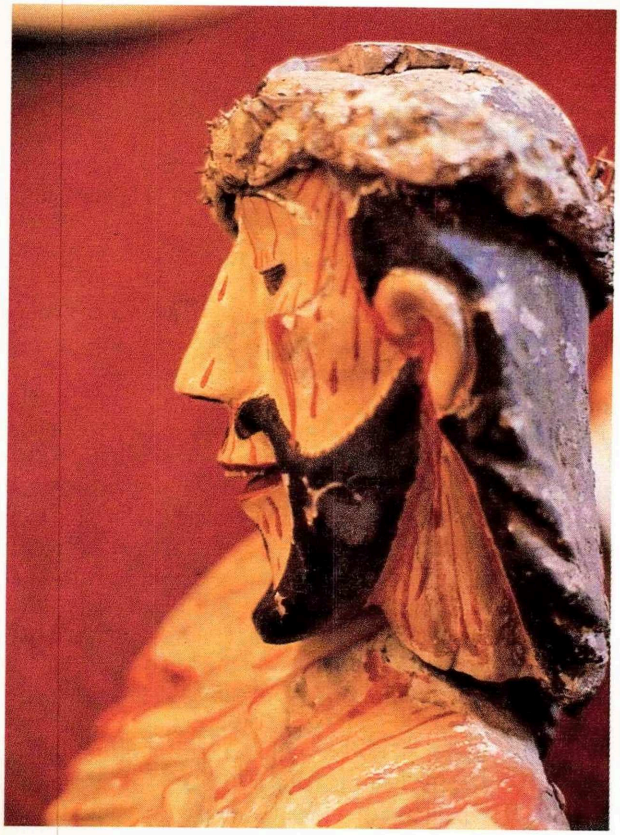
Above and below right: **Details of two *morada* crucifixes (circa 1885) by unknown artists. Typically the *santos* (religious statues) are made of local softwoods, covered with gesso, and painted with homemade watercolors.**

If somebody in the village, especially a brother, ran afoul of the great tradition's law, the local chapter did what it could to help. If more was needed, the village *morada* (chapterhouse) contacted nearby moradas to solicit whatever the circumstances demanded. In these various ways, the local brotherhoods fostered village cooperation and self-sufficiency, striving toward the integration of people's lives, toward communal survival, and toward the survival of the individuals who composed the

village. In this way the brothers' religious commitment bore practical and tangible fruit.

The Brothers of Our Father Jesus were also the great guardians of traditional cultural values. They fostered the making of the *santos*, the religious folk art which provided large puppetlike statues for the passion plays, and various other painted and carved saints that represented patrons for or against the various hopes and fears that made up the Hispanic motivational profile. When the traditional santos were supplanted in the churches and chapels by factory-made "religious art," the brothers often made room in their moradas for the orphaned santos of the village.

The moradas themselves were, and are, part of the traditional material culture. They are low adobe structures located at the edges of the settlements or in arroyos in the nearby pasturelands. They often can be identified by their relative lack of windows, by a large cross in front, and by the replica of Calvary in the near vicinity.



The brothers have also been the custodians of the oral arts of Spanish New Mexico. Many individual brothers have thick, worn, pocket-size books filled with handwritten *alabados,* similar to the two cited above, hymns of praise for Jesus in His Passion and hymns of sympathy for Mary's compassion for her Son, and *oraciones*, prayers that help the speaker participate vicariously in the events of the first Holy Week or somehow draw the person to a richer appreciation of his need for divine aid. The "Daily Prayer" *(La Oracion Diaria),* which follows, contrasts Jesus' generosity in giving himself in the Eucharist and the Passion with the speaker's sinfulness. It is rhymed octosyllabic verse in irregular stanzas. Notice the incantational quality that might remind an English speaker of the poetry of Richard Crashaw:

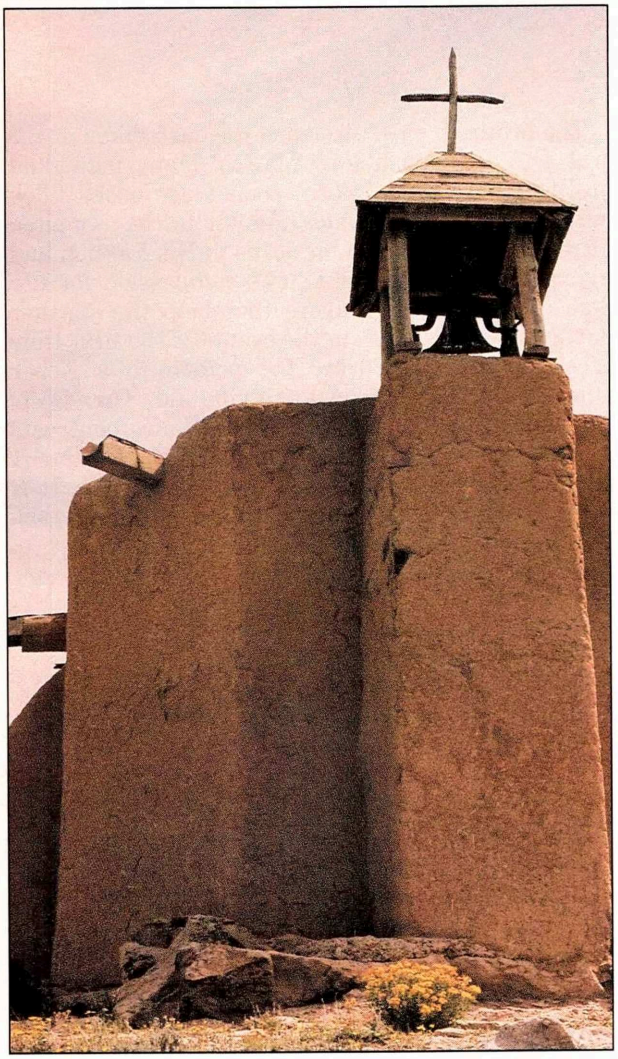
My sweet beloved Jesus,
Great Lord, God of purity,
With all my soul it grieves me
To have offended thee so badly,
But today I come repenting
To thy most holy table.

Sweet Jesus of my life,
Father of my heart,
Grant me thy absolution,
Give me peace in this life,
And by thy beloved Mother,

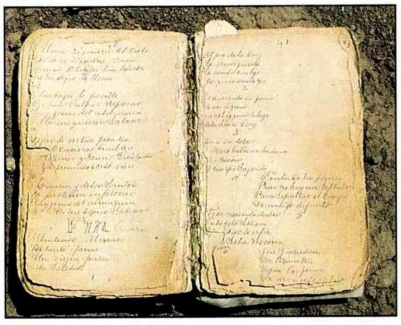
Lord, I beg thy pardon
For how much I have offended thee.
I wish to obtain pardon and enjoy the glory,
My sweet beloved Jesus;
Lord, I beg thy pardon
By thy great omnipotence,
And by thy great clemency
I beg thy mercy;
Though I have been a sinner

And have offered thy grandeur,
To beg your pardon is my need.
Pardon me by thy love,
Great Lord, God of purity.

Come, divine sacrament,
Come, for thy love enchants me,
Come, pass through my throat,
Come, treasure most precious,
Come, divine nourishment . . . .



Above: **The exterior of a Rio Arriba County *morada*. *Below:* A well worn *cuadero,* a handwritten book of Spanish hymns. The brotherhood was largely responsible for most of what little literacy endured in the nineteenth century colony.**



By eliciting a consciousness of sin in the face of God's holiness through prayers of this sort, the brothers were able to bring themselves and their fellow villagers first to repentance and a sense of their need for redemption, then to a belief that participation in Jesus' passion and death would assure atonement, and finally to a deep and tender love for the loving Lord—a hesed in response to divine loving-kindness itself. By taking the individual brother out of his individuality, out of profane time and space, and inserting him into a ritual identification with Jesus in His suffering, each chapter of the brotherhood was able to suffuse its village world with the eternally validating world of the Christian beginning time.

Certainly from early in the nineteenth century, and perhaps from very near the beginning of their history, the local chapters had had a slate of officers drawn from the Brothers of Light. These men had performed several years of corporal penance as Brothers of Blood and had "emerged into the light" once again. The brotherhood is formed by two main groups. The Brothers of Blood are spiritually younger members who, during the first three to five years after their novitiate period, perform the majority of the penances. The Brothers of Light are elder members who no longer regularly perform penances, though they do not exclude themselves from these activities, and who are qualified to hold offices in the brotherhood's organization.

In addition to the aforementioned Elder Brother (who frequently served for life once he had been elected), there were a warden (a sort of sergeant at arms), a counselor (for dealing with the great tradition), a master of novices, a nurse, a treasurer, a secretary, a *pitero* (the flautist, who played the flute which provided arpeggio interludes between stanzas of the a cappella hymns), the *picador* (who cut the "seal" of the brotherhood, the three shallow vertical cuts on either side of the spine that began the penitential flow of blood), and the picador's assistant. These were elected within the village, so the local morada's form of church governance might be termed "congregational" or "presbyterian," government by the whole chapter or by its elder members.

But, as might be expected, in the later nineteenth century district organizations of several moradas began to form. Though at first they always collapsed,

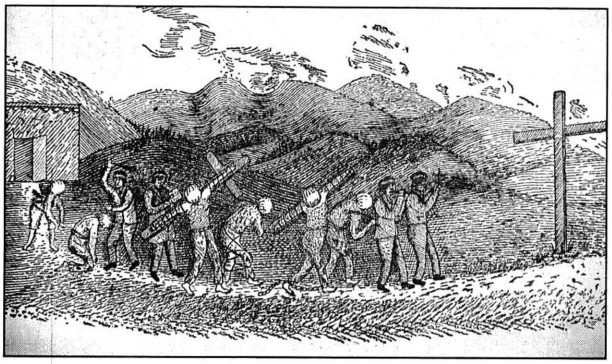
when the leader died or the crisis passed that had called them forth, *centros* (central bodies governing a number of moradas) nevertheless became habitual to the brothers.

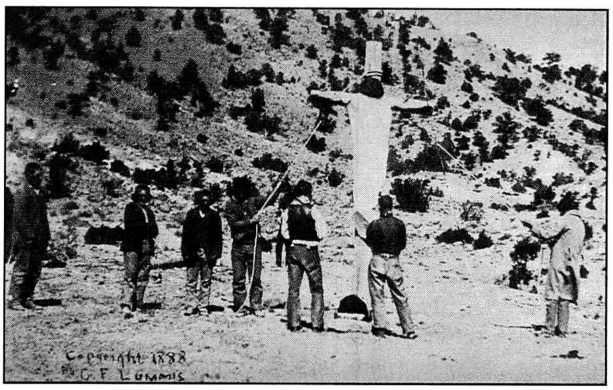
To a great extent, these district and regional groupings of village moradas occurred as a reaction to outside pressure. Some of the pressure was impersonal—simply the cultural impact caused by the arrival of small groups of Anglo-Americans from across the Santa Fe Trail after 1821, followed by larger and more assertive groups that arrived during and after the Mexican War (1846–1848). But much of the pressure bore proper names—names such as the early French archbishops Lamy and Salpointe, early Protestant missionaries like Harwood and Darley, and early ethnographers and travel writers like Bandelier, Bourke, and Lummis.

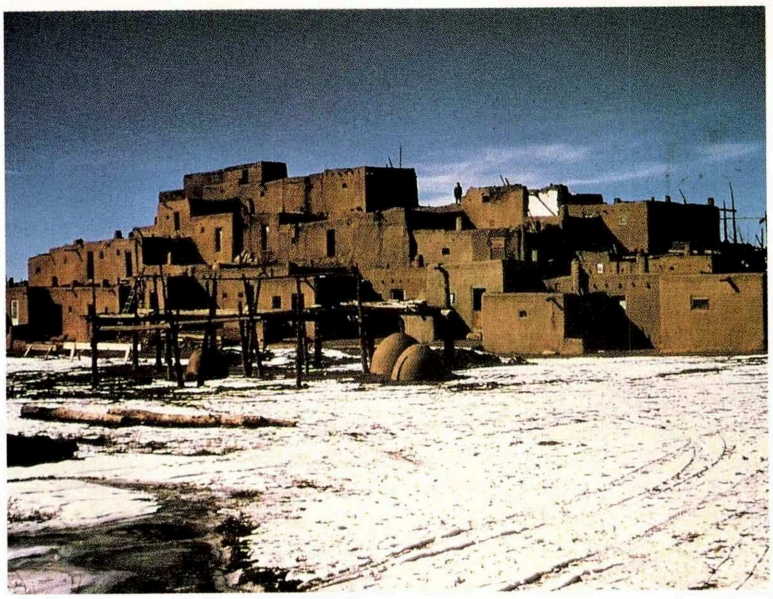
The archbishops issued frequent and heavy-handed prohibitions similar to those issued by the bishop of Durango. For example, one in 1892 all but read the brothers out of the church. The Rev. Alex Darley, having converted a hermano mayor to Presbyterianism, shortly thereafter published a translation of the man's rulebook. Charles F. Lummis finally invaded the brothers' Holy Week processions, in San Mateo in 1888, and took photographs at the point of a gun—literally with a cocked revolver lying atop his camera. Lummis' account of the ceremonies that surrounded this gun-and-camera incident, in *The Land of Poco Tiempo,* published in 1893, will exemplify his highly dramatized version of sentimental realism and local color:

> In advance [goes] a tall, athletic *pitero*, torturing that unearthly unmelody from his rude reed *pito*, and recognizable as one of the leading musicians of the neighborhood. A few rods behind, two other natives bearing lanterns before the feet of the astounding figure which follows them—a head loosely but securely wrapped in a black bag like a hangman's cap; a body naked to the waist, and clothed below with not more than a pair of flapping linen drawers, now wet with red; bare feet purple with the savage cold of a New Mexican March, yet not too frozen to bleed responsive to the attentions of the frozen rocks; and arms which swing mechanically up and back at each step, and bring a broad, plaited whip down upon the macerated back with a heavy swash. A few rods more to the rear comes another man, in the same fantastic undress, but without the whip. He staggers under an enormous cross, its rear end crunching on the rocks and snow twenty feet behind, its weight five times that of its bearer. And slowly, painfully, with bleeding backs and feet and freezing bodies, the self-made martyrs with their solemn attendants file past the trembling watcher and disappear among the querulous pines, through whose arches the tootle of the fife floats fitfully back.

Below left: **This drawing, photographed from Reverend Darley's 1893 "Passionists of the Southwest," shows six Brothers of Blood performing various acts of physical penance. Also depicted are Brothers of Light, one administering a scourging, another leading hymns, yet another playing the *pito* (flute) and one leading the procession, who holds the *guia* (guiding crucifix). *Below right:* One of the 1888 photographs taken, at gunpoint, by Charles F. Lummis. It shows the final act of penance, when the *Cristo* is tied to, and hung from, the cross.**







The northern houseblock of the Taos Pueblo, which dates from the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The unique light and deeply rooted Indian culture of this region induced many artists to settle in northern New Mexico.

> Each Friday night of Lent these strange spectres flit through the loneliest mountain gorges, until Holy Week; and then the whipping goes on nightly—but still in privacy. It is not until Holy Thursday that the scattered knots of fanatics come together in some spot where they have a *morada* (brotherhood house), and do their penance by daylight where the curious may see without danger.

It is small wonder that the threatened village chapters, threatened with such aggressive intrusion and such lurid literary treatment, banded defensively together because they felt there might be greater strength in numbers.

Finally, in the early twentieth century, some district organizations managed to survive beyond the point of a leader's death or the end of a given crisis. They even began to reach beyond their respective river valleys or county boundaries to link up with other districts forming regional unions embracing areas hundreds of miles in each direction. Success, however, was not easy or necessarily permanent. One of the first, and widest-ranging, organizations was formed in the early years of the century by Manuel García of Taos. It survived his death in 1908 and passed to the leaderhip of José Dalio Córdova of Arroyo Hondo. Unfortunately, a couple of lawsuits brought an end to the union of districts that the two men had worked so hard to form.

Taos was also the home, during the 1920s and 1930s, of perhaps the most important art colony this country has ever seen. This gathering of artists and litterateurs (along with the Santa Fe colony, which tended more to writers than to artists) profoundly altered Anglo reactions to the folkways of the New Mexican Hispanic peoples, including their religious practices.

The ugly side of the coin of Anglo attention was the outdoor and nocturnal sport known as "penitente hunting," cruising around the purlieus of nearby villages during the moonlit nights of Holy Week hoping to surprise the brothers in their clandestine penances—an unmannerly parallel to Lummis' armed prying. In time, the brothers developed defensive measures. Brothers of Light, who accompanied penitential processions, often carried guns and were known to shoot harmlessly into the darkness, though they were reputed to shoot to kill. The brothers themselves seem to have spread rumors to the effect that the skeletal ghosts of departed brothers often returned from the world beyond to complete their purgation in awesome company with the living.

But truly, the brotherhood performed fascinating penitential processions from morada to church or even to the moradas of nearby villages. Numerous writers have left us their more or less lurid and sanguinary, more or less cool and lucid, narratives of what they saw. Here, from Cleofas Martínez Jaramillo's *Shadows of the Past,* is a fairly laconic account of the processions of Holy Week in Arroyo Hondo—approximately contemporary with those that Lummis saw.

A native New Mexican herself, Mrs. Jaramillo

participated by education, marriage, and career in the traditional Hispanic world and in the Anglo romantic-revival of literature and art—she was founder of the Folklore Society:

> Good Friday. *Las Tres Caidas* (Three Falls). The largest and heaviest cross was picked out and laid upon the shoulder of the *hermano* who chose to represent the crucified Christ. A crown of thorns was placed on his head, and a bunch of prickly cactus was hung on his back. Laboriously, the *penitente* dragged the scraping cross up the rocky trail. Two brethren of light walked on each side of him, one reading the three falls in the Stations of the Cross from an open book in his hand. The other, acting the part of Simon Cyrene, helped the *hermano* lift the weighty cross when he stumbled and fell under its weight. A group of brethren of light had already dug a pit and gathered a pile of rocks by Calvary Cross. They stood around the *calvario*, awaiting the arrival of the *Cristo* brother, who on reaching the hill was stretched upon his cross and tied with ropes. The cross was raised and placed in the pit and surrounded by the pile of rocks to hold it upright.
>
> The *hermanos* knelt with bowed heads around the cross, praying and reciting the Seven Last Words of the crucified Savior. The voice of the man upon the cross grew more and more faint, as he repeated the words, until his body hung limp, and he was taken down.

The feature of the brothers accompanying the Cristo to pray is an important religious feature of the scene. Such prayers or hymns served to specify the meaning of the man's suffering, so that the painful experience could not possibly be mistaken for personal punishment, psychological aberration, or anything else. In this way the act was identified and established as precisely Christian—indeed as Christian action supreme. Hence almost all authentic pictures of brotherhood processions show a man carrying a crucifix (the *guia* or guide), a pitero to play his flute accompaniment to any hymns, and a reader to lead the indispensable songs or prayers. Thus the words formed the matter of penitential action into a quasi-sacrament.

As Mrs. Jaramillo's account also suggests, the creative side of the artists' and writers' presence in New Mexico was their sensitivity to cultural phenomena and their ability to communicate to others some sense of their own deeper awareness. Indeed, the very cultural wealth of the Taos and Santa Fe regions, with seven centuries of Indian culture and three centuries of Spanish, only thinly touched by one mere century of Anglo presence, had—along with the marvelous light of northern New Mexico—brought the artists to set up their easels there in the first place. Just as the painters' exposure to the post-Renaissance artis-

A ceremonial cross and several penitential crosses stacked outside a San Miguel County *morada*.

tic phenomenon of cubism enabled them to see past the unrealistic folk superficials to the deeper artistic integrity of the New Mexico santos, so their wider and more thematically integrated cultural experiences made them able to accept the brothers as valid human beings in a valid religious culture. Intuition overcame many of the overt differences between painter and penitent.

Following the artists came the scholars. Both talented amateurs and professional academics delved into documents and went out into the villages to gain access to the best possible information. They then assimilated that information into the most cogent possible account. Instead of merely describing as best they could what the brothers did, these new writers leaned in the direction of interpretation, analysis, and explanation. Whereas earlier authors such as Lummis or Mrs. Jaramillo would narrate a penitential procession as it appeared to them, noting how they felt about it, later writers might comment, as did Weigle and Lyons in a recent article, that "Processions to shrines, graveyards or *camposantos*, sites marked by one or three large crosses and called *Calvarios*, local chapels and churches, in effect weave a sacred network around and about the community. For a time, everyone lives within this periodically sacralized sanctuary." Within the improved climate created by the artists and writers, their more sensible, less sensational presentations have gradually gained a hearing.

The earliest substantial breakthrough was Dorothy Woodward's 1935 dissertation at Yale University, "The Penitentes of New Mexico," still a great treasury of primary sources and clear reason. Two years later, Alice Corbin, painter William Penhallow Henderson's wife, published her sensitive *Brothers of Light*. Fr. José A. García of the Ranchos de Taos parish did a couple of more popular articles from his "insider" viewpoint, and the Franciscan Fray Angélico Chávez labored expertly with documents from the archives of the archdiocese. Both priests worked very effectively behind the scenes to bring the official church into line with the realities of the case.

Santo collectors like José E. Espinosa, and museum curators like George Mills and E. Boyd, saw the brothers anew from the privileged perspective offered by the religious folk art that was so intimately tied to their life of prayer and ritual. Academics such as Marta Weigle, Thomas Lyons, and Rowena A. Rivera have tried to assemble all available documents, the voluminous work of serious and trivial past writers, and the best insights of anthropologists, folklore theorists, and theologians. It has been a long and hard labor to make the Brotherhood of Our Father Jesus the Nazarene make sense in the context of an American culture that takes more readily to immediate gratification than to the cutting of the sello, scourging, crowning with cactus, the carrying of a pine cross, and crucifixion.

While such scholarly writing went forward, the history of the brotherhood continued apace. During the 1930s and the 1940s, the archbishops of Santa Fe moved closer to the hermanos, trying all the time to work out an arrangement whereby the brotherhood as an organization could be formally and publicly united to the institutional Catholic Church. In the late 1930s, one archbishop even drafted a letter decreeing the union—but he never signed or published it. In 1946, the powerful Sheridan district in San Miguel County seemed on the point of reaching agreement with the archbishop—only to be torn apart at the last minute by a political schism that reached the courts and the newspapers. But the very next year some moradas of San Miguel and Rio Arriba counties, united under the leadership of Don Miguel Archibeque of the Agua Zarca-Ojito del Caballo chapter, were able to join with Archbishop Edwin Byrne in the reunion both churchmen and brothers had eagerly desired for so long. The many years of separate but parallel courses —occasionally of collision courses—were finally over.

And what has occurred in the years since 1947? In many villages, chapters of the brotherhood have simply ceased to exist. This is partly because the villages that gave them life have lost so many of their people, and partly because the cultural climate just after World War II was especially unfriendly to the survival of folkways. But in many places, where the local pastor has supported the local brothers and helped them recruit new members, the moradas have experienced a great renewal. Often, however, they are missing a whole generation of men, those from thirty to sixty years of age, and are composed of grandfathers and grandsons.

On the few occasions when I have dealt with the brothers or walked in procession with them, they have mostly been old men who came of age in the 1920s and 1930s and young men who have come of age in the 1970s and 1980s. The Supreme Archdiocesan Council is

for the moment without a Supreme Elder Brother, though the organization still includes the majority of the morada chapters in the state. Most of the unaffiliated chapters are in direct contact with Archbishop Robert F. Sánchez. In parishes where the brotherhood is part of Catholic life, it continues to be one of the most creative religious forces in the local community.

For the brothers' calling remains the same as it has always been. They respond with hesed, with love, to the death of the loving Lord. Their response is the proclamation of that death in the form of some effective folk ritual that reaches into the people's hearts more effectively, in many cases, than the usual liturgy of the Catholic church as it is usually performed. Reinforcing all that the priesthood does, the brotherhood, by its rites and its powerful community presence, proclaims that at the intersection of the upright and the crossbar lies the center of the world, that the suffering and death of Jesus are the center of history and that only from this act of love and death does meaning flow for human life. In focusing the psychological and spiritual attention of their fellow villagers on that ancient time and that distant place, the Brothers of Our Father Jesus the Nazarene draw themselves and their fellow men and women out of secular time and space, and they incorporate them into a realm of eternal validity.□

Surrounded by the grandeur and hope of God's creation a simple *morada* cemetery stands as a timeless reminder of a great legacy, the sacrificial faith of men in communion with the suffering caused Him by the indifference and sin of man.

Additional Reading

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Lorenzo de Córdova [Lorin W. Brown], *Echoes of the Flute,* Ancient City Press, Santa Fe, 1972.

George Mills and Richard Grove, *Lucifer and the Crucifer: The Enigma of the Penitentes,* Taylor Museum, Colorado Springs, 1956.

The Penitentes of New Mexico, Arno Press, New York, 1974. Reprints the classic works of Rev. Alexander Darley (1893), Dorothy Woodward (1935), and Alice Corbin Henderson (1937).

Thomas J. Steele, S.J., and Rowena A. Rivera, *Penitente Self-Government,* Ancient City Press, Santa Fe, 1985.

Marta Weigle, *Brothers of Light, Brothers of Blood* and *A Penitente Bibliography,* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1976.

A member of the Jesuit Order since 1951, Fr. Thomas Steele holds graduate degrees in English, philosophy, and theology from St. Louis University and a doctorate in English from the University of New Mexico. In real life he is a professor of English at Regis College, Denver. In his less lucid moments he thinks at various times that he is a golfer, a painter, or a cowboy.

The Modernization of Liberia

Struggle for a genuine national identity characterizes the development of modern Liberia

by Brahima D. Kaba

In order to assess fully the process of modernization in Liberia it is useful to delineate two social groups within Liberian society. Relationships between these groups, the indigenous native population and the Americo-Liberians, are significantly affected by the transformation of the social, political, and economic environment caused by modernization.

These groups have had vastly different rates of progress since the establishment of the Liberian state in 1847. Americo-Liberians, motivated by a strong desire for liberty, and influenced by American and Christian values, have been more successful—in a modernization process that is essentially Western in character—than has the indigenous population.

Native Liberians have progressed more slowly, primarily because none of the elements of modernization were active in Liberia before the advent of the settlers. Modernization is an essentially imposed, external phenomena that has acted upon, and transformed, traditional Liberian society. It did not develop out of forces or pretensions inherent within that society.

This paper deals with the historical context of Liberian development and is drawn from historical data. Consequently, it does not comment on recent political developments in the country. Its purpose is to inform the reader of the unique social problems confronting Liberia, problems that all Liberian governments have striven to resolve.

Students pulling a water pump at Liberia's University of Agriculture and Forestry.

BERNARD PIERRE WOLFF/FPG

Liberia, with a surface of 43,000 square miles, is situated on the west coast of Africa at the southwest extremity of the western bulge of the continent. The country was founded in 1847. Its neighboring countries are Sierra-Leone to the west, the Republic of Guinea to the north, and the Ivory Coast to the east.

Topographically, Liberia consists of three distinct belts: the coast, the forest, and the plateau of the hinterland. An even coastline of 355 miles with a powerful surf, rocky cliffs, and bar-enclosed lagoons, makes access from the Atlantic Ocean difficult except at the four modern ports. The interior hills and mountain ranges, with altitudes from 600 to 1,200 feet, are part of an extended peneplain, covered by evergreen in the south or semi-deciduous rainforest in the north. The country's greatest elevations are located in the northern highlands, where the Nimba Mountain stretches to 4,540 feet above sea level, and the Wologisi range reaches 4,530 feet.

The climate is tropical and humid. There are distinct wet and dry seasons. From May to November, the southwest monsoon produces heavy and prolonged rains that account for about 85 percent of the country's high annual rainfall. The dry season is from December to April. The temperature along the coast remains fairly constant throughout the year, although during the dry season nights are cooler and days are hotter than during the rainy season. In the city of Monrovia, maximum and minimum figures for the dry season are around 90°F and 75°F whereas during the rainy season the corresponding figures are 85°F and 75°F. In the interior, the daily minima are usually lower, especially at night. The humidity seldom falls below 90 percent except in December or January when the Trasmattan, a hot, dry, dust-laden wind, blows from the Sahara Desert at which time the humidity may fall to 50 percent or less.

The country is part of the tropical rain forest area of West Africa. Although Liberia is endowed with large deposits of iron ore and several other mineral products (bauxite, columbite, diamonds, manganese, gold, and zinc), it is basically an agricultural country. In fact, almost 80 percent of the total population is involved in some form or another of agriculture.

Modernization may be understood as the current term for an old process—the process of social change—whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies. The process of modernization in Liberia was activated both by international influences, and by an intersocietal communication related to the pluralism of Liberian society. In a pluralist society, the degree to which different cultural groups integrate and attain a sense of national identity clearly affects the character of modernization. That self-perception of national identity naturally shapes the society's different relationships with other nations. While the most important aspect of modernization seems to be found in political institutions, the overall process of modernization refers to changes in all institutional spheres and results from man's expanding knowledge of—and control over—both himself and his environment.

We can identify four principal factors that infuence the modernization of Liberian society. First we should consider the role of the state, including government agencies such as the presidency, the cabinet, and the legislature. Secondly, educational institutions such as the government's school system, and the private and religious school systems, are significant. Thirdly, migratory movements between the country's urbanizing areas on the coast, around the mining sectors, and to and from the rural areas, can be described as urbanization variables. Finally, industrialization in agriculture, mining, and the public sector constitutes a fourth variable that must be considered.

These factors have been important modernizing forces that challenged the basis of the "minority-over-majority" rule exercised by Americo-Liberians over other cultural groups in the country. However most, if not all, of these forces were introduced through the settlers and their descendants.

Americo-Liberians are those Liberians descended from freed Negroes sent to Liberia by the American Colonization Society. The term also refers to descendants of recaptured slaves sent to Liberia by the United States Navy, and all other black persons who migrated to Liberia from the western world. The immigrants constitute a small percentage of the total population of the country. Less than twenty thousand persons were settled in Liberia between 1822 and 1867, and a government census for 1960 put the number of Americo-Liberians at 52,000. The same census found a total indigenous population, which includes individuals from other African countries who have chosen Liberian nationality, of almost one million.

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Refugees from Arkansas awaiting transportation to Liberia at Mount Olivet Baptist Chapel, New York City.

In most writings, the underdevelopment and backwardness of Liberian society is, in large part, attributed to the arrival and settlement of the first generation of Americo-Liberians. Certainly, the general backwardness of the whole continent of Africa, including Liberia, is conditioned by the effects of both slavery and colonialism. Therefore, the settlement of freed Negroes in Liberia cannot be differentiated from the history of slavery nor European colonization. Liberia does not constitute a historical entity separated in its development from the history of the rest of Africa.

This fact is developed by Leopold S. Senghor in his preface to Lawrence Marinelli's 1964 book *The New Liberia*. He writes:

> The misfortune of Africa lay less in the European colonization than in the slave trade. The European conquest, bloody as it was sometimes, caused after all, the loss of few human lives. The human devastation that came with the break-up of traditional societies were the most terrible, draining African spiritual resources: her religion, her art—because of the communal values of civilization. That is the negative aspect of colonization, but there is, happily, a positive aspect; the economic infrastructure, the industrial cultures, schools, hospitals, and above all, the modern spirit, the spirit both analytic and synthetic of method and organization.

Liberian society is pluralistic in that it embraces two principal social groups, namely Americo-Liberians and the indigenous population. Modernization has been the principal means of bringing some unity to the different cultural groups of the indigenous population under the political control of the settler community. On the other hand, it has also led to the overall transformation of the socioeconomic and sociopolitical structures by which Americo-Liberians had sustained their dominance. Whether modernization alone can bring genuine and organic social solidarity or effective development, remains to be determined.

The stability of pluralistic societies may be precarious and easily threatened by sharp cleavages caused by economic or political inequality. This tendency gives rise to the conflict theory of social change. A more favorable tendency exists when the varied constituent groups and interests integrate in balance and harmony, which in turn provides conditions favorable to stable democratic government.

Historical data show that Liberian society underwent a fairly large number of interethnic antagonisms throughout the great part of its existence. The conflict theory of social change would therefore

appear to be most applicable in the case of Liberia. Particularly interesting to note is that economic and social relationships between Americo-Liberians and indigenous Liberians, during the modernization of the country, has been essentially similar to those found in former European colonial territories.

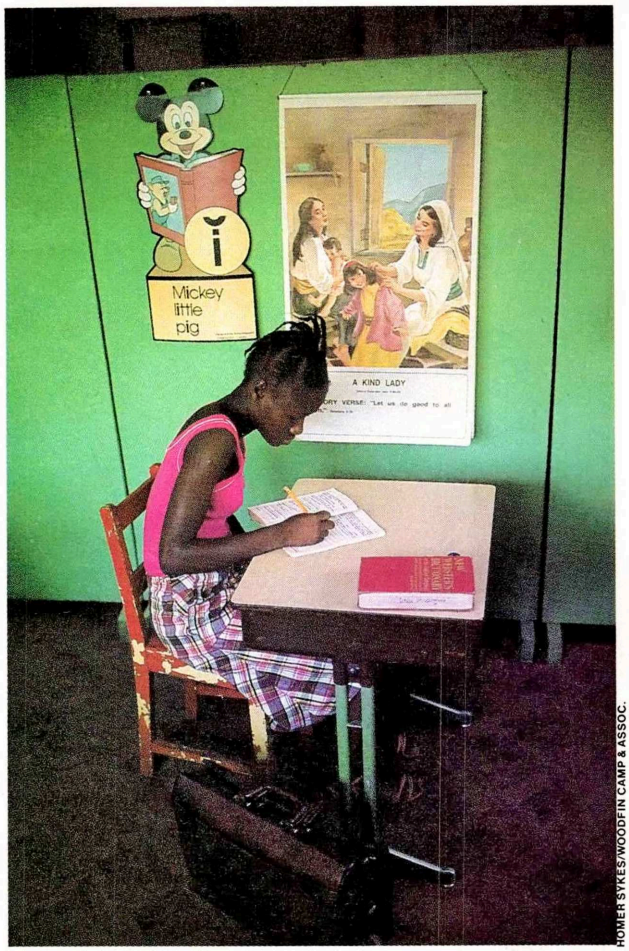
The Republic of Liberia came into existence on July 26, 1847, as the consequence of the freed American Negro settlement in 1822, declaring itself to be "free, sovereign and independent." From its institution until the 1940s, the state and its agencies were primarily the instruments of Americo-Liberian domination over all other ethnic groups. Incidentally, it also served as the principal means of integrating the different cultural groups of the interior into one political entity. The symbolic identification of the Liberian tribal population with the Liberian state has led to some sense of building a nation. The nineteenth century values of the freed former slaves, however, were imposed upon the different cultural groups of Liberia.

It took more than 100 years, and some thirty-four different conflicts among the settlers or their descendants and the major ethnic groups of the country before the social groups began to live peacefully together on the same land. This fact demonstrates that the identification of the native population with the Liberian state, though necessary, has not been complete. The internal conflict has necessarily affected the degree of political and economic advancement of the two social categories.

The evolution of the state was laboriously slow until 1944, when President W.V.S. Tubman came into power and launched the two most effective policies of his administration, namely, the Unification Policy and the Open-Door Policy. The Unification Policy was the cornerstone of Tubman's program to bridge the chasm separating the Americo-Liberian minority from the tribal majority.

This policy constituted the basic structure on which the future Liberian state would grow. But, despite the strong symbolic image it provided the native population for self-identification with the state, it seems to have actually done very little for their immediate and full participation in the national polity. It was not until the late 1950s and early 1960s that two indigenous Liberians occupied cabinet positions in the executive branch of the Liberian government.

President Tubman's Unification Policy undoubtedly initiated native participation in the political life of the country. But realistically it was only after World War II that indigenous Liberians started to play any significant political role in government.



HOMER SYKES/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOC.

Above: **The influence of the West is evident in this private-school classroom in Monrovia.** ***Opposite:*** **Modern docks form a backdrop for crowded housing on the shoreline.**

However, the Unification Policy itself achieved little significant political development for native Liberians, the overwhelming majority in the country's total population. Political modernization appears to have been the means by which the Americo-Liberian elements maintained political dominion and control, keeping the indigenous population at a minimal level of political participation and development during the largest part of the country's history. This situation seems to have resulted, for the most part, in making Liberia one of the least sociopolitically developed countries of West Africa.

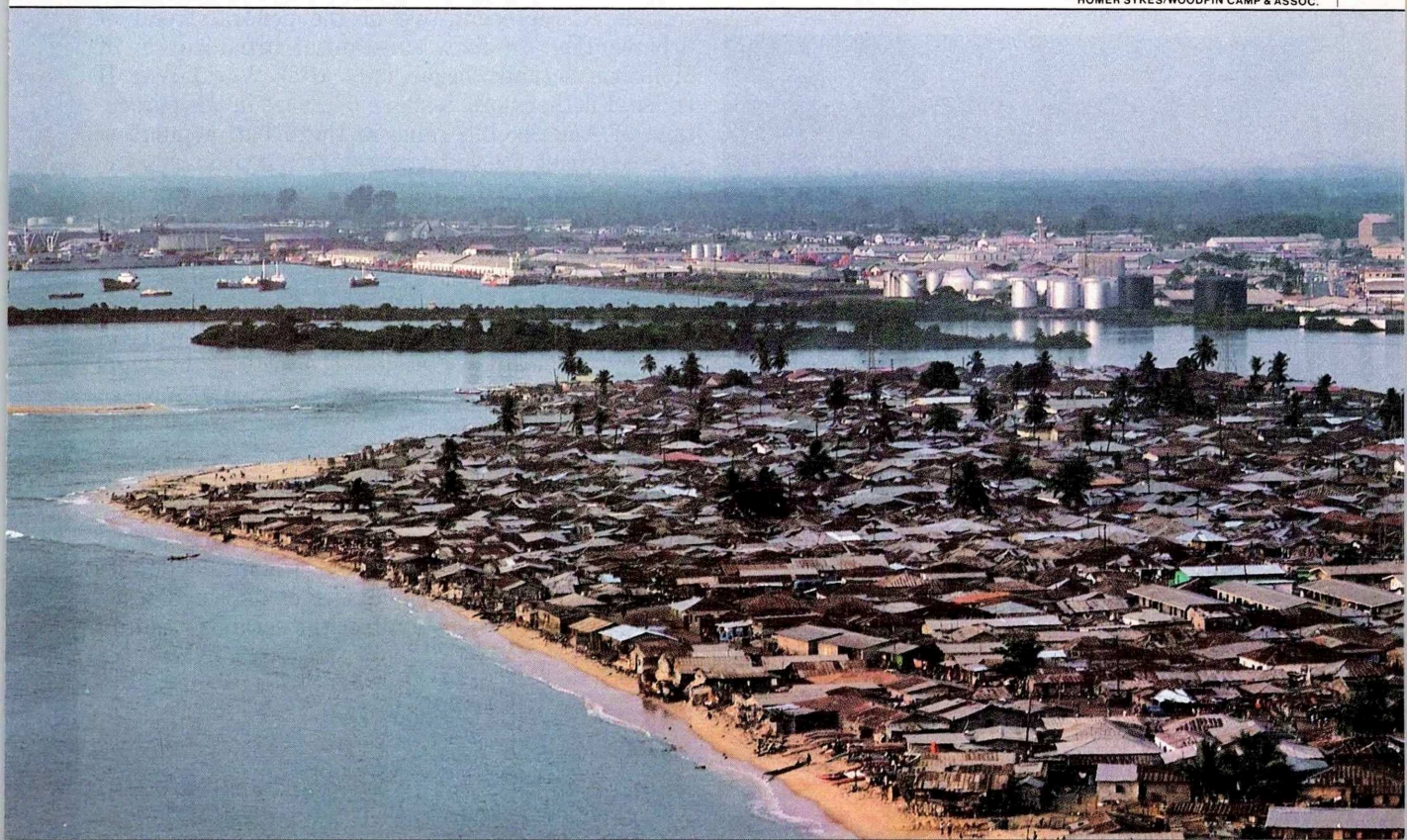
Modern formal education and recent urbanization appear to be interrelated in their effect on the trend toward modernization in Liberia. It should be noted, however, that these two phenomena appeared at two different times in the history of the country. Formal education was introduced in the country soon after the arrival of the settlers. Urbanization, as known today, appears to be a recent social phenomenon that affects both elements of society alike. The strong relationship between formal education and modern urbanization is evidenced by the fact that educational opportunity is a major reason given for the migration by the native population to urban areas, especially those located on the coast.

Modern education began as early as 1838, when there were already ten schools, mainly staffed by church groups and settlers. Literature from this period tended to perpetuate the cultural identification of the settlers with the aristocratic values of the southern United States. Therefore, education essentially preserved cultural differentiation between the settlers and the native people of the interior. By 1850 the educational system was sufficiently developed that nearly 50 percent of the settlers were literate, or at least half of their school-age population was enrolled in the newly founded school system. In 1862 the first institution of higher education, known as the Liberian College, was established and put largely at the service of an Americo-Liberian population of less than twenty thousand persons.

Today nearly 1.5 million persons share one university and two small colleges. Americo-Liberians, however, still constitute the overwhelming majority of enrollments. It does indeed seem that higher education was created by Americo-Liberians for the sole purpose of educating themselves. For example, Cuttington College was founded by the Episcopal Church in 1888. It served almost exclusively for the descendants of the settlers. It was only recently, in 1949, that this institution was moved into the interior in order to benefit the indigenous population as well.

In fact, since 1888, no substantial effort was made by the Americo-Liberian ruling class to integrate the native population into any system of higher education. There was, however, a significant effort to integrate them into the lower levels of the state system. President Tubman's regime did attempt to expand and develop the existing educational system, though without any major structural changes. The philosophy of the system remained oriented to the West. This seems to have contributed in making Liberia a rather one-sided modern country that is finding itself blocked at a middle level of modernization, despite the tremendous potential offered by her varied population with its various cultural systems.

HOMER SYKES/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOC.

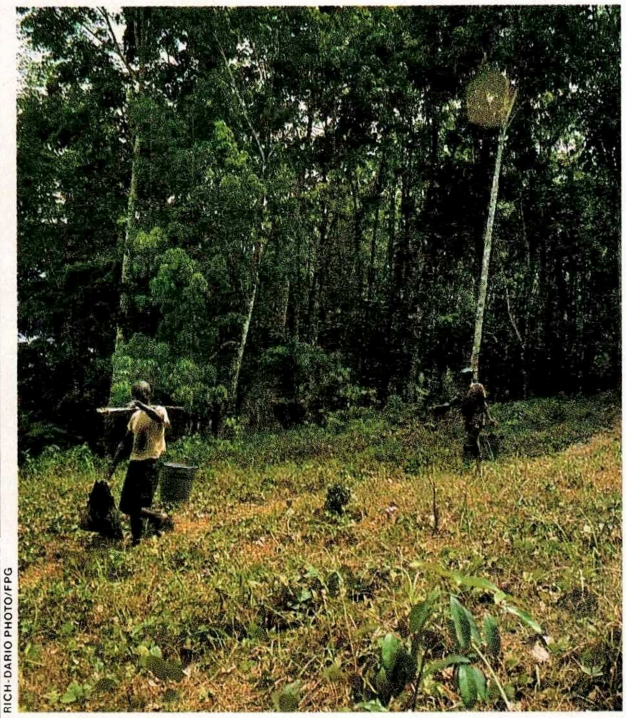


Today the native population is rapidly catching up with Americo-Liberians in educational progress. But one must question the relevance of the kind of educational development observed with regard to the actual process of socioeconomic and sociopolitical development of the country as a whole. A recent study of the Liberian economy conducted by the International Labour Organization in 1972 suggested a remedy:

> In analyzing the educational system in conjunction with the economy of the country, one observes that the rapid growth of the economy of Liberia has brought about an increased demand for labour leading to a shortage of skilled manpower. There seems therefore to be a strong need to expand facilities for both formal and on-the-job training in order to cope with the demand for skilled labour.

The findings tend to indicate that the Liberian educational system has not been adequately planned in order to meet the overall socioeconomic developmental needs of the country. Consequently, it tends to block the modernization process at the native population's level of indifference. This has resulted because the Liberian educational system remained rooted in a philosophy of Americo-Liberian dominion over the majority of the population. It can be surmised, perhaps, that recent introductions of native Liberians into their country's educational system is, at best, but their introduction into a more systematic —and therefore a more subtle—form of subordination. They have begun to constitute the bulk of school dropouts and unskilled, cheap manpower made available to an increasing number of foreign industries. Even more unfortunately they constitute a growing number of juvenile delinquents and unemployed adults pouring into the rapidly growing urban areas of the country.

Rubber is one of Liberia's key products and a mainstay of economic development. This scene shows the Firestone Rubber Plantation in the Kataka region.



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As already mentioned, the urbanization variable tends to work closely with the educational variable during the process of Liberian modernization. For an African city dweller, urban life tends to be equated with modernity. The city is the place where one learns to become modern. Not surprisingly, urbanization plays a significant role in Liberia's efforts towards modernization.

Following the launching of President Tubman's Open Door and Unification policies, a significant urbanization movement took place among the indigenous population of Liberia. The development of the capital city of Monrovia, from 1840 to 1970, can be considered representative of the general trend of urbanization. In fact, substantial urbanization of Monrovia actually began only after World War II ended. Furthermore, a sharp decrease in the percentage of Americo-Liberians in the urban population started during the same period. This is primarily the result of increased urbanization among the indigenous population, as Americo-Liberians have maintained a generally constant 80 percent rate of urbanization.

It is possible to assume that urbanization of native Liberians has tended to accentuate the emergence of sociopolitical conflicts between the two social categories, the result of an increasing adoption of modern values, beliefs, and practices by the indigenous population.

Can Americo-Liberians continue to control the rapid development of Liberian urban zones which, only a few decades ago, were virtually their reserved areas? Since urbanization is positively related to industrialization, any attempt to control urban development may seriously affect the establishment of

desirable modern industries around the urban areas.

Industrialization should be understood as a process by which a traditional society learns to base its economic and social order on machine technology and on large-scale, highly specialized systems of production. The industrialized western world of today is characterized by a free market-free enterprise system of production and organization. The principal features of modernization are to be found in the highly industrialized countries of the West.

The basic relationship between modernization and industrialization is apparent. The conditions under which the Liberian state was created attest that modernization came to Liberia, a non-Western country, as an external phenomenon that inevitably disrupted the socioeconomic and sociopolitical structures of traditional society. The Open Door Policy of President Tubman, however, undoubtedly permitted the modern industrialization of the country by inducing foreign capital and technical expertise to venture to help explore Liberia's natural resources. It is the same today. From 1944 to 1962, the Open Door Policy has permitted the revenue of the Government to increase by over 3,000 percent.

In order to evaluate the development of industrialization in Liberia, it is necessary to consider the percentage of the labor force, engaged in nonagricultural employment, for both social categories. By nonagricultural employment we refer to the modern monetary sector as opposed to traditional subsistence economy. Prior to 1944, the modern sector consisted almost entirely of government programs, controlled by Americo-Liberian labor. A few thousand native workers were engaged in public works such as road and port construction, dock work, and plantation work at the Firestone Rubber Company.

By 1960, 70 percent of the Americo-Liberian work force was employed in the modern sector, increasing to more than 80 percent by 1970. In the same time period indigenous participation rose to about 25 percent of the available work force. The integration of the native population into the industrial modernization of Liberia is obviously of great importance for future socioeconomic and sociopolitical development. Recent industrialization can be viewed as an indication of an acceleration in that integration. Prior to 1944 the native labor force was almost totally engaged in subsistence farming. But, since the beginning of the industrialization, which followed Tubman's Open Door Policy, an appreciable increase in nonagricultural employment is observable.

To conclude then, the industrial modernization of Liberia is a process by which the indigenous population, as a whole, is moving not only from one level of social and economic development to another, but also toward a new identity intrinsically linked to the modern national state. Such an unprecedented sociohistorical change should result in the dismantling of Americo-Liberian domination and the emergence of a more socially equitable and balanced society.

One can assume that the old dichotomies in Liberian society will disappear due to the new social relations that have resulted from the introduction of basic modern institutions such as state government, formal education, and industry. These new social relations will change the means of social stratification from ascription toward social divisions realized according to merit.

The old Americo-Liberian values are under increasing pressures and are being abandoned by an increasing number. On the other hand, the indigenous population is rapidly adopting basic modern values, attitudes, expectations, and practices. These new attitudes and expectations, if unfulfilled, create strong feelings of frustration and impatience among the newly "modernized" native population who will therefore no longer accept a second class role in their own homeland. Consequently, any attempt to perpetuate an elitist control over the increasing social mobility that is now taking place in the country is doomed to failure. Indeed, it could even lead to violent reactions. Only as the majority participate fully in the nation's social, political, and economic life will the process of modernization be completed.□

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The Summer Game

Baseball is more than play; it is a mirror to the life and times of America

by Harold Rosenthal

Many years ago, as a young baseball reporter gazing in wide-eyed wonderment at such stars as DiMaggio, Williams, Hubbell, and Feller, I was treated to a dollop of unabashed flattery by an older colleague.

"Remember," he said, "that you are now recording history. Every little thing that happens on the field, even if it's only a ball or strike, is a part of history. It's something that can never happen in exactly the same way again." This was, of course, an oversimplification. Nevertheless baseball, which has known many wide and wild swings, does provide an amazingly accurate reflection of the seesaw moods of the American public. What you see may be a ballgame, but what you get are the latest attitudes of Mr. and Mrs. America and their children. A short time later that same colleague asked whether he could borrow five bucks until Friday!

Baseball's well-nigh irresistible appeal goes well beyond the game's geometrical patterns and delicate balance between offense and defense. Purportedly, the goal of every kid who ever shut his eyes in terror at the approach of a fast curve and then proceeded to spit defiance—just as the major leaguers do so capably on national television—is to gain immortality by being enshrined in the Baseball Hall of Fame. The hall is located in Cooperstown in the upstate New York leatherstocking country made famous by James Fenimore Cooper in his saga *Last of the Mohicans.*

Play ball! America's great ball game evokes childhood memories of less complicated times, when manhood was clearly defined and measured by deeds of heroic valor, and the promises of long, endless summer days that always lay ahead.

Another group will enter the hall early this August. Joining the pantheon, whose occupancy now numbers close to 200, should be Willie McCovey, Bobby Doerr, and possibly Ernie Lombardi. Lombardi was a ponderous catcher with a murderous swing who played with the Cincinnati Reds and New York Giants. He might make it on two smallish footnotes. Lombardi is the only slugger of whom it was written, only half in jest, "[He] doubled sharply to right and was thrown out at first." Still not good enough for the Hall of Fame? How about his often-witnessed ability, with men on base, to grab errant pitches bare handed, preventing otherwise dire consequences?

The late Red Smith once suggested what seems a fairly reasonable yardstick for including someone. Said Smith: "A simple test should be 'Could the history of baseball have been written without mentioning his name?'" Perhaps no name more encapsulates the imagery of baseball than that of Babe Ruth, yet even he was not a unanimous choice to enter the hall.

DOUG WETZSTEIN/THE WORLD & I

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Babe Ruth, baseball's most memorable player, talking with Mickey Cochrane of the Detroit Tigers on September 18, 1934. Ruth's great career was in its twilight years while Cochrane was at the peak of his ability.

During World War II a flagrant popular misconception circulated that the American GI could endure practically anything with a smile as long as he knew how his local ballclub had done the previous day. An inordinate effort was made to keep those scores coming. Frequently they'd be stashed in the body text of a secret cablegram.

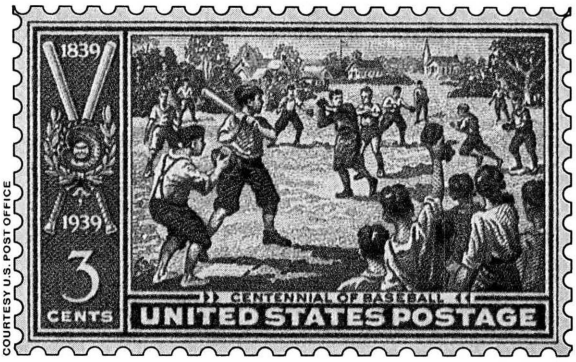
Not only did this myth fool the American public, but it conned the Japanese as well. A newcomer to the Pacific theater of operations could be treated to an ear-splitting bullhorn cacaphony vilifying Babe Ruth in impossible terms. The Japanese evidently hoped that this unsettling first-night experience would so enrage the GIs that they would do something rash, like stick their heads up as targets for enemy sharpshooters.

Baseball and "The Babe" also figured in other quasi-military activities during World War II. For example, when military intelligence grabbed someone suspicious, even though his papers checked out, his uniform was indistinguishable from a hundred thousand other American soldiers, and his English was good, the interrogating officer might ask, "What kind of a year you think the Babe will have this season?" If the spy got past that one he'd be hit with "You think Ruth will be able to beat the 70 homers he got when he set the record?" Americans might not know the name of their congressman, but they sure knew Babe Ruth was retired and held the home run mark with 60, not 70, for a season.

Baseball and the United States have been through half a dozen wars together, beginning with the Civil War. In that bloodiest of conflicts, one of the strangest of noncombative interludes occurred on Christmas Day 1862. Gathering in Hilton Head, South Carolina, 40,000 people, for the most part Union soldiers, introduced baseball to the Deep South. The game was played by soldiers of the 165th New York, known as "Duryea's Zouaves" because of their colorful, loose-flowing uniforms. Confederate prisoners, permitted to witness the event, remembered what they had seen. Six or seven decades later they had their revenge when the South provided the major portion of talent for the major-league scene.

This game remains one of the earliest recorded accounts of baseball's origins. The popular myth that the game was invented by Gen. Abner Doubleday in Cooperstown is clearly unfounded, though the game's

In 1939 the U.S. Post Office issued a centennial stamp honoring the game's 100th birthday. That would make it 147 years old this year and bouncing. In 1969 another stamp was issued honoring "100 Years of Professional Baseball." This one was in three colors and was twice as expensive.



COURTESY U.S. POST OFFICE

history is somewhat vague. Certainly baseball could earn a special award from the greeting card industry, should sending cards on the game's various anniversaries become a popular practice.

In 1976 major-league baseball pulled out its centennial stops with all kinds of "best" and "most famous" lists. It was honoring the 100th birthday of the National League, the first league where at least three games a week weren't fixed by gamblers in cahoots with the owners. Baseball needed that push badly 10 years ago. Pro football had usurped its spot as the country's No. 1 spectator sport, a position reflected in TV spending and viewer ratings. The introduction of the distasteful "designated hitter" in the American League in the early '70s was an attempt to stir more interest via more scoring.

In other games, notably football and basketball, tinkering with the rules happens all the time. In baseball such changes verge on heresy and the customers may scream for the next dozen years. And they should. Pitchers who can't hit, or obese batters who get up in the morning with the comfortable feeling that no one is going to ask them to catch a ball, were not in the overall plan of baseball's founding fathers. Nor should this be a qualification for the Hall of Fame, either.

Baseball's genesis is subject to continued research and interpretation. To prevent future generations from ruining their eyes on molding newspapers or fuzzy films, here are a few of the facts. The 1869 Cincinnati Red Stockings (later to be known as the Redlegs and currently as the Reds, with a lady owner whose pet St. Bernard wears a baseball cap just like Pete Rose, the team manager) toured the whole country, utilizing side-wheeling river steamers and railroad cars with triple-deck sleepers and whale-oil lamps. They had a record of 64 victories, no defeats, and one tie, traveling from Massachusetts to California and playing anyone brave enough to show up and bet a few greenbacks on the game.

The tie that marred their record was a five-inning travesty in Troy, New York, against a first-class team known as the Haymakers. Later this team was to come down the Hudson River and become the New York Giants. The Haymakers quit the field that afternoon rather than risk defeat. They weren't especially sensitive; their owner, a politician, had bet $60,000 on the game and there simply was no way that anyone was going to beat Cincinnati that day —or year.

The Red Stockings traveled almost 12,000 miles, presumably doing their own laundry and somehow replacing balls and bats that wore out. They outscored their rivals, 2,395 runs to 575. George Wright, whose brother Harry owned the Cincinnati club, batted .518 in 52 games and whacked 59 homers.

All this was only seven years after the game involving the Union soldiers in South Carolina. This brings us to the Union general mistakenly labeled as the inventor of the game. Abner Doubleday was a New Yorker who graduated from West Point, as did Grant and Lee. While Ulysses Simpson and Marse Robert hung around waiting for the Big One to begin, Doubleday warmed up for future efforts at Gettysburg and elsewhere by supposedly inventing baseball.

According to a "commission," which took the word of a ninety-year-old pal (Doubleday was gone by that time), Abner is supposed to have come over from West Point to Cooperstown (no mean trip over the Indian trails of those days) to show a friend a plan for a new game. He drew it out in the dirt with a willow switch, the commission's report averred with a straight face.

Among other items that give the lie to this mythology are the records at the U.S. Military Academy, which indicate Doubleday never left the place that summer. Most significant, perhaps, is the fact that he isn't in the Hall of Fame, which has been having elections for almost half a century.

How can you elect new men every year and leave out the man who made it all possible? How could someone like Alexander Cartwright, who figured out the 90-feet-between-bases concept, or Henry Chadwick, a New York newspaperman whose big number was devising the box score, be included while the gentleman who gave us the game itself is ignored?

Doubleday lived into his mid-70s. Like a good many generals, he scribbled in diaries throughout his career. Yet never once did he allude to baseball in any form or fashion. Nor was he ever reported as being a spectator at a game. By comparison U.S. Grant was, many times. You'd think that somewhere along the way someone would have given the game's "inventor" his day, presumably with an outpouring of goodies like a complimentary glove, bat, and ball, like they do today.

If Doubleday didn't invent the game then who did?

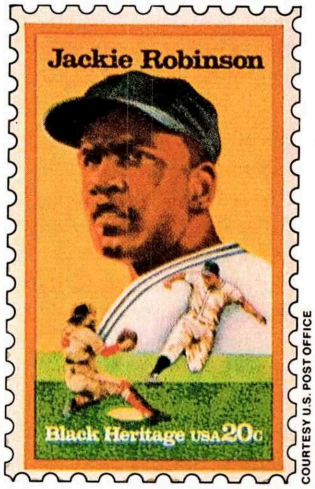
Good question. There are references to a ball-and-bat game being played in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and even earlier by Polish workers brought over for Capt. John Smith's Jamestown settlement. There are dozens of scholarly treatises that trace the game to an English divertissement called "rounders," which was a big item in monasteries and debtors' prisons.

The game as we know it developed around New York a century and a half ago. The game was also played across the Hudson in Hoboken, New Jersey, although mostly by young sports from New York who rowed themselves across to spend a day in the country. Hoboken got into the act last spring, stirred by the fact that some New York legislators were pushing to get New York automobile plates to carry the legend "Birthplace of Baseball," meaning Cooperstown. The mayor of Hoboken, in a letter to the governor of New York, was unintentionally funny in his complaint: "The City of Hoboken, New Jersey, was the site of the first baseball game on July 19, 1846. For a long time the people of Hoboken and New Jersey have begrudgingly accepted the fact that baseball's Hall of Fame is located in New York. But the flaunting of the false claim that New York is the birthplace of baseball is too much to take."

If the first baseball game wasn't played on Hoboken's Elysian Fields, certainly the game's most important event of recent history took place a short distance away, over in Jersey City, 40 years ago. There Jackie Robinson made his initial appearance with the Montreal Royals in an International League season-opener.

Montreal was one of the Brooklyn Dodgers' three Triple-A farm clubs after World War II. Branch Rickey, president of the Dodgers, had picked Montreal for his tradition-shattering experiment in breaking baseball's unwritten color line. He felt that there would be less prejudice in a bilingual city north of the border than in either St. Paul or Hollywood, the other two Dodger farm possibilities.

With blacks accounting for almost half of the playing population in professional baseball today, it seems inconceivable that there are millions of people still alive who can remember when there weren't any. Former federal Judge K.M. Landis was commissioner (the game's top executive) at the time and you had as much chance of getting a black player past him as you did moving Kennesaw Mountain, that peak in Georgia after which he had been named (in honor of his father, a Union surgeon who lost his leg there in a Civil War battle).



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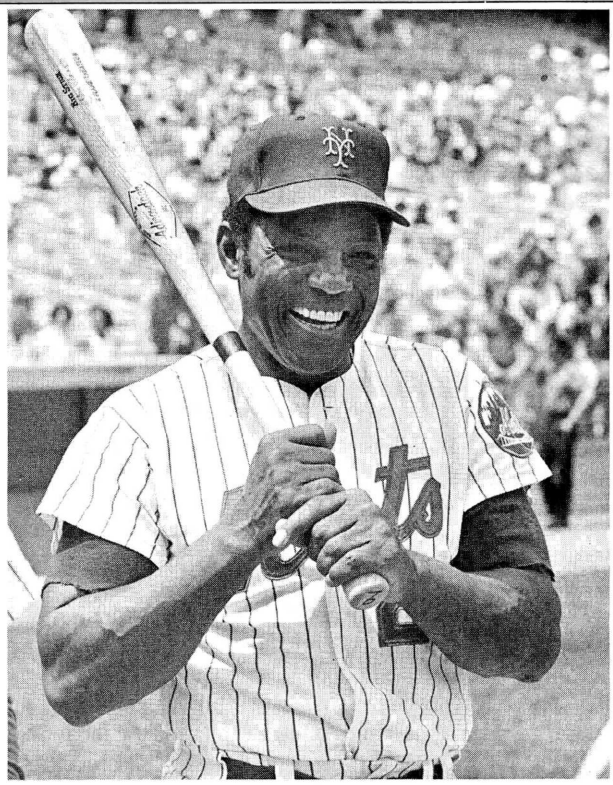
The indignities suffered so manfully by Jackie Robinson opened the way for players such as Willie Mays to be hailed affectionately as American folk heroes.

Landis died during World War II. Baseball owners realized that there might be a problem keeping the game going during the rest of the war. The word went out that someone strong in Washington was necessary and wasn't that senator from Kentucky, A.B. "Happy" Chandler, looking around? So Chandler became the second commissioner of baseball. Chandler got lucky. The atom bomb ended the war and the postwar population had money to spend but little (besides what came off factory workbenches and lathes) to spend it on, except baseball and entertainment. Chandler presided over the greatest baseball conglomerate of all time: 58 major and minor leagues (there are 18 today).

Chandler also takes credit for having broken the color line and, since he outlived everyone involved in that process, he has had the last word. The way Rickey told it was that if Chandler had attempted to block Robinson, or any other Negro ballplayers, by failing to promulgate the contract the club had submitted to the commissioner's office, Rickey would have had him in federal court in 24 hours.

After Robinson's debut in the National League, Larry Doby became the first black player in the American League, with the Cleveland Indians. Then Brooklyn took full aim at the target with two more top-notchers, Roy Campanella in 1948 and Don Newcombe in 1949. When Newcombe was pitching the Dodgers were noted as being one-third black.



DOUG WETZSTEIN/THE WORLD & I

The insults directed at Robinson, the black cat released on the field; the spiking at first base; and the threat of a mutiny by a segment of the St. Louis Cardinals gradually gave way to a more or less sullen acceptance of blacks on the field, especially when Newcombe, with Campanella urging him to "hum that pea," would get ready to unleash a high, hard one. That might button up a loose lip or two on the playing field, but how about the larger world? Rickey had said it would be difficult and indeed it was.

St. Louis considered itself a Southern town and its hotel people acted accordingly. The Dodgers were told pointedly that, although there were accommodations as usual at the town's best hotel, they were not for their black players. So, getting off the Southwestern Limited after a 26-hour run from New York, the team would get on a bus for the fancy hotel while the three black players took a cab to an all-black hotel. They were seen in only two places: at the ballpark for those tough games with the Cardinals, whose every encounter with the Dodgers was only a notch below a street rumble, and on the train outward-bound for the next stop.

In 1953 the Dodgers dispatched notes to the hotel managements in all seven other participating cities, advising them that henceforth the ball club would operate by the same principle as the United States of America, one and indivisible. In the event of any objections, the Dodgers could make other plans.

Other plans? The Dodgers' coming to town lured hundreds of fans and free-spenders to the hotel where the players were staying. St. Louis was the first to reply. "Bring anyone you want," was the response. "Stay as long as you like. Next to the Cardinals we love the Dodgers the most."

This dramatic change in American mores took place at a time when Ike Eisenhower, an old U.S. Military Academy outfielder, was replacing Harry Truman in the White House. Meanwhile, a future occupant of the White House, Ronald Reagan, was working in a movie depicting the life story of one of baseball's Hall of Fame righthanders, Grover Cleveland Alexander, called *The Winning Team.*

Despite the twin torments of epilepsy and gin-swigging, Alexander managed to win 373 games, finishing third among the all-time winners, and pitched 90 shutouts in his 20-year career. Walter Johnson's ratio of shutouts (110) to victories (416) was better, but no one ever topped Alex's speedy workpace on the mound. Those who came to spend a whole afternoon at the ballpark when Alexander was pitching were disappointed and rarely returned a second time. He had them in and out in anywhere from an hour and a half to two hours. In those days a speedy game like this was known as a "train-catcher." Someone once asked why he worked so fast. Alexander, a tall man, looked down at his interrogator with disdain. "What?" he demanded, "and have those bastards thinking on my time?"

Right out of fantasyland, *The Winning Team* ends on a happy note. In real life, though, Alexander died sick, broke, and alone. Reagan went on to other things. Before his days as an actor Reagan was an announcer on the Chicago Cubs games for a radio station in Des Moines. The president still tells the story about how he had to ad-lib one day when the Western Union wire, bringing him the play-by-play description of a Cubs game on the road, broke down. He had to make up things until the wire was fixed.

What Reagan was doing half a century ago was "recreating," a popular technique at a time when radio sports budgets were too slim to permit an announcer to travel to other towns. A telegraph

operator would tap out the action via Morse code from a distant ballpark. The announcer back in the studio would lean heavily on his imagination and realistic audio props to keep the audience entertained while hustling the cigarette and cereal commercials. The cost of the wire tolls was reasonable.

Reagan doesn't tell where his wire broke down. Similar stories exist of reporters, traveling in the Midwest back in the '40s and '50s, who would suddenly hear the wire transmissions go dead, following which an operator would announce, "Wire's gone down at Chillicothe, Ohio." Wherever it snapped for Ronald Reagan, he was equal to the task. He had the man at bat foul off 15 or 16 pitches until the wire chattered to life with, "Jurges popped out to short."

The president is at his best when he is with ballplayers of his generation. A couple of years ago he had as many of the living Hall of Famers as could make it come to the White House for lunch. You know what story he told, don't you? The one that ends with ". . . and Jurges popped out to short."

Several other chief executives have had baseball backgrounds, although none had major-league playing experience. William Howard Taft taught law and was a student counselor at the University of Cincinnati. One of the school's ballplayers, Miller Huggins, was good enough to attract the attention of the Cincinnati Reds. He was a second baseman, small but fast and smart. In fact, he graduated with honors and had to make the choice between either a law career or the dangerous occupation of making the double-play pivot at second base.

Taft advised the young man to give baseball a try. So Huggins, at 5-foot-6 and 140 lbs., signed on and, in those rough, tough days, played for a total of 13 years. Taft, apparently listening to a little outside counseling himself, wound up in the White House, where he introduced the nine-course meal and the practice of throwing out the ball on Opening Day.

Taft didn't have any place to go after the presidency, but Huggins followed his playing career with an even more brilliant one as a manager. He directed the Yankees for a dozen years. His 1927 team, commonly known as "Murderer's Row," is generally regarded as the greatest club ever put together. His 1928 World Championship team wasn't bad either. "Hug" died of blood poisoning at the lamentably young age of 50, just as the 1929 season was drawing to an end.

The tales of that '27 team are many. They were called "Five O'clock Lightning" because that was the time of the day they'd be playing the last few innings after a three o'clock start! The pitching wasn't bad while Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, Tony Lazzeri, and others unlimbered the heavy lumber. Hall of Famer Waite Hoyt told a story about how, after he was traded by the Yankees (he wound up with several other clubs, including a couple in the National League), some rival players got on him in a bench-jockeying exchange. The conversation was neither original nor particularly pleasant, according to Hoyt. He finally shut them off with, "That's enough, you guys. Any more out of you and I'll put on my old Yankee uniform and scare you to death."

Woodrow Wilson, probably the most scholarly-looking president of the 20th century, came out of a Princeton background. That scholarliness was no pretense. He was also the Princeton baseball coach. The record doesn't say whether or not he coached wearing the pince-nez glasses you see in his portraits.

Warren G. Harding also had a baseball background. He was involved in the minor league club in Marion, Ohio, as well as with the local newspaper. It's a safe assumption that everyone would have been happier had the Ohio politicians permitted Harding to fulfill another destiny, that of a small-town publisher and baseball mogul, worrying about running out of beer and hot dogs at the concession stand on a Sunday afternoon.

Calvin Coolidge didn't do much with baseball, although his wife, Grace, who survived him by quite a span, was a welcome box-seat occupant at Red Sox games in Boston well into her 80s. If she didn't have a lifetime pass, baseball (and the rest of the country) certainly owed her one. "Silent Cal," afternoon naps and all, was the last president who left office with a surplus in the cash register.

Herbert Hoover, a Stanford man and the first president from the other side of the Mississippi, was also a baseball manager with his college team. He was unfortunate in that he gained the top job at a time that more or less coincided with the greatest economic depression in U.S. history. And he paid dearly.

Connie Mack's Philadelphia Athletics replaced the Yankees as top dog in the American League. They were magnificent, even though underpaid by the parsimonious McGillicuddy, the old catcher who set

DOUG WEITZSTEIN/THE M

Ball clubs may give away bats to boost the turnout for the game.

a record by managing one club for 51 years—by the simple expedient of owning the operation. Hoover stole a little time to see the A's in action a couple of times. When they made it to the World Series he was delighted to go to Philadelphia and toss out the opening ball. But he was a pretty poor pulse-taker. People had been driven to jumping out of windows for almost a year by the financial catastrophe, and the shock of the ballpark spectators booing him stayed with Hoover for the rest of his life. He goes down in history as the only president who saved Europe from starvation and the only one ever booed at a baseball game.

Hoover was also the victim of an unintentional gibe by Babe Ruth, who was not known for exerting a special rein on his tongue (nor on his appetites). The Babe apparently transcended mere mortality, however. When throat cancer got him in the late '40s he got a cathedral sendoff at New York's No. 1 house of worship even though he was not particularly known as a churchgoer, at home or on the road.

Jacob Ruppert, a brewery and real estate mogul, owned the Yankees, and Ruth was the proverbial apple of his eye. When he signed him for the then-record salary of $80,000 he called a big press

conference to announce it. Someone suggested to Ruth that he was now making more money than the president of the United States.

"Why not?" said Ruth. "I had a better year than he did."

As a matter of fact, he did. Hoover didn't even come close to hitting 50 homers or driving in more than 150 runs the previous year.

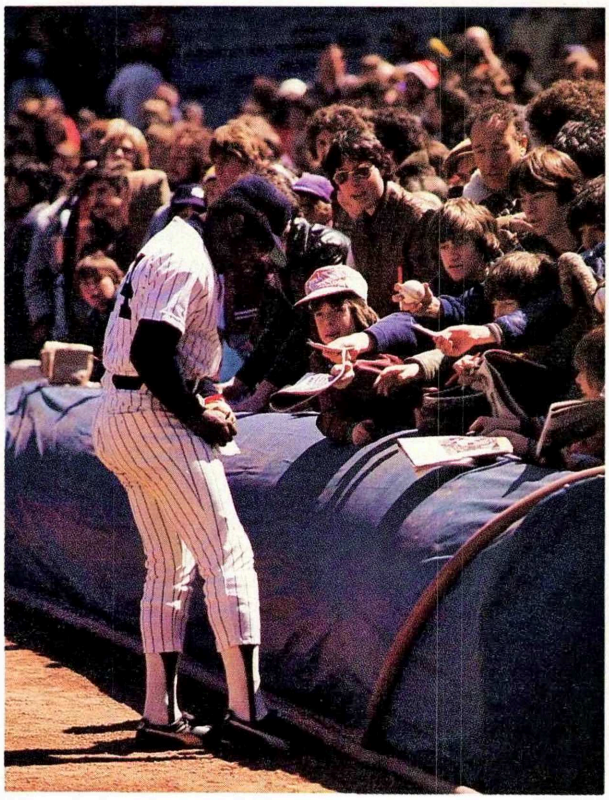
Dwight D. Eisenhower is the only president who played above the sandlot level. He also used the presidential prerogative to see a good many ballgames. He liked it, and he kept score, though not with the persnickety meticulousness of a daily baseball writer who can read the stuff back, right down to the balls-and-strikes count on the batter, 20 years later. To Ike, an out was a simple circle, and maybe he was right. People who go in for all that fancy stuff usually make a lot less than a president of the United States.

A couple of generations have grown up on a diet of seeing the president salute Opening Day. It was a gorgeous "photo opportunity" before the phrase was even invented. How could you harbor an unpleasant thought about a fellow who was intent on lobbing one to the Washington Senators' catcher, who in turn was praying he wouldn't drop the ball en route to returning it to the chief executive for his collection?

After Eisenhower, baseball dropped off as a presidential exercise. Nixon liked football more, although he did host a 100th anniversary of baseball party where it rained like the blazes. John F. Kennedy had a pretty good exchange with Casey Stengel at the last all-star game played in the Washington ballpark. Stengel, who had managed the Yankees, was temporarily a coach for the Reds. When Kennedy got to the park he spotted Stengel and sent someone over to bring him to his box.

He told Stengel he used to watch the Boston Braves when Stengel managed them in the '30s. After a few minutes of small talk Stengel started shifting from one foot to the other. Finally he said, "Excuse me, Mr. President. I'm sorry I hafta cut it short. I hafta get back to work."

The selection of each of the half-dozen commissioners since Judge Landis appeared on the scene (as a savior of the game following the World Series "Black Sox" betting scandal in 1919) has been indicative of some special quality needed by baseball at each particular



DOUG WETZSTEIN/THE WORLD & I

time. Landis came off the federal bench and died on the job. Former Senator A.B. Chandler, who insisted he was booted out because he was the only "players'" commissioner in the history of the game, was replaced in the early '50s by Ford C. Frick. A career baseball man who came out of the newspaper and broadcasting ranks, Frick retired in the '60s. He was replaced by William D. Eckert, an Air Force general who was discharged after a couple of years.

Bowie Kuhn followed. He had an extensive law background plus a fan's involvement. As a youth he was in charge of changing the numbers on the primitive scoreboard at Washington's Griffith Stadium. Since Kuhn's resignation, the owners—who run the game despite what anyone may say—have chosen Peter Ueberroth, the successful organizer of the 1984 Olympics.

Theoretically, the commissioner is the ruling authority in baseball. Within limitations, that is correct. The limitations are that the commissioner's salary has always been paid by the owners, 16 in the days of Landis, 26 today. They have the final word and always will have. It's the old story of someone with the money holding still for perceived excesses from the other side—until they start losing money. As things got a little tighter this year the clubs

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Left: **No day at the ballpark is complete without raucous sales pitches by vendors offering popcorn, peanuts, hot dogs, and soda or beer.** ***Far Left:*** **Fans may collect baseball cards, caps and uniforms, and balls driven into the stands, but the most prized possessions remain the autographs of famous players.**

decided to save some money by going with 24-player squads instead of 25. They insist the contract permits them to do this; the players' union, of course, says it does not.

The current commissioner, like the rest of the country, is faced with an acute drug problem. Almost a dozen players felt the sting of his decision following a Pittsburgh trial in 1985 where their testimony put dealer Curtis Strong in jail. The players had testified under legal immunity against a man who had sold them drugs. Nevertheless Ueberroth went after them with fines and community service penalties.

Not that today's players are the first to discover the two-edged blade of drug abuse. The game's history is replete with stories of famous drunks, of hitters "seeing two balls coming up and picking out the good one," or pitchers stumbling around on the mound while quaking hitters wondered whether the next pitch would be the last they would ever see.

Funny stories abound, too. Art "The Great" Shires set a major-league record by beating up his White Sox manager twice in one season while drunk. (He was leading the club in hitting and the management told the manager to get along with his star hitter as best he could.) The next season Shires dropped 70 or 80 percentage points and was gone before his stuff was back from the laundry.

And then there's Flint Rhem, a Cardinals pitcher of the '30s. He disappeared during a road trip into Brooklyn, and when he reappeared he had the best drunk excuse in the history of the game: He had been "kidnapped" by several parties unknown, taken to a hotel, and forced to drink whiskey for two days, thereby missing his turn to pitch against the Dodgers. And everyone knew how well he did against those Dodgers.

Drug abuse isn't going to go away in baseball until it goes away in the general arena of public life. If it happens outside baseball, it has already happened within baseball—or will shortly.

Mass thievery hasn't happened in baseball in quite a while but that is no guarantee that it won't pay another visit. The last shattering time was the 1919 World Series, where the eight players from the Chicago White Sox who went into the barrel put the phrase "Black Sox" into the game's lexicon forever. They were banned for life, even though they were acquitted of the charges in what was probably a rigged trial. (In what other trial has the judge joined the defendants in a victory party celebrating their being found not guilty?)

Indicted in the scandal were a number of potential Hall of Fame candidates, most notably "Shoeless" Joe Jackson. A former South Carolina mill hand, he had fitted the country's desire for indigenous heroes. He carried a bat in one hand, calling it "Black Betty," and his shoes in the other (not all the time, just when his feet hurt). In his day shoes had to be "broken in," whether for dancing or playing baseball. Jackson had more trouble than most. Jackson maintained his innocence, pointing to his .375 batting average (12 hits in 32 trips) in the World Series. Others admitted their chicanery, blaming the niggardliness of the White Sox management.

Two phrases entered the language which trace directly to this lamentable interlude: "Say it ain't so,

Joe," supposedly uttered by some grieving urchin waiting outside the courtroom for the players to emerge, and "I did it for the wife and kids," hung on one of the pitchers.

Commissioner Landis had an idea that all the dishonest people seeking to corrupt baseball lurked at racetracks and therefore ruled them off limits. He had his problems here with both owners and players. Among the latter was Rogers Hornsby, the greatest right-handed hitter the game has ever known (he topped .400 three times). Landis hauled Hornsby into his office one day and pointed an accusing finger at probably the toughest Texan since Sam Houston.

"I hear you play the horses," snapped Landis. (Hornsby used to phone in his bets from the coin phone in the locker room!)

"I sure do," responded Hornsby, "and I pay off 100 cents on the dollar."

Baseball has changed since the days Landis dominated the administration of the game and Hornsby dominated play with his bat. It has been in and out of the courts as players fought for an increasing share of the proceeds. The ballplayers are in the financial ascendency right now, with 55 players earning a million or more a year, up from 33 players last year.

The game has spread from coast to coast since almost half a century ago, when it existed in 11 cities, none of them west of the Mississippi and none south of Cincinnati or Washington, D.C. It has become a truly worldwide event, the World Series being televised in a dozen countries and in several languages. In 1988 it will be a highlight of the Olympic Games in Seoul, Korea, and will be played in a stadium that will probably hold twice as many spectators as any of the modern ballparks in the USA.

Players have also been accorded the ultimate accolade of being featured on U.S. mail stamps. For anyone to be thus honored he or she must have been dead at least 10 years. American ballplayers who have been depicted on American stamps include Jackie Robinson in the Black Heritage series, Roberto Clemente, and Babe Ruth. Another baseball player, Jim Thorpe, made an appearance—but in football garb. Thorpe was an all-time great in football but he was also a centerfielder for the New York Giants. It was because of his involvement in minor-league ball, while still a track amateur, that his two Olympic medals in 1912 were taken away from him. They were restored to his family 50 years later. He also has a town named after him: Jim Thorpe, Pennsylvania.

The game's financial picture has changed and will continue to change, but the verities remain the same. When Wayne Garland, a pitcher, got a few million dollars to sign as a free agent with the Cleveland Indians, only to prove a disappointment (with a sore arm), he responded to criticism from disappointed club officials with "No one was ever paid more than he was worth"—meaning, of course, that value lies in the eye of the beholder, as in all other areas.

In 1952 Bill Veeck, who had produced a World Series-winning team in Cleveland with record crowds a few years earlier, was having difficulty in St. Louis, where he had bought the Browns, and asked the Yankees for a piece of their radio revenue to help out. They turned him down with "You wouldn't be looking for an arrangement like this if you were still in Cleveland." Bill enriched the language of baseball with: "Circumstances alter cases."

The game has enriched the general language too. Rarely does a day pass when a conversation doesn't turn up a phrase directly traceable to the game. Some of the expressions you might have heard in the last 24 hours include "Get in there and pitch," "He's a real foul ball," "It came out of left field," and "I struck out." These are right out of the old cow pasture in Cooperstown and elsewhere.

Americans make some unusual pilgrimages—some solemn, some joyful, some educational, some because it's a good place to surf, swim, or set up a barbecue. They visit the giant redwoods in the far West, the

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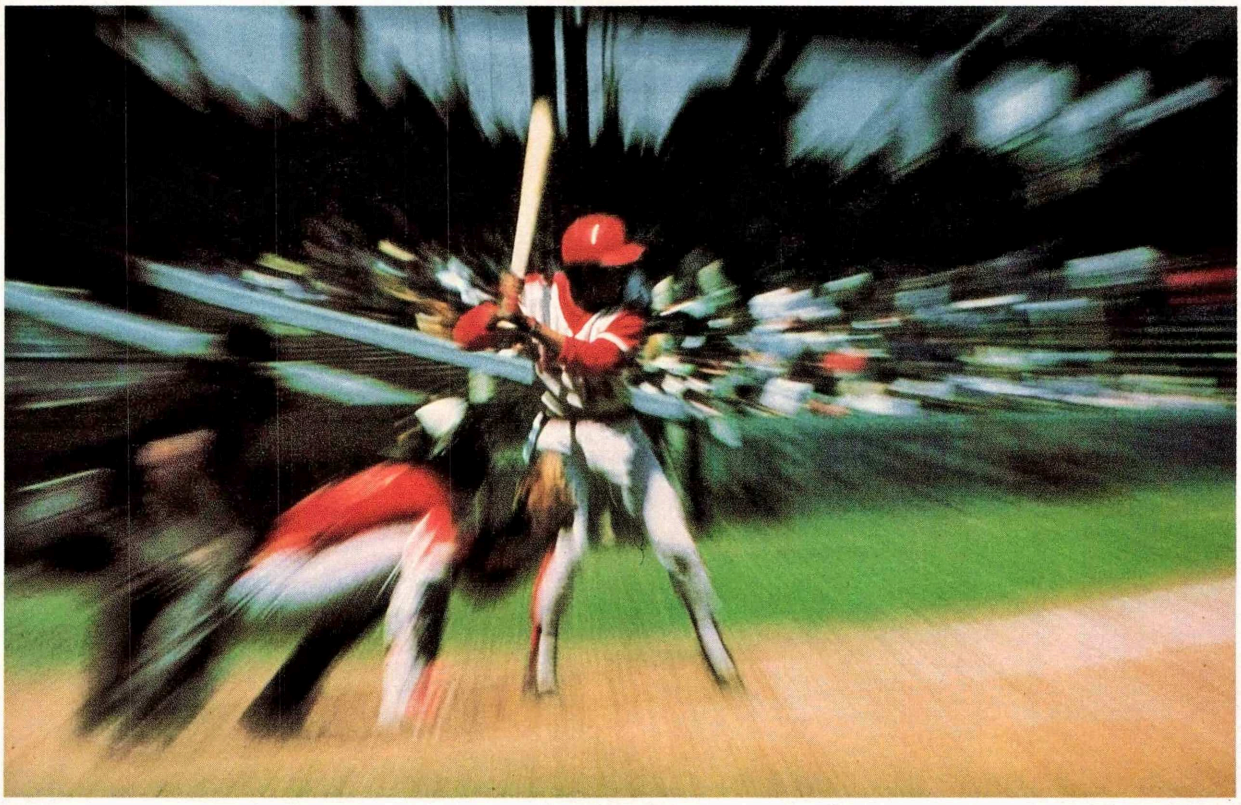
The names and style may have changed but the thrill of baseball remains, the anticipation of explosive action as a 90-mile-an-hour fastball is clubbed right out of the park.



TONY DUFFY/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOC.

mile-deep Grand Canyon, the incredible string of freshwater inland oceans known as the Great Lakes.

They also make a beeline for the ballparks, large and small, just as their great-grandfathers did. There are new problems, though—parking, games that run past midnight, and beer that peddles for $2 a cup —but the concept of nine players on a field preventing one hitter from doing damage that will be reflected on the scoreboard still remains. There used to be a single umpire making all the decisions of out or safe, of ball or strike, of fair or foul. Now there are six arbiters for the big stuff like the World Series, and there are the all-seeing eyes of TV to help.

Is it a sport or is it a business?

To begin with, it's more than just a sport. It's a "game," because games have rules, and baseball has plenty of those (a complete set of which might take most of a lifetime to master). But the spoils of victory can outweigh the spirit of sportsmanship. If your opponent falls down running to first base and fractures an ankle, you don't drop everything and run to minister to him. First you make sure you tag him or touch the bag so that he is out. Then you worry about whether the fracture is simple or compound.

Is it a business? Something where someone is paid $2 million for hitting a ball with a bat might be, but it would be like no other business. On the other hand we can hearken to an owner 20 years ago who threw up his hands at the stupidity of his fellow owners while declaiming, "A business? First of all, a corporation like General Motors or General Electric does more business in an hour than we do all year." And then, warming to the subject, "A business? If we were a business we'd be broke in a week!"□

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Harold Rosenthal, sports columnist for the New York City Tribune, *is a lifetime member of the Baseball Writers Association of America and was an official scorer at the 1957 World Series. He has written several books on baseball, along with numerous articles and encyclopedia entries.*

PHOTOS BY NIKKI R. KEDDIE/ISP/PSI FOTOFILE

Senegal: The Islam of Sufi Orders

Senegal's unique Islamic heritage plays a vital role in national development

written and photographed by Nikki R. Keddie

The Republic of Senegal is a small but influential country at the extreme west of Africa. It has a population of six million people, of whom almost 90 percent are Muslim. The balance is made up of either Christians or animists. Islam in Senegal has a special character in that it is overwhelmingly represented by Sufi orders, to which the vast majority of the Muslim population owe allegiance.

Individual adherents to these orders become members by inheritance and by paying allegiance to a sheikh or marabout. In some cases adherents learn a supplementary prayer formula peculiar to the order. Male members usually meet regularly, and devotion to the order and its sheikhs is often the primary loyalty of its members, although feelings of Senegalese nationalism and identity are also strong today.

In Senegal, hierarchies within the order take the place of the learned "orthodox" Islamic leaders, or *ulama,* who are important in Middle Eastern Islam. Recently though, with a growing Middle Eastern Muslim influence in Senegal, a more orthodox type of Islamic education and intellectual is appearing. To date, however, there is neither a Middle Eastern type of ulama nor a significant demand for the enforcement of Islamic law. To many Senegalese Islam is what the orders say it is, although the orders themselves are becoming increasingly learned in Islamic orthodoxy. The orders also have a major political and economic influence.

Below left: **Touba disciples gather at a shrine.** ***Above left:*** **A Touba mosque.**

Islam had been gradually introduced to Senegal by traders and missionaries since the eleventh century, and the three major orders developed during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Islam gained power more rapidly with the social changes and disruptions brought on by the slave trade, initially, and later by French colonialism.

Senegal's location made it one of the earliest ports for European traders and an early source of large numbers of slaves. The island of Goree, which after several vicissitudes became a French possession, was the main port for the holding and shipment of slaves from West Africa. Today it has been restored, and, in addition to the former slave quarters, where local guides tell of the horrors of the past, it contains beautiful houses, plants, and beaches. It is a popular residence for some of the elite of the capital, Dakar.

The slave trade was highly disruptive to the economy and society of Senegal's kingdoms and local structures. Many men and women were lost to the

economy, while a few others became rich through trade and the ownership of slaves. However, the slave trade reinforced the hierarchical structure characteristic of northern and central Senegal, which were dominated by the Peul-speaking and Wolof-speaking peoples.

In these societies there were three basic social categories: free persons, who were either aristocrats or cultivators; the caste groups of artisans and *griots* (historian-praise-singers); and slaves. The groups married within themselves, and there are still some remnants of disdain by descendants of the free for other groups, despite the importance of artisans to the economy. In the context of the social disruption and change caused by the slave trade, Islam's development was a form of popular protest.

Coming in from North Africa, Islam spread first among the Peuls of the northeast. These were, and are, largely cattle-raising nomads, related to the Fulani, a people from Nigeria and found elsewhere in West Africa. There were also many settled urbanized Peuls, known as Tukulor. Fueled by traders and scholars, Islam spread in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries among the Peul nomads from the Moors to the north. It quickly took on a populist character and also that of militant revolt against oppressive rulers.

The first Islamic revolutionary movement against local rulers and economic oppressors came in the late seventeenth century. Its leadership proclaimed a slogan to the effect that rulers were created to serve the people and not the other way around. A larger Islamic revolt occurred in Peul territory in 1776 and similar militant movements continued in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. All of these uprisings expressed a social as well as religious content. They were a demonstrable reaction to the disruption brought by slavery and other Western trade. The most famous and long-lived movement was that of Hajj Umar Tall, a Tukulor who introduced the first important Sufi order, the Tijani, to Senegal and fought the advancing French colonists.

The French had established trading posts earlier in Senegal but began the process of conquest only in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. This was decades after the British-enforced end to the slave trade. To replace slavery as a basis of trade, other products, at first gum arabic and later peanuts, were developed.

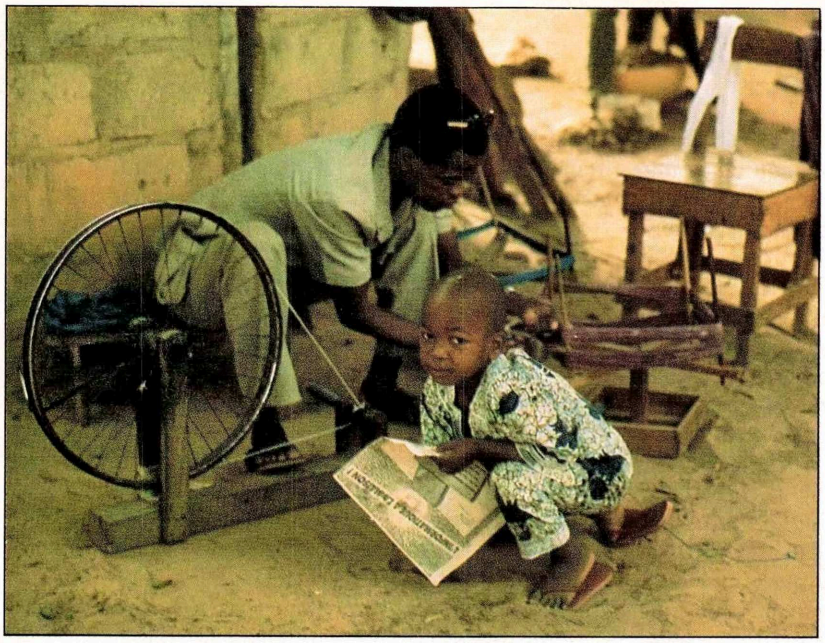
Islam in Senegal, mostly in the form of Sufi orders, developed rapidly after the French conquest. These orders provided an indigenous form of identity and authority to replace the kingdoms and tribal states overthrown by the French. They also embodied a cultural alternative to the traditions of the French.

The most dramatically successful order, and still the most dynamic and powerful though not yet the largest, has been the twentieth-century Mouride order. Founded by Sheikh Ahmad Bamba, who broke off from the Qadiri order (now Senegal's third order), the Mouride order from the beginning appealed especially to Senegal's largest and most powerful ethnic group, the Wolof. Mourides were special in emphasizing the devotion of a disciple to a sheikh (or marabout) as the only path to salvation, and also in stressing work. The economic goal of work was to give all or part of the product to the sheikh. The order was also responsible for increasing production by creating new settlements in areas inhabited by Peul nomads, and by stressing the profitable peanut crop, which had become Senegal's major export and foreign currency earner.

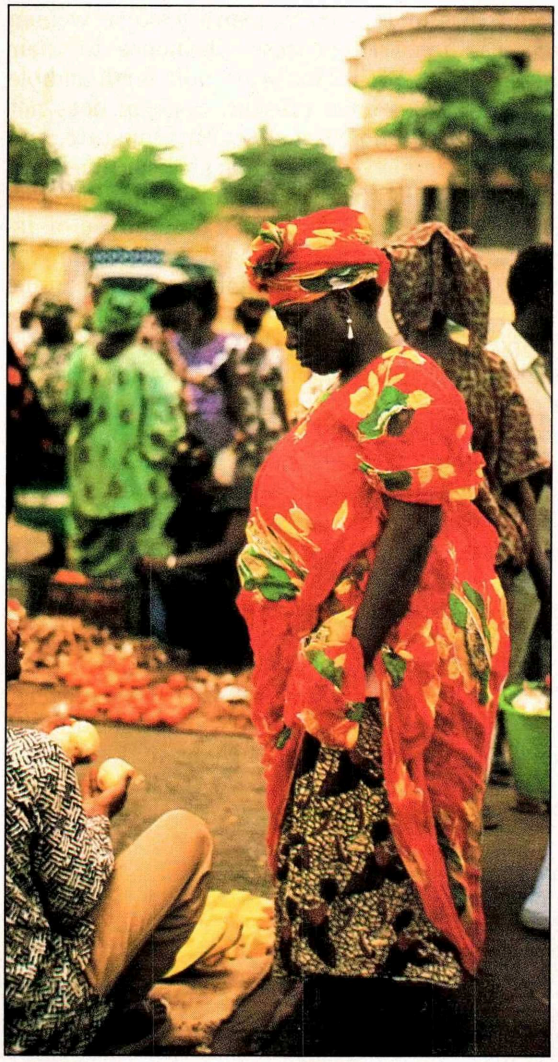
The economic gain to Senegal from this stress on peanut cultivation and marketing—which was soon imitated by the Tijani order—was partially offset by the hardship caused to Peul nomads. The nomads, especially in time of drought, have increasingly been forced to sell their cattle and to settle in urban slums. Also, ecological damage has been caused by the continual cultivation of peanuts on increasingly marginal land. Single-crop cultivation, as well as forest destruction, has been partly responsible for low productivity and increasingly frequent drought. The government is now beginning to combat these problems by reforestation and improved agricultural practices.

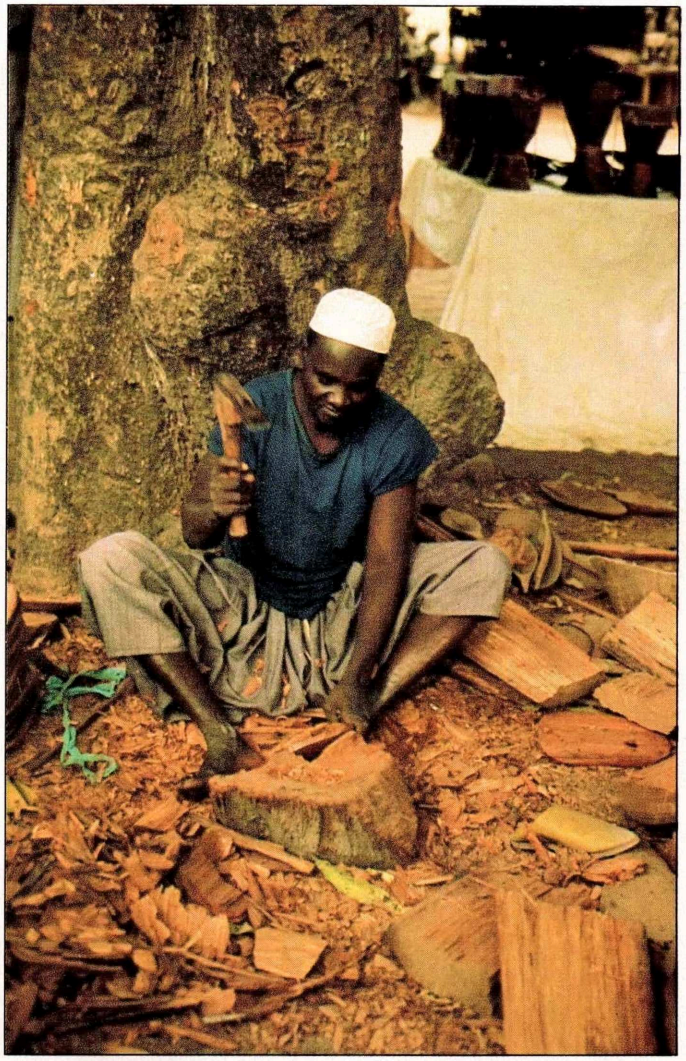
The Mourides have been net contributors to Senegal's economy; money from the expanding cultivation of peanuts, however, increasingly goes into trade and other investment, as well as for the conspicuous consumption of sheikhs. Their wealth and power is best represented by the impressive holy city of Touba (the name of the tree of paradise), built on the site of Sheikh Amadu Bamba's first vision.

The visitor first entering this city in north-central Senegal finds an outside market area full of bustling artisans and traders, with an intermixture of horse



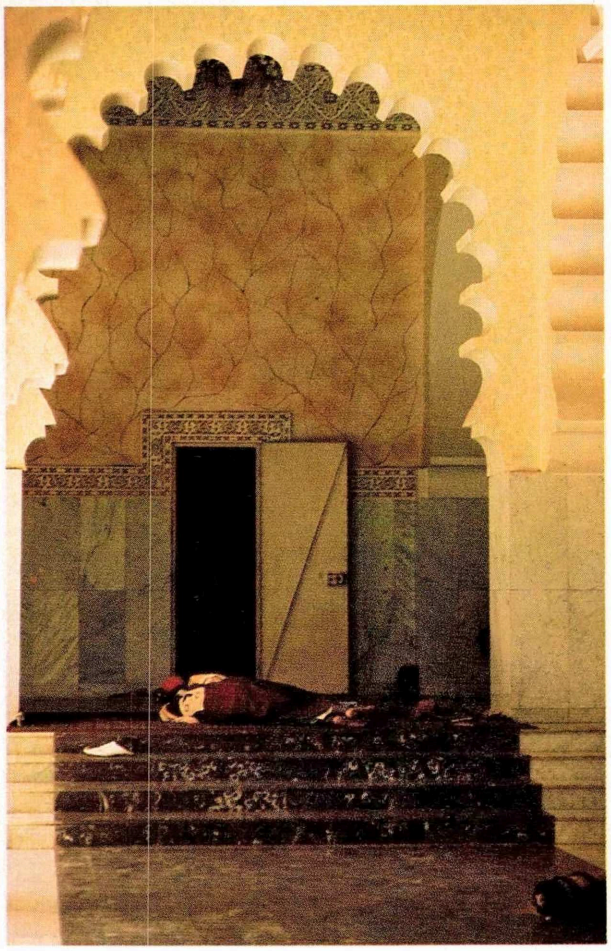
Scenes from the hustle and bustle of the Dakar market and streets, where sights such as handcrafting wood, reeling yarn, and sporting the rich colors of African dress are much in evidence.





carts and automobiles. Proceeding to a reception area, the visitor may find a group of men chanting the poems of Amadu Bamba, a practice supposed to further guarantee admission to paradise. Nearby may be women, also members of the order if less initiated into its practices, who are waiting (as are some of the men) for either a sheikh or a higher leader, a *khalifa*, to appear. The principal holy site of the city, the cemetery containing the tombs of Amadu Bamba and other leaders as well as ordinary Mourides, is off limits to visitors. This is the main point of pilgrimage for Mourides.

Among the other points of interest in the city is the great mosque, the largest and highest in West Africa. It was built over many decades chiefly by the labors and contributions of followers, although the government of President Leopold Senghor (1960–1980) also contributed. There is also a huge library, with numerous Korans and the writings of Amadu Bamba, and the construction of a university has begun. This would be Senegal's only Islamic university and the main one in West Africa. Mouride money and labor is responsible for most of this vast construction, but there has also been some funding from the state and other Arab governments.



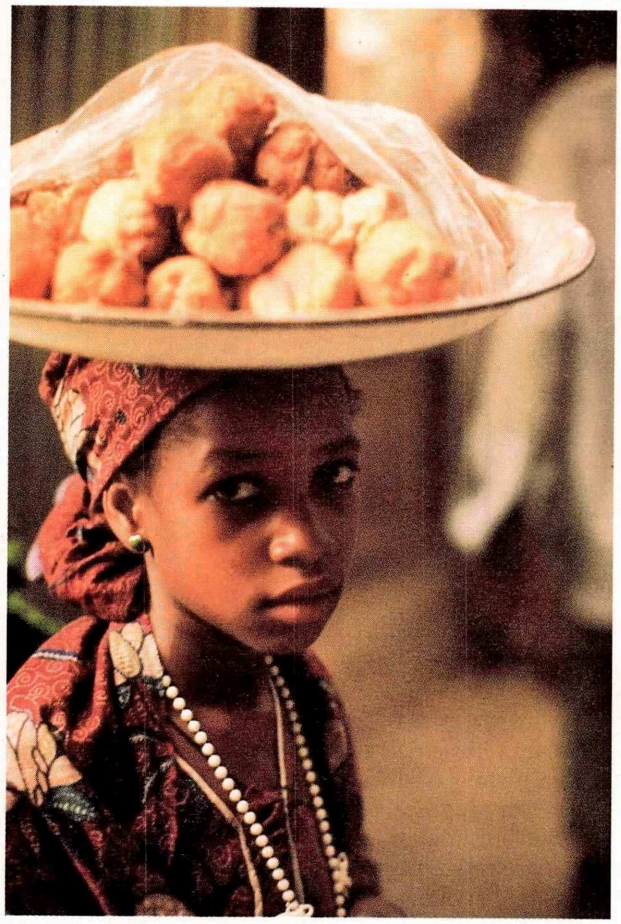
Senegalese rulers and politicians have cultivated the approval of the leaders of the orders with offers of posts and favors, believing the marabouts control votes and public opinion. With respectability, and with the growth of Arab influence and contributions in recent years, the orders, despite the continuation of heterodox groups like the Mouride Bay Fall, have conformed increasingly to the beliefs and practices of standard Islam, especially on their higher levels. At the same time, the cities have seen the growth of a trend toward a stricter Islamic practice that is not connected to the orders. This includes more regular prayer, fasting in the month of Ramadan, and a stricter dress code for a minority of women.

At meetings of Muslim women's groups, women are enjoined to stricter dress, obedience to their husbands, and so forth. This often calls forth audible dissent from the women present. Senegal does not conform to one's notion of a strict Muslim state, and the trend of Islamic resurgence is still confined to a general and vaguely pervasive movement that has, for centuries, striven for stricter observance of Islamic practice. There is virtually no popular or widespread appeal for the adoption of an Islamic state, nor for the application of Muslim law.

The position of women, like many aspects of Senegalese society, owes more to Senegalese history in interaction with modern trends than it does to Islamic rules. Polygamy, a widespread and legal practice in Senegal, predates the arrival of Islam. It finds few vocal opponents in a country where poverty causes many men to migrate both to the cities and abroad, leaving a surplus of women.

As in many countries, women do most of the hard agricultural work, and their jobs of gathering water and firewood often involve walking many miles. Recently the government has begun to give consideration to women in its development programs, making avail-

The Senegalese maintain a unique familiarity and interpretation of Islam that has done nothing to dilute the power and reverence generated by that great faith.



Women in Senegal are among the most liberated of Muslim women yet have lost nothing of their traditional African character.

able such items as simple mechanical mills to replace the pounding of millet by hand. But such programs have far to go.

Western-based development schemes in Senegal, as elsewhere, have tended to stress agricultural machinery and other items purchased in the West and to neglect women and the poor. If the average Senegalese woman works harder than the average Sengalese man then it must also be said that she is more independent and has more of a public position than she would have in most Middle Eastern Muslim societies.

Women have long been prominent as traders and artisans. Now an elite segment of urban women has entered the ranks of artists, professionals, and teachers at all levels. Less-privileged women are clerical and factory workers, laborers, and domestics. In the Casamance region south of Gambia, society has been traditionally less hierarchical and organized than in the north. Traditionally, this has meant a higher position for women. This region is the least affected by Islam in Senegal.

With the frequent recurrence of drought in the past decades there has been a decline in agricultural productivity and a rise in migration and unemployment. These factors have helped lead to the beginnings of family planning. Senegal remains, however, an extremely young society, with 52 percent of its population under the age of twenty-one. Its sources of income are, so far, limited. After peanuts its second export is phosphates, and its third, fishing products. Fishing is a source of both export income and diet protein. The current building of large dams, iron-ore projects, and phosphate industries may reverse the trend toward declining productivity and increasing debt and dependence.

The intelligence and humor of the Senegalese, expressed in literature and film as well as more traditional dance and arts, has helped make them relatively well known in the West, as has their growing tourist industry, which centers on the beaches but also involves travel into Senegal's rivers and varied interior.

Since Senegal's independence from the French in 1960 there has been a great expansion of education, both state supported and Islamic (supported by the orders). This has helped development but has also increased the growing economic and cultural gap between the urban elite, symbolized by the imposing presidential palace in Dakar, and the rural or migrant poor. Combined with drought, high oil prices, and low peanut prices, this gap means that Senegal has formidable problems to solve. The activity and input of a talented people, however, give hope that popular initiative along with good education will lead to basic improvements in Senegal's difficult economic position.□

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Stories from Susurluk

Oral traditions and ritual intertwine in the Turkish village and home

written and photographed by Paul J. Magnarella

Throughout history, and around the entire world, people have preserved and transmitted their shared wisdom in the form of tales, anecdotes, proverbs, jokes, and symbolically laden ritual practices. These cultural devices are highly condensed formulae for interpreting and evaluating people and events, and for justifying expected modes of behavior. In the terms of Emile Durkheim, the famous turn-of-the-century French social scientist, the contents of these devices constitute some of the most important "collective representations" of a people. They manifest a shared consciousness.

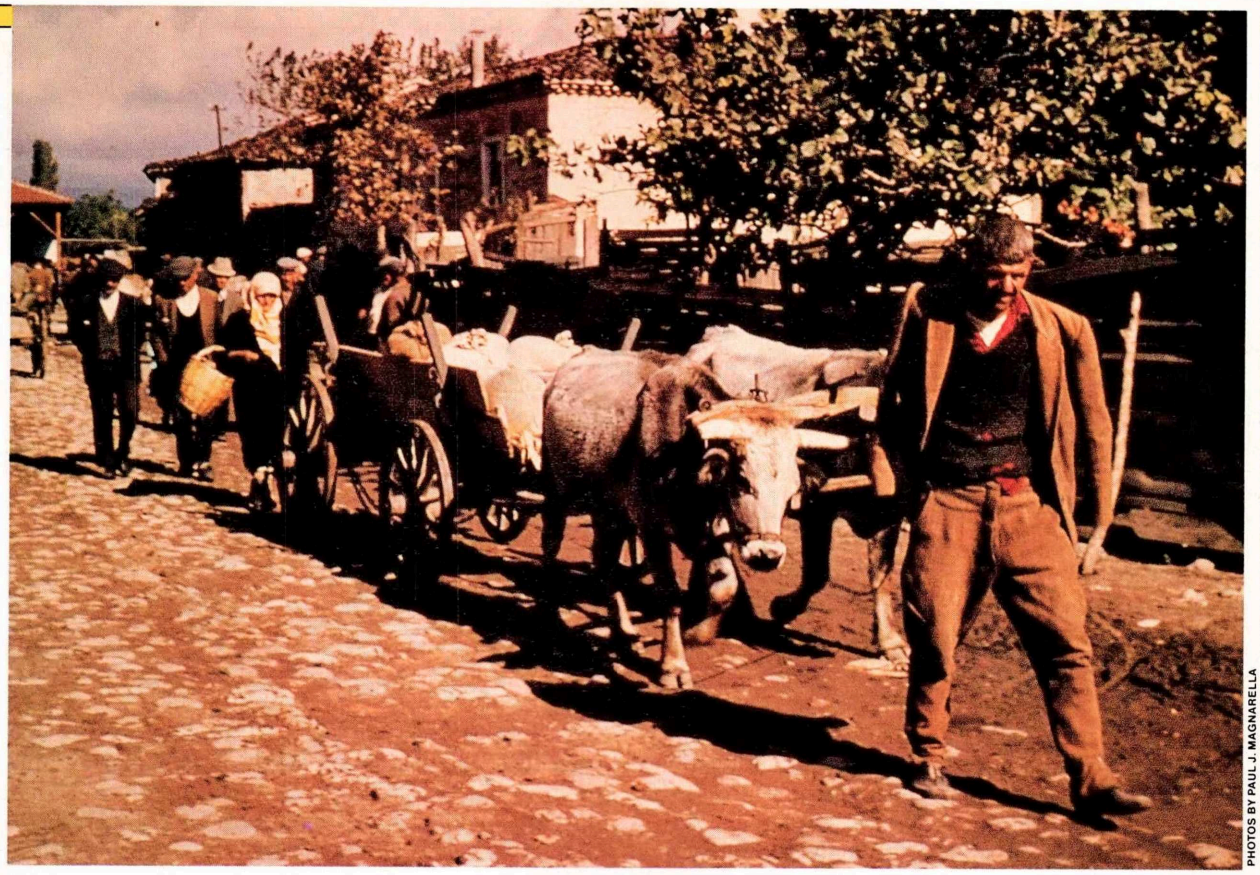
Historically, a people's oral literature and ritual practices have illustrated, in symbolic form, their solutions to universal ethical and practical problems. In the past especially, when most of the world's population was illiterate, oral folklore and ritual were the efficient means by which new generations learned the kernels of wisdom arrived at by their ancestors.

During the early 1970s, I collected samples of this folk tradition from Turkish peasants and townspeople in the district and town of Susurluk, located in the Balikesir province of northwestern Anatolia. This area has a cultural tradition that evolved out of a rich history of diverse peoples and civilizations.

Present-day Balikesir and Susurluk are located in the ancient land of Mysia, named after a people that the Greek geographer Strabo said dressed in deerskins and spoke a mixture of Lydian and Phrygian. After the Mysians (1,500–1,200 B.C.), the Hittites, Phrygians, Lydians, Persians, Hellenes, Romans, and Byzantines all enjoyed successive periods of rule over the region. In the twelfth century A.D., the armies of the Second Crusade under Louis VII, and the Third Crusade under Friedrich I, crossed Mysia. The Latin state established after the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) included the northwestern portion of Mysia in its domain.

Turkic peoples entered Asia Minor in large numbers after the defeat of the Byzantine army in 1071 at Manzikert in Eastern Anatolia. By the middle of the twelfth century, numerous *ghazi* emirates had been established across Asia Minor. Each was ruled by a Turkish dynasty and contained a party of *ghazis,* "warriors of the faith," who earned their status by fighting against non-Muslims. These Muslim emirates also fought with each other.

In 1155 the Seljuk emirate attained supremacy



PHOTOS BY PAUL J. MAGNARELLA

An ox cart plodding through the outskirts of Susurluk.

over the others, only to be devastated by invading Mongols in 1243. In about 1300, Kara Isa (Dark Isa), the head of a ghazi contingent, founded his Karasi emirate in the ancient land of Mysia. He established his capital, Balikesir, on the site of ancient Hadrianoutherai, one of the many products of the Roman Emperor Hadrian's mania for building. The settlement was situated astride the great Roman and Byzantine land routes to Miletopolis (today's Karacabey) and Constantinople.

The emirate became a magnet for many peoples seeking either a refuge from the Mongols or an opportunity to fight the Byzantines for booty and glory. The emirate boasted quick-striding equestrian forces and a navy, made up of both Greeks and Turks, that plundered Byzantine towns along the Dardanelles. Eventually, the Karasi forces allied with those of the neighboring Ottoman emirate to conquer Byzantium and expand into the Balkans.

The settlement of Susurluk, which was part of the Karasi emirate, was probably established in the sixteenth century to serve as a brief resting place for traders and travelers on the ancient Roman and Byzantine route from Balikesir to Constantinople. In 1566–1567 A.D. a mosque and a *han* (caravansary) were built there to accommodate travelers.

By the late nineteenth century, Susurluk's town population reached about two thousand, and the combined populations of the twenty or so villages in the Susurluk district totaled about ten thousand. Most of the people were sedentary Turks, engaged in a primitive, plow agriculture. They farmed the fertile plains and river valleys, living in homes of reed and thatch. They had long since acquired the appellation "Manav" (fruit and vegetable people) probably to distinguish them from the pastoral nomads (known as Yuruk and Turkmen).

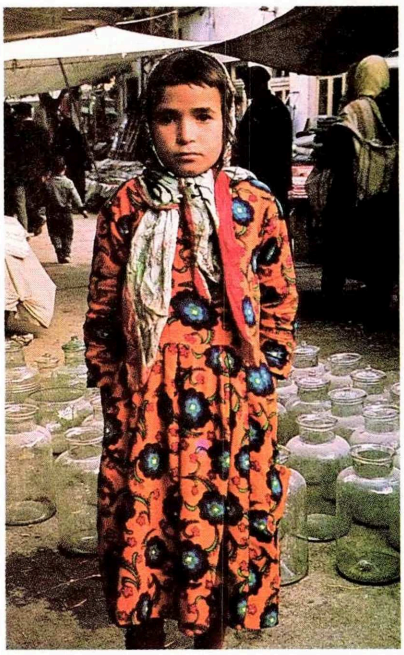
These nomads had begun to take on a more sedentary life, in newly established hill settlements, while they still specialized in animal husbandry. Interspersed among these Turks was a small number of Arabs whose forefathers may have been either ghazi warriors or caravan travelers who decided to end their wanderings. The town of Susurluk also had an important minority of skilled Greeks and Armenians employed as builders, shoemakers, metalwork-

Market day in the village is traditionally a time to swap tales, trade one's wares and produce, and wear the finest clothing.

ers, bakers, wine-makers, and retail tradesmen. In addition, over one hundred Armenian men lived and worked at a boracite quarry four miles south of the town.

The town's weekly market provided an important mechanism for the social integration of these economically and ethnically diverse peoples. Once a week, villagers and townspeople came together to exchange their products for the provisions, clothing, or tools that they lacked. The Manavs provided poultry, eggs, fruits, and vegetables. The formerly nomadic Turks brought milk, yogurt, cheese, hides, and meat on the hoof, as well as woven bags and rugs. The Christians supplied crafted leather and metal products. Greek grocers sold non-local items, like salt, sugar, and tea. Relatives and friends visited each other, and men gathered in coffeehouses to exchange news and enjoy the oral folk art of local raconteurs.

Together, these peoples created a unified culture from a diversity of parts. They exchanged vocabulary, tales, riddles, folk beliefs, rituals, recipes, and work skills. Prohibited from making alcoholic beverages themselves, many Muslims appreciated the



proximity of Christian neighbors whose grape products added warmth and glow to festive occasions. Large landowners hired Greek and Armenian craftsmen to build homes of stone and mudbrick, and Christian craftsmen took on Muslim boys as apprentices, teaching them the lore and skills of their trades.

This ethno-economic mosaic was further enhanced in the late nineteenth century, when the deteriorating Ottoman Empire lost the Balkans, the Crimea, and the Caucasus region. As a consequence, many Muslims fled these areas, seeking refuge in Asia Minor. From the Balkans came Muslim Albanians, Bulgarians, Bosnians, and Gypsies; from the Crimea came Turkish Tatars; and from the Caucasus came Muslim Circassians, Georgians, Dagistnis, and Turkish Nogays. These immigrants were assigned to areas throughout the remaining Ottoman Empire. Some of them ended up in Susurluk.

Although all of Susurluk's Christians had left for places in Europe by the end of World War I, their cultural legacy remained. By 1970, the populations of Susurluk town and the forty-seven villages in Susurluk district were 12,360 and 27,800 respectively.

This colorful blend of peoples could only have enriched the oral and ritual folk traditions of the area. Given this historic background, it is little wonder that many of the stories told to me in Susurluk have their mates in the Balkans and other parts of the Middle East.

Anecdotes *(fikralar)* exist for practically any occasion. They provide humor and wit, while offering various perspectives on life's situations. Each has several levels of meaning. The largest single group of Turkish folk anecdotes relates the trials and tribulations of Nasreddin Khoja, a mythical figure who purportedly lived in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The Khoja (meaning religious teacher) is both wise and naive, shrewd yet gullible, and always a comical figure. All Turks know, and practically all love, this famous character whom they usually depict on his favorite donkey. He is also popular in one form or another throughout the Middle East and the Balkans.

No one has ever counted all the Nasreddin Khoja stories; however, the European folklorist, Albert Wesselski, collected over five hundred such tales in his two volume *Der Hodscha Nasreddin.* The first anecdote of those which follow addresses the materialist aspects of human nature.

Money Talks

One day, Nasreddin Khoja, in his usual humble dress, went to a Turkish bath. The bath attendants totally ignored him while they lavished attention on their more prominent-looking customers. When the Khoja left, however, he tipped the attendants handsomely, giving each one a valuable gold coin.

The next day, the Khoja returned to the same bath. This time, the attendants treated him like a sultan. They offered him the best towels and soap; they massaged and perfumed him; and begged him to request further service. Upon leaving, the Khoja stunned the expectant attendants by giving them a mere penny each. "These pennies are for last time," explained the Khoja. "The gold coins were for this time."

This next anecdote deals with the problem of choosing one's source of knowledge.

Choosing Evidence

A neighbor went to Nasreddin's home to ask if he could borrow the Khoja's donkey. "It's not here," lied the Khoja. "I've already lent it out to someone else." Just then, the Khoja's donkey began to bray loudly from the backyard.

"You must be mistaken," said the neighbor. "I can hear your donkey braying behind your house."

"What kind of man are you?" demanded the Khoja indignantly. "Do you take the word of an ass over the word of a white-bearded teacher like me?"

Despite their lack of formal education, Turkish peasants and small townspeople loved stories dealing with the complexities of inductive-deductive reasoning, drawing inferences, and analogies, as we see in the following stories.

How Long Will It Take?

Nasreddin Khoja was gathering wood by the side of the road when a man, traveling on foot, stopped to ask him how long it would take to reach town. Although the Khoja heard the question, he said nothing.

The traveler repeated his question several times in

a much louder voice, but the Khoja still failed to reply. Thinking he must be addressing a deaf and dumb man, the traveler gave up and continued walking in the direction of the town.

After the traveler had gone about fifteen meters, the Khoja, who had been watching him, called out, "Hey traveler! It'll take you about an hour."

"Well, why didn't you say so before?" demanded the irritated traveler.

"Because I didn't know how fast you were walking," explained the Khoja.

The Paradox

One day while the Khoja was resting under a mulberry tree and observing a watermelon patch nearby, he entered into a philosophical inquiry about the reason for nature's ways.

"How is it," he pondered, "that this huge mulberry tree bears such little tiny fruit, while those mere creepers produce gigantic melons?"

As he was contemplating this paradox, a mulberry fell from the tree and bounced lightly off the top of his bald head.

"Aha!" exclaimed the Khoja. "The wisdom of it all strikes me."

The Mirror

As the Khoja was walking to the mosque he spotted something glittering by the side of the road. It turned out to be a metal mirror.

He picked it up and examined it closely. Suddenly he saw his own face reflected back at him. "Oh!" he exclaimed."What an ugly thing! No wonder it was thrown away."

Another popular character in Turkish folklore is the Bektashi, a member of a Shi'ite religious order by the same name. His popularity may derive in part from his liberal attitudes toward alcohol, fasting, and prayer. Like some of the Nasreddin Khoja stories above, the Bektashi sample plays on logical or illogical inference.

God and the Penny

One day a Bektashi went to a Turkish bath, where he stayed for a long time and enjoyed the warm waters and fine service of the bath attendants. After he dressed and was about to leave, however, he realized that he had no money to pay the owner. The price was only a penny.

"Oh God," he prayed, "give me a penny so that I may pay the bath owner. Or do something to save me from my shame."

Just then, the dome of the bathhouse came crashing down to the floor, creating a great confusion. Seeing this as a sign, the Bektashi rushed out the door, but bumped into a beggar on the street.

"Please sir, give me a penny," implored the beggar.

"Sorry," replied the Bektashi, "but things are so bad these days, not even God has a penny to give away."

Many Turks also revel in stories showing how poor peasants can outwit prominent urbanites.

The Villager and the Professor

A famous professor of great erudition was visiting a village one day. He sat in the local coffeehouse where the village men gathered around his table to listen to him expound on one subject after another. Finally one of the villagers interrupted the professor with the following proposition.

"I'll ask you a question, my dear professor. If you can't answer it, you'll pay me ten liras. Then you ask me a question, and if I can't answer it, I'll pay you two liras. This is fair," continued the villager, "because you're a man of great knowledge and education, while I'm simply an ignorant peasant."

The professor accepted the proposal, and the villager asked his question: "What creature has one leg and four heads?"

After thinking for a long while, the professor admitted he didn't know, so he paid the villager ten liras. The professor then asked the villager to answer his own question. "Sorry, but I don't know either," replied the villager as he paid the professor two liras.

The last anecdote shows how human ingenuity can overcome the apparent immutability of numbered objects.

The Three Sons and Their Camels

A man died, leaving seventeen camels to be divided among his three sons. In his will he bequeathed half the camels to his oldest son; one-third of the camels to his middle son; and one-ninth of the camels to his youngest son. Even with the help of the town's best

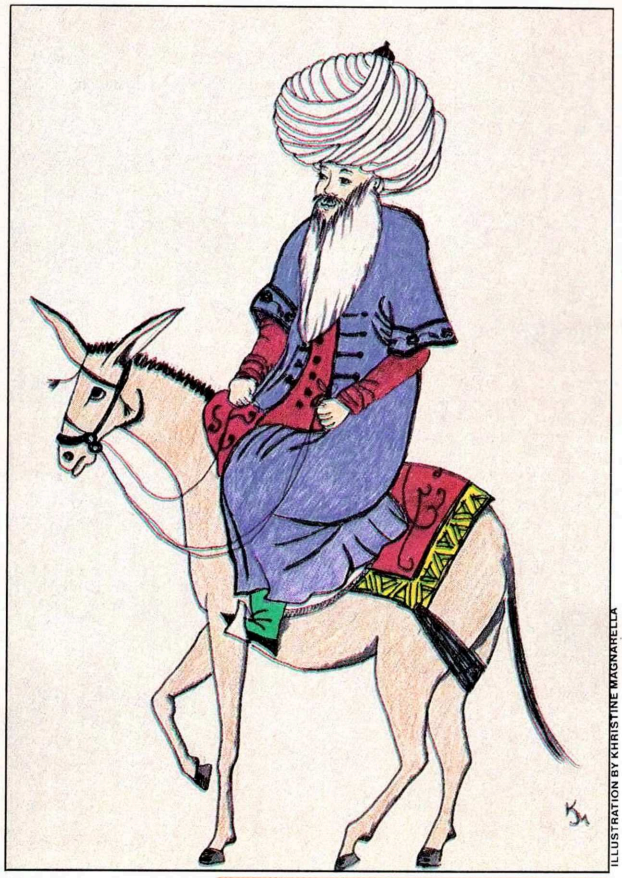


ILLUSTRATION BY KHRISTINE MAGNARELLA

Nasreddin Khoja, the popular mythical figure who appears in many forms in stories throughout the Middle East and Balkan area.

mathematician, however, they could not figure out a way to divide the camels as their father had wished. Eventually, they took their problem to the Caliph.

"Your good father's wish will be respected," said the Caliph. "First, I will lend you one of my camels, so that you have eighteen altogether. Now, the oldest son will take nine camels, half the total. The middle son will take six camels, one-third the total. And the youngest son will take two camels, one-ninth the total. Nine, six, and two make seventeen, the number of camels your dear father left you. Before you leave, I'll simply take back my camel and everyone will be satisfied, including your father, may he rest in peace."

Another type of tale popular in Susurluk and throughout Turkey is the charter story that purports to explain how things got to be as they are. Superficially at least, the following charter tale, told to me by an elderly peasant woman, "explains" how the ruins of an old bridge (probably from the Byzantine period) on the Simav River near Susurluk came to be. More deeply, however, the story conveys messages about the relationship between nature and human beings.

The King and His Bridge

Long before, how many years ago I don't know, a king and his daughter lived in a house on a hill overlooking Sultancayir village. The daughter had two rooms. She sewed in one and made cheese in the other from the milk taken from goats that grazed on the hill.

One day the king said, "I will build a great bridge across the river below."

He had the bridge built. Thinking it was so magnificent, he proclaimed that no one, not even God, could destroy it.

One day, however, a small rock went rolling down the hill. It struck the bridge, breaking its foundations. Today, all that remains of the bridge is rubble, with the rock sitting on the bank overlooking its destruction.

At first glance, the part of the tale about the king's daughter appears unnecessary. Is it? The daughter lives at home with her father, the king. Therefore, she is unmarried and a virgin—a symbol of purity and family honor. She has a special, harmonious relationship with nature. She takes nature's gifts and converts them into cultural necessities—clothing and food. The hill that provided the grazing for her milch goats also supplied the small rock that humbled the vain king, who attempted to overcome nature.

The Turkish folk have produced a great variety of tales in which some poor, but virtuous person miraculously comes upon a treasure. The following was told to me by an elderly Susurluk peasant woman.

The Haunted House

Once there was an elderly couple who lived in a small, one-room house. They argued and fought constantly. Each would destroy the other's belongings. He would get angry and break her glass, and she would break his. She would get angry and rip his quilt. He would do the same to hers. Finally, nothing

was left but an empty house. Everything else was either broken, burned, or ruined.

The woman was originally from Bandirma [a town on the Sea of Marmara]. Her husband had always promised to find her a nice house there, but he never did. At this point, the woman left her husband and went to Bandirma on her own.

In Bandirma there was a haunted house, full of djinns. Everyone who entered it died, and the neighbors would have to come to remove the bodies. Now the woman went to Bandirma and moved into this house. Seeing how poor she was, a neighbor from across the way brought her pilaf, soup, and bread.

In the middle of the night a black cat entered the house. "Ah, my baby lamb," said the woman to the cat. "Where did you come from? Let me give you some food. Go ahead, eat, eat." She gave the cat some of the neighbor's food.

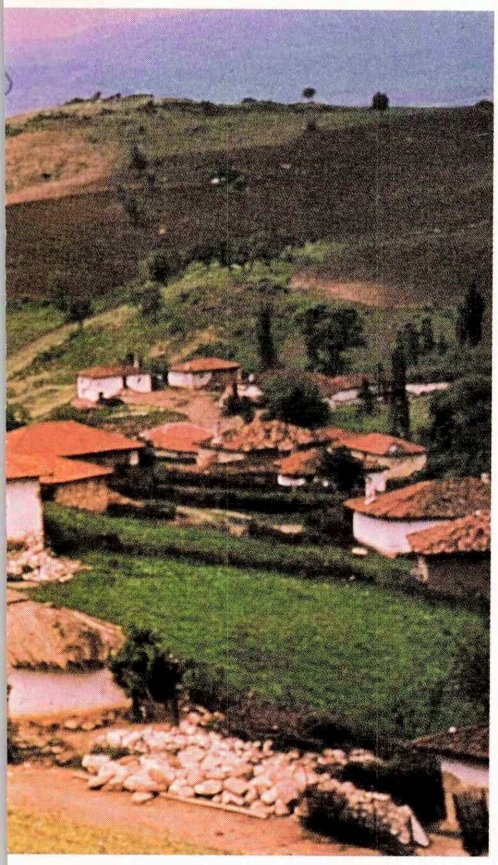
The cat, an uncanny creature, ate the food and then began to walk away, turning its head back as it went as if to beckon the woman to follow. The woman followed the cat to a door that opened to stairs leading down. They descended the stairs and entered a cave full of treasure—gold, money, jewels! The cat gave the treasure to her and then disappeared, never to return. The woman took some of the gold and went out to buy furniture, rugs, and other beautiful things for all four rooms of the house. When she was done, the rooms sparkled like candles.

Expecting that she too had died, the neighbors soon came to remove her corpse. But they found her alive, the picture of health. She welcomed them in, but never told them about the cat.

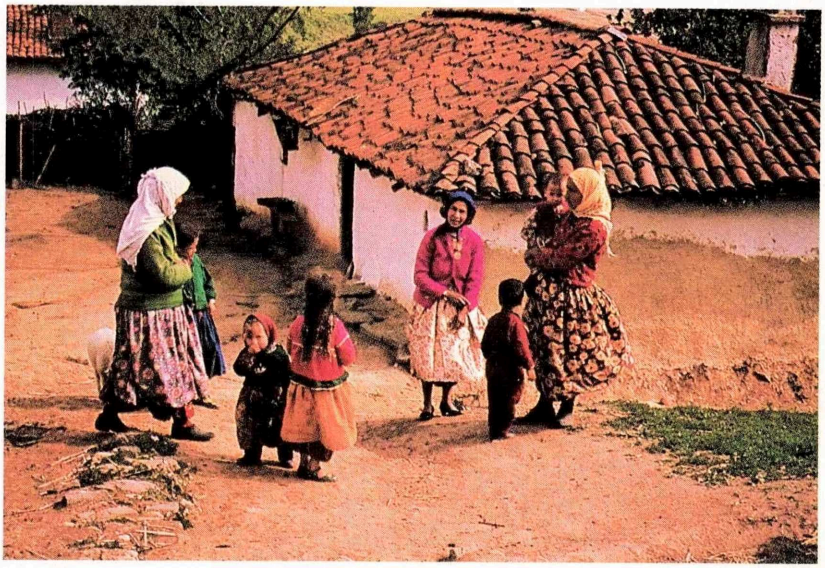
Next her husband came to the house and knocked on the door. "Go away you scoundrel," she yelled. "You kept promising to take me to Bandirma, but instead left me with nothing. I don't want a husband like you."

So she lived alone with the treasure she got by treating the cat well.

The above story is probably an example of a poor woman's wish fulfillment. Most women are dependent on their husbands for a house and its furnishings. Where and how a woman lives is her husband's prerogative. In this treasure tale, a woman, having



The Turkish village is the setting for many traditional stories.



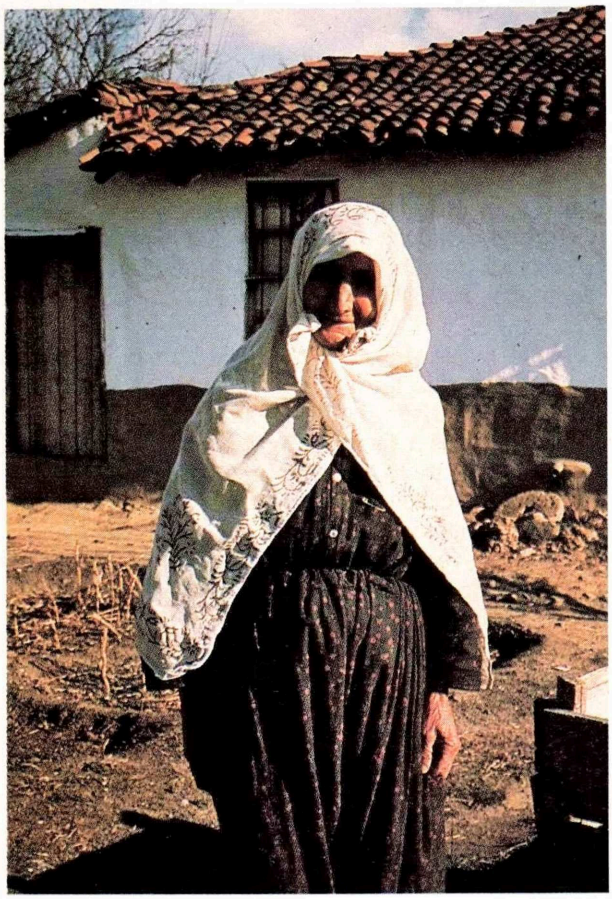
been failed by her husband, strikes out on her own. Despite her poor circumstances, she acts charitably toward a dubious creature, who rewards her kindness.

According to lore in the Susurluk area, two kinds of black cats exist. One is a devil; the other an angel. The second, which has a distinctive black mark on its palate, is the Prophet's genus of cat. It brings luck to a household. But determining whether a black cat is a devil or an angel from external appearances is like judging a book by its cover or a person by her face. Best to treat all black cats well. The nature of the treatment may determine the nature of the cat.

By carrying out ordinary, daily activities in the manner prescribed by tradition, the Turkish folk engage in the sacred ritual of life. Ritual, the sacred way of doing things, transforms the mundane into the divine. It also patterns life into tried, true, expected modes, and provides the psychological reassurance that comes from knowing one has done things right.

Commonly, sets of rituals cluster around certain sacred objects or institutions. The traditional Turkish home contains an object so sacred that we may refer to it as the "home altar" and to the woman associated with it as the "home priestess." This sacred object is the *ocak* (domestic hearth). Much of what the famous cultural historian Fustel de Coulanges has written about the symbolic place of sacred fire in ancient Greek and Roman homes applies equally well to the traditional Turkish domestic hearth.

> In the house of every Greek and Roman was an altar; on this altar there had always to be a small quantity of ashes, and a few lighted coals. It was a sacred obligation for the master of every house to keep the fire up night and day. Woe to the house where it was extinguished. Every evening they covered the coals with ashes to prevent them from being entirely consumed. In the morning the first care was to revive this fire with a few twigs. The fire ceased to glow on the altar only when the entire family had perished; an extinguished hearth, an extinguished family, were synonymous expressions among the ancients. (1956, p. 25)



The rustic village homestead provides for a life of simple dignity and tradition in which the mundane can be transformed to the level of the sacred through ritual and lore.

In Turkey, also, the domestic hearth symbolizes the family and lineage. Some of the worst insults one can hurl at another involve the extinction of the hearth:

"May your hearth [family] die out!"

"May owls [symbols of death] perch on your hearth!"

"May figs be planted in your hearth!"

Because of the sacred hearth's identity with the family, its fire must be guarded carefully and treated piously. Fire from the hearth should not be given out to strangers or enemies who might defile it or endanger the family. To lend fire to another so that she might rekindle her own hearth is to treat the borrower like an intimate family member. Such lending signifies acceptance and trust—the highest compliments one family can give another.

The hearth, of course, provides many practical benefits to the family. It creates heat, produces fumigants (which relieve the house of insects), and cooks food. The last product—food—is also sacred. Eating together not only strengthens sacred family bonds, but it also establishes spiritual links with people outside the home. Food sharing symbolically extends the hearth and family essence to others.

Dropping in on a family at mealtime is a special act. To such an unexpected guest people say, "Your mother-in-law must like you!" The guest is invited to the table, and even if he has already eaten he should take at least one mouthful of food so as to demonstrate symbolically his socio-spiritual ties with the host family. Families also demonstrate their socio-spiritual bonds with the community by sharing food on holy days and whenever neighbors are in need. The traditional *ashure* custom is an interesting example of this sharing.

Ashure is a sweet dish, containing at least seven kinds of fruits and vegetables, prepared by the eldest woman of a household for the Tenth of *Muharrem.* (Muharrem is the first month of the Islamic lunar year. This date commemorates the death of Husain, Caliph Ali's son.) After cooking it in a large container, the woman covers it with a tray and calls a person knowledgeable of the Qur'an to read or recite prayers over it. Later, she divides the ashure up into smaller containers. Younger members of the family then distribute the small containers of ashure to relatives, friends, and neighbors. People say they should be distributed to at least seven different households. Each recipient reciprocates by saying the expected religious formula—"May Allah accept your good deed"—to the giver.

Not only does each family extend its essence to the community by sharing holy food prepared by its woman on its fire, but each family also promotes good fortune through the ashure custom. As a household's eldest woman prepares the ashure, she drops a coin into the large container. Later, that coin is randomly included in one of the small containers of ashure and distributed to some family by chance. People believe that the family receiving the coin will enjoy prosperity as a result. Consequently, the ashure custom combines universal Islam with local tradition into a ritual complex with spiritual, creative, and practical functions.

In some Susurluk villages a bride would be ritually introduced to the hearth of her husband's family on the very first day of marriage. The new bride would be taken, by her husband's mother, to the kitchen where she kneaded wheat-flour and water. The bride then went to the hearth and pressed her right hand against the wall above it, leaving her handprint there. Her subsequent interactions with the hearth continued to take on symbolic significance. For instance, people said that when a new bride can revitalize the morning fire with one puff of air, the rest of her day will go well. Those new brides who can generally restart the morning fires easily will be blessed with beautiful babies.

The hearth fire also emits interpretative messages. Some villagers believe that the bluish glow of the fire means someone is speaking badly about the male head of the household. Others claim that the different kinds of crackles produced by the fire correspond to the different kinds of conversations about the household that others are engaged in. The hearth fire also plays a role in many folk cures and protects the family against the evil eye.

Because the hearth fire is associated so intimately with the family, it should never be put out intentionally. Throwing water on the fire is wrong; it symbolizes the family's extinction. People usually cover the hot coals with ashes until they are needed again. An elderly woman told me that some immigrant women from the Balkans brought their hearth coals with them to Turkey to ensure their families' survival.

The home also contains other special parts, such as the rafters from which items are hung to cure ill residents or to protect the home from the evil eye; the walls in which nail clippings are wrapped and stored to protect their owners from sorcery and to be preserved until Judgment Day, when they will be recollected; and the entrance, especially the threshold, which marks the dividing line between the safety of the home and the dangers of the outside, spirit world. One should not linger in the doorway but should pass through it, saying *destur* (by your leave) and *bismillah* (in the name of Allah) as protection, because one may collide with spirits found there, especially at night.

Many of a housewife's home furnishings and utensils also have special ritual importance. One of the most important of these is the broom, whose use always involves ritual. Along with being a useful cleaning implement, it is an opponent of evil. People believe that dirt and filth, which the broom helps eliminate from the home, are the habitats of evil spirits. Consequently, as a woman sweeps her home, she simultaneously clears it of evil.

The broom can also help protect new mothers from the devil and other evil spirits. For instance, during the first forty days after childbirth, a mother should be guarded constantly by a relative or friend to prevent the devil from adversely affecting her. When the guardian finds it necessary to leave the new mother alone, she should place a Qur'an near the mother's head and either a broom or a piece of iron by the door to continue the watch.

Although the home represents the residence of people, and is therefore in the realm of culture, it also contains symbolic elements of nature with which the family must live in harmony. For instance, many people believe that a "foundation" snake inhabits every traditional rural home. Harmonious families that get on well with their neighbors rarely see the snake, and it causes them no harm. Contrary families see the snake frequently, and unless they adjust their ways, they eventually get frightened out of the house.

The exact origins of these and hundreds of other home beliefs and rituals are hidden in the past. However, their persistence evinces their psychological and social value. We may assume that the mundane chores of maintaining a home were so important to family and lineage survival that Turkish society, especially its women, assigned special spiritual and symbolic meanings to their work, thereby elevating it to a higher, more mystical and sacred plane.

In this respect, the traditional work worlds of Turkish men and women were similar. Just as male members of the traditional crafts had their own patron saints, sacred work procedures, and ceremo-

Women cooking over the hearth, the sacred symbol of the strength of the family.

A traditional Turkish reed and thatch roofed barn.

nies, so too did women. Just as craftsmen marked special occasions in their work life, like graduation from apprentice to journeyman, so too women marked special occasions, like marriage and birth. Like a young boy entering a trade, each young girl is initially an apprentice in both the skills and knowledge of family care and the constellations of ritual-beliefs associated with home tasks.

Being a universal religion, Islam gives life a universal meaning. It, however, does not deal specifically with all the details of work life. Consequently, local peoples create special rituals to guide their work, and eventually use Islam to justify them. Many of my illiterate informants claimed (incorrectly) that the Qur'an prescribed their special ritual-beliefs.

By choice, the Turkish folk wrap their otherwise mundane acts in spiritual clothing. Many dedicate each task to Allah by pronouncing "Bismillah" before they begin. Traditional Turkish women begin each home task by saying, "Not by my hand, but by the hand of Aysha [the Prophet's wife] and Fatima [the Prophet's daughter]." In these and many other ways every traditional domestic act takes on the quality of holy ritual; it acquires spiritual meaning and links the woman directly with her God. Almost nothing in the home remains secular. The traditional Turkish home becomes a temple, and the housewife its priestess.□

Additional Reading

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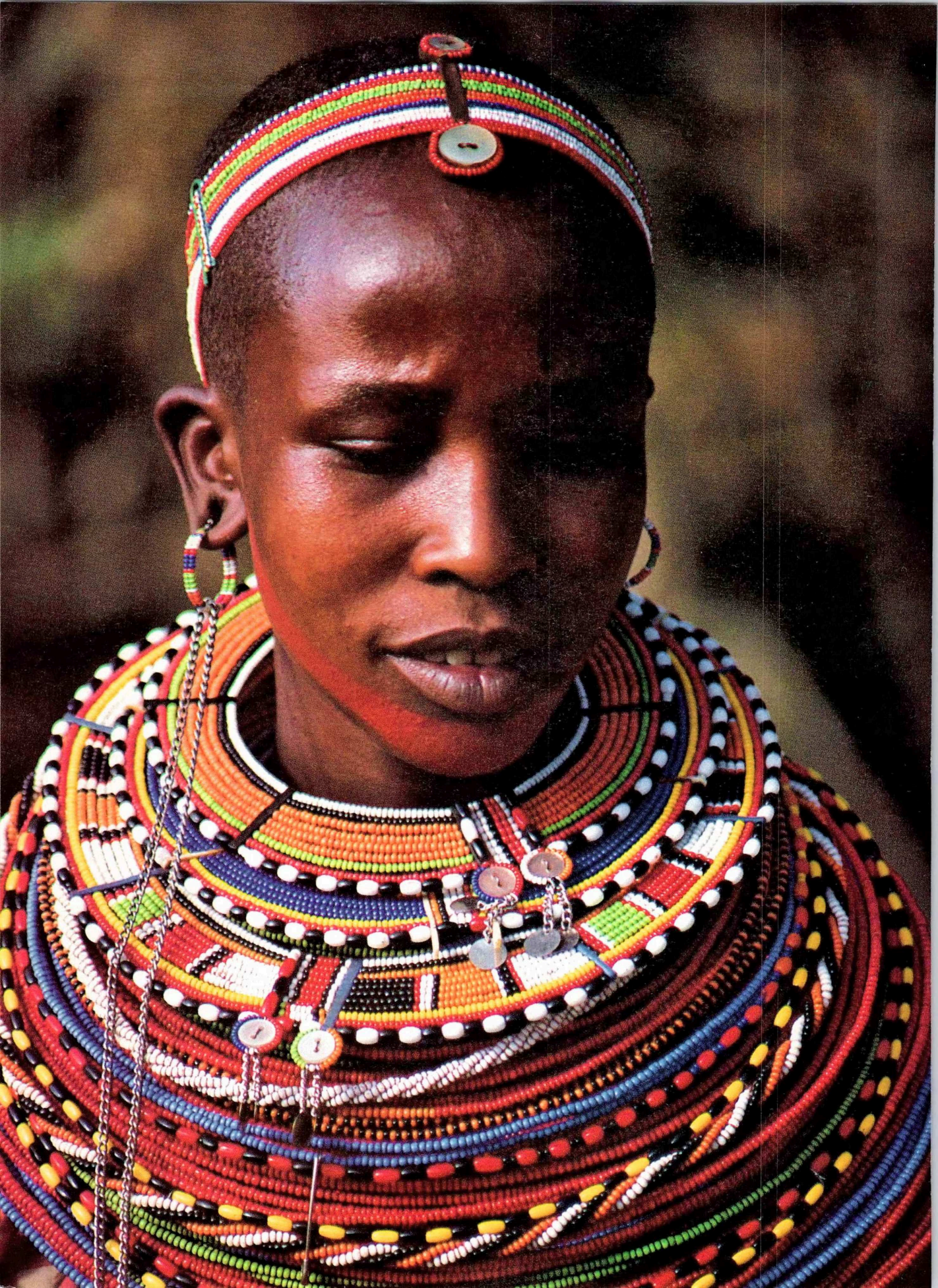
Paul J. Magnarella is professor of anthropology and Middle East studies at the University of Florida, Gainesville. He has authored two books and numerous articles on Turkish and Middle Eastern topics.



Swahili Poems

Poetry provides a remarkable outlet for personal expression in Swahili culture

foreword and translations by Lyndon Harries

The Swahili people of the East African coast are unique amongst the Bantu-speaking peoples of East Africa in that they possess a long tradition of versification. Poetry is still written in the traditional manner.

It is difficult to estimate the output of poems written at the present time in the traditional manner, not least because they are private property meant for private use and are handwritten. There is, however, a considerable output of Swahili rhymed verses appearing regularly in roman script in the vernacular press. In papers like *Mambo Leo,* the omission of this regular feature would arouse strong protests from many readers who are not themselves Swahilis. Even though the demand for space for Swahili articles on contemporary subjects is a very pressing one, Swahili poetry maintains an entrenched position in the popular press, especially in Tanganyika.

The verse appearing in roman script in the vernacular press is not usually of such a high standard as poems written in the Swahili-Arabic script, but at least it shows a strong desire to retain the tradition of verse composition that the Swahilis have practiced for at least 300 years. Basically, the tradition is Arabian. It is well known that the Swahili people have incorporated into their way of life much that is of Arabian origin. The first attempts to paraphrase an Arabic poem into Swahili were made for reasons not exclusively literary. The Arabian, and therefore the Islamic content of Swahili life, has always been for the Swahilis a matter of prestige. The true Swahilis of the coast prefer, in fact, to be known as Arabs. Verse composition after the Arabian pattern involved the question of pride in Swahili origins; it revealed knowledge of Arabian life and of Islam, a sure guarantee for the highest prestige among the Swahili people.

It is true that versification in Swahili is practiced today in roman script by many who cannot claim Swahili blood, but usually they are Muslims. Religion is the bond that gives them the right to share a medium of expression that has its origin in Islam. It is not religious verse that they write for the popular press, but the medium employed indicates familiarity with the Swahili way of life, which is fundamentally Islamic.

This wider modern practice of Swahili versification has led to a departure from its earlier intention —to express the spirit and the practice of Islam. Today the medium is employed for more secular ends. Any news item may be the subject of a few verses, but this is in the tradition established during the nineteenth century by writers like Muyaka bin Haji of Mombasa, who brought poetry out of the mosque and into the marketplace.

In this article we only reproduce poetry written around the end of the nineteenth century. Modern Swahili poetry requires separate presentation.

It would be wrong to attempt an assessment only from a study of the texts provided here. Many of the poems were meant to be sung or intoned and have a social and religious value that the bare texts may not reveal. Poems of the nineteenth century were often written to suit an immediate historical situation. It may be that even after the most diligent investigation we cannot recapture the exact implication of a verse because we may not be able to reconstruct the exact situation. There are hundreds

Beauty speaks a universal language, even though it has many different expressions in the cultures of the world.

CARL PURCELL

of short Swahili poems in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London which still defy interpretation partly because no one is able to provide the context in which the poem was written.

The early poems were written as much for the eye as for the ear. To appreciate them fully, they must be read by a Swahili who can express the manner in which they have been written in the Swahili-Arabic script. Quite often a play on words can be understood only from an examination of the script.

Although Swahili poetry derives from Arabic poetry, in many respects there are fundamental differences. It cannot properly be compared with Arabic poetry, for it is *sui generis*. The Arabist may recognize the obvious connection between Swahili poetry and Arabic poetry, especially in much of its subject matter, but Swahili poetry cannot be considered as an extension of Arabic poetry or even as a modification of it. Swahili poetry exists in its own right and therefore must be judged for what it is in itself. Even Swahili-speaking Africans, however, may fail to understand that in their poetry the Swahilis have a possession of which they may well be proud.

Similarly, without some experience of the African background of Swahili poetry, the Arabist may not appreciate all that the poetry has to offer. From the amalgam of two traditions, we find in Swahili poetry a positive contribution to world literature. In early Swahili literature, epic poetry is of particular interest, not least because in this medium the poet was able to move freely away from the imitation of Arabian models. Then, in the nineteenth century, the quatrain was used in an original manner. The poems of Muyada bin Jaji particularly show a delicacy and skill of treatment, together with an appropriate choice of subject matter, which are altogether worthy of praise. Although it was, and still is, possible for Swahili versification to degenerate into a clever trick of easy rhyming, at its best it has qualities that are truly poetic.

Few modern poems in Swahili reveal the technique of the earlier works. This may be because the authors have had no easy access to the full range of prosodic forms. Some of the earlier verse has itself given rise to an oral tradition, as in Pemba, and it is interesting to find that though the subject matter is original and very often topical, the prosodic forms retain the earlier techniques.

From very early times there was contact with Arab seamen and traders along the Swahili coast. The more spontaneous religious verses were brought to the Swahili coast by these Arabs of the Yemen and Hadramawt, especially the latter. An important influence in establishing the tradition of Swahili versification was also that of the educated religious leaders, nearly all Saiyids, in whose hands most of the secular and religious education lay.

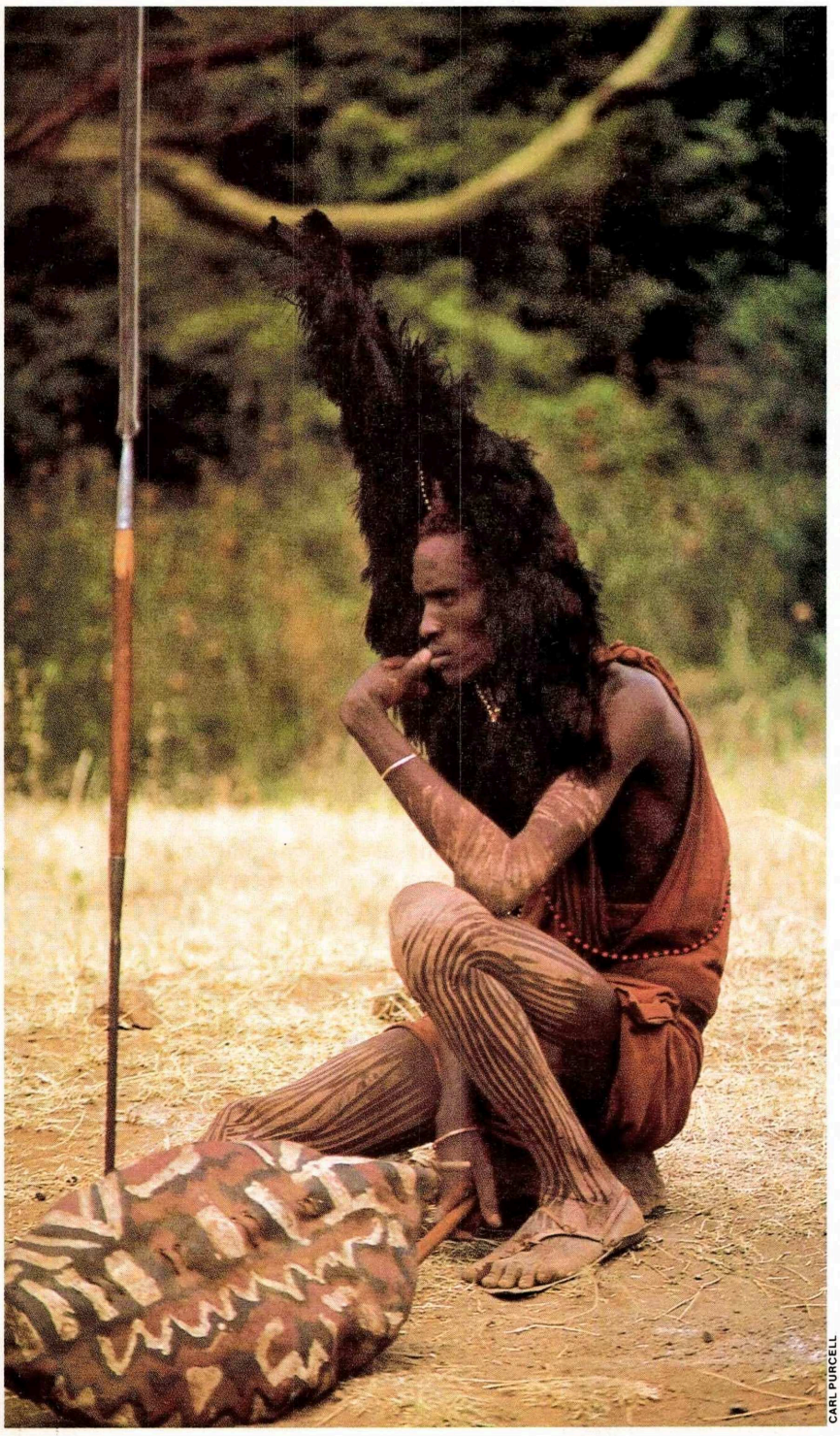
It sometimes happened that the advent of a Saiyid family was the direct result of a plea for aid against the Portuguese invaders by individual Muslim rulers of the Swahili coastal citadels. Perhaps the best example of this is the request made, according to the Swahili chronicler, Bwana Kitini, by the Sultan of Pate (probably Muhammad V) to Sheikh Abu Bakr b. Salim (died A.D. 1584) that he should "pray to Allah on our behalf that he may deliver us from our enemies." The Sheikh sent his two sons, Ali and Husein, to Pate with a contingent. They settled in Pate where the names of districts, like Sarambi and Inati, derive from the names given by members of the family to their homes there.

The Saiyids were Arabs, but because they wrote in Swahili it is customary to include them in the category of Swahili poets. The later descendants of the Saiyids were, of course, born of African mothers. The Saiyids brought with them didactic and homiletic verse in Arabic, and these were paraphrased in Swahili, the poems often including the interlinear Arabic version that did not necessarily correspond in meaning with the Swahili version.

This type of verse was supplemented by even freer renderings of popular tales of Islam, some with reference to actual events in the life of the Prophet Muhammad or to historical happenings in early Islam, but usually with an indistinguishable borderline between fact and fiction. These we may refer to as romantic epics; they do not appear to be later than the homiletic shorter poems, but rather contemporaneous with them.

In the nineteenth century the use of the Swahili-Arabic script was extended to include ritual songs of Bantu origin, especially *mavugo* (wedding songs), together with original compositions unrelated to any Arabic original.

The following poems have been selected from translations, from their original Swahili form, by Lyndon Harries and were first published by Oxford University Press. Reprinted by permission.



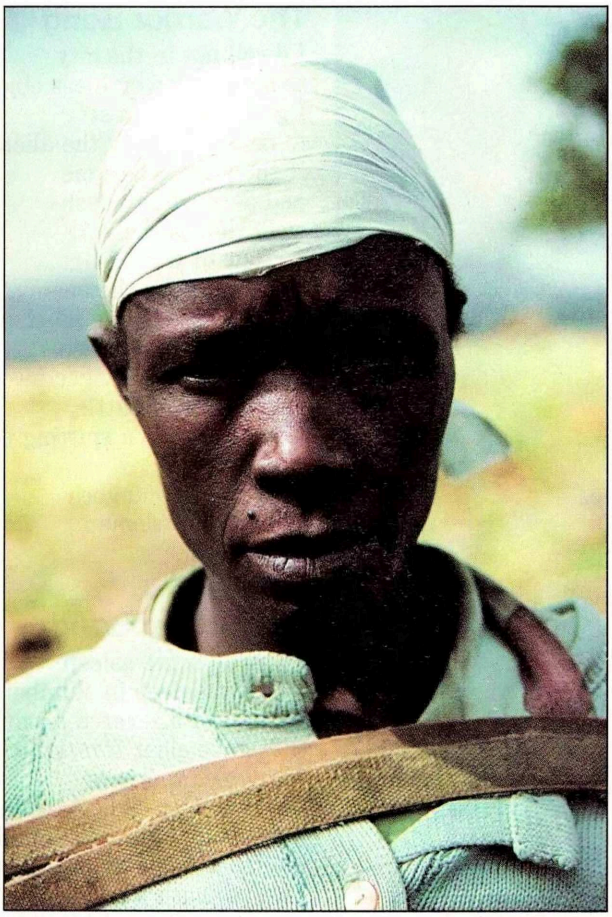
CARL PURCELL

The Warrior Song

I dwell not in the city
to become a worthless object
I go into the forest
to be eaten up by the alien.
If the alien seizes me
and devours my flesh
well, that is the
fortune of war
to be killed by the enemy.
A nobleman is like an elephant
he does not die in bed
but by the keen-edged sword
which kills in battle.
A nobleman is a spitting cobra
he dies hard
if he comes and goes
this is no nobleman.

The Dream Song

I was at home asleep
and I was deep in slumber
I dreamed a fevered dream
that gave clear foresight.
I dreamed a dream
that I was surprised by danger
being slain by my kinsman
my father's sister's son.
I awoke with a start
my strength mocked me
my heart stood still
and I called Kundazi.
Kundazi tiptoed in
and took away my shield
and the sword that I had
together with a lantern.
Bring me the whetstone
I fear to be without a sword
let me sharpen the scabbard
that it alarm the slayer.
Let me hone until it gets
a keen cutting edge
wherever they approach
I will not cease to resist.
Wherever they oppose me
let my heart stand firm
let me be as a strong bull
leaping over the goat-house.



CARL PURCELL

Truth

Truth needs a stable character
one who speaks it though it thwart him
It is as bitter as aloes
and many fabricate lies
when danger surrounds them
many cheat the truth
A cheat is not a true man
(but better) truth in times of danger.

The true man is not a cheat
and the one who cheats is not at peace
He is not calm to check the lie
nor for him is caution a good thing
It is not prudent to contradict
the truth when it is made evident
The true man is no cheat
(but better) truth in times of danger.

The Poem of the Poor Man

A poor man knows not
how to eat with a rich man
if he begin to eat fish
he eats the head.
Invite a poor man
and he comes disreputably
he comes licking his lips
he is an upsetter of the platter.
The poor man has no reserve
if he is called he comes
with the blood of lice
in his fingernails.
The face of a poor man
is furrowed
by hunger and thirst
that is in his vitals.
Poverty is no state
fit for mortal man
it makes him a beast
to be fed upon grass.
Poverty is no right thing
when a man gets it
though he be nobly born
he has no power with God.

CARL PURCELL

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She Wanders about Crying

When she went home
she said to her mother
Give me money or clothes
I want to go and use them
and if I fail to get them today
well, give me a knife for me to stab myself
She wanders about crying
because of her plight.
Then her mother thought
and remembered as well
You have wasted your money
and now today it is all finished up
I shan't refuse you a knife
so take it and stab yourself
Go from before me
go away with your loneliness.
When you were like a moth
in a cocoon of new clothes
you were in a hurry to make a sensation
(and used up your clothes) without leaving one
But today you just stink
the well-dressed women run away from you
So go from before me
go away with your loneliness.
You became like an animal
crying out like a lioness
You depended entirely on your slaves
and consumed them all
without pity
without having compassion on them
O why didn't you think?
Go away with your loneliness.

Your True Friend

A friend your true friend
if you wish to know his worth
go with him on a journey
go to some distant place
or else leave him behind at home
and go out on a loitering stroll
If he watches like a hawk (on your behalf)
that one is your true friend.
A friend your true friend
if you wish to hurt his name
deciding wrongly
to use his wealth
when you see that he
says nothing
nor rebukes you
without equal is his fame
that one is your true friend.
A friend your true friend
if you wish to know him well
take him along some known path
full of brambles and thorns
or involve him in some mischance
of a serious nature
If he still shows you the ways to pass
that one is your true friend.

Preceding pages and above: **The virtues and strengths of both manhood and femininity have their special expression in both traditional and contemporary ways.**

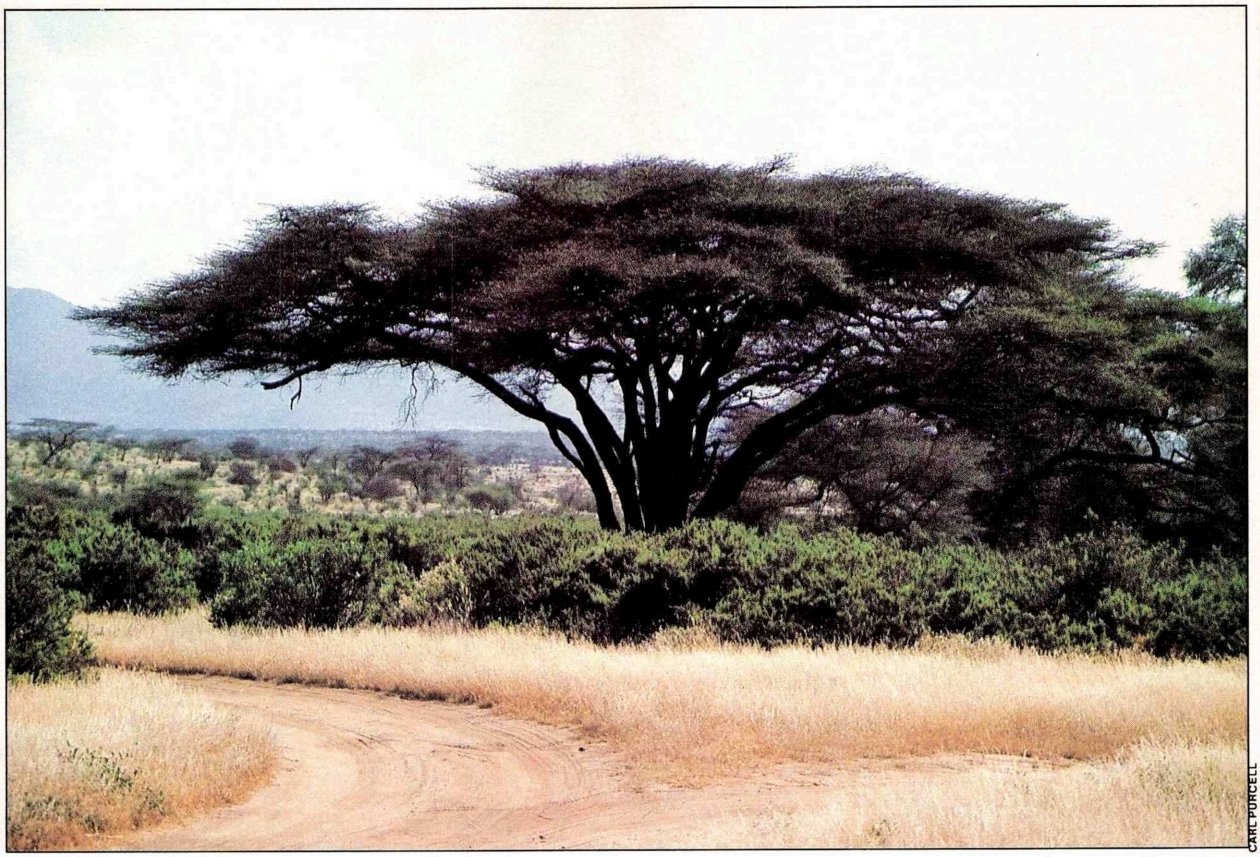
An Empty Quiver

An empty quiver frightens
if it has a cover
An enemy will let you go by
on the road wherever you go
without making known
his intention by word
Though he be clever at guessing
he does not know your secret.
A quiver without arrows
if it is covered it frightens
It is thought to be full of them
of arrows that make afraid
The tongue in like manner
it can keep its secret
unless it spills the matter out
and that is foolishness in the life of a person.

Silence

Silence has a mighty noise
so say the elders
Silence needs girdles
for you to wind round your loins
Despise not silence
nor have I despised it
Silence has a future
so take care of silence.
Silence is a sudden chance
happening to the very ones concerned
Silence will bring forth smoke
so don't open your eyes
Silence may mean deceit
for ever and ever eternally
Silence has a future
so take care of silence.
Silence, lift up your eyes
lift them up and look
Silence brings battles
so wherever you go don't vaunt yourselves
Silence catches the breath
it glides around like a soaring bird
Silence has a future
so take care of silence.

CARL PURCELL



CARL PURCELL

Is Not the World Amazing?

I speak with thee my friend
listen to me well.
Is not the world amazing?
What happens to your friend
and hearts turning about
these things happen to anyone.
This is the way of the world.
Get rid of hatred and anger
don't change (your good) character
These things are like the turn of the wheel
everyone who participates
though it vex your heart
the best thing is to endure all.
This is the way of the world.
As for the good things of these times
hold them at your fingertips
for they have no lasting value
even though you love them in your heart.
Even though a man be a teacher
he may destroy his own teaching.
This is the way of the world.

Solitude

I go in solitude
but where I stay I am remembered
My good and evil deeds
where they exist they are put to the test
and gathered together
in every house to be put to the test
so I don't go back to be laughed at
I go my way in solitude.

I go my way in solitude
and life is filled with happiness . . . .

Opposite, above, and following pages: **Traditional Swahili character and life-style reflect, and are in harmony with, the rich variety and grace of nature.**

CARL PURCELL

Love Bird

I beheld a love-bird fair,
High in the date-palm there,
Yet how may I that bird ensnare?

The Lover

That a lover grows fat, I can't agree.
I drink not, I eat not, pining for thee.
As for sense, I'd none, e'en at first, you see.
So these are the things love has gained for me!

Virtue

My heart, speaking of virtue, oft doth say,
Doth say, Read thou the Holy Book and Pray.
Yet Satan at my heels e'er treads my way!

Oa

Oa, saying that you are a marrying person
familiar with marriage
Oa, the eyes are the lookers
and the looking part stares
Oa, in the waters at high tide
as white as milk
Oa, are not these the meaning of *oa?*
Who is he who does not *oa*?

Oa, you are the marrying one
familiar with *marriage*
Oa, doth close your eyes
but throw a glance with them
Oa, give birth to offspring
even as you yourself were born
Oa, are then these the meaning of *oa*?
Who is he who does not *oa*?

Song of Farewell

Farewell my son farewell
I go my way to Ngezimaji
I mean to take my journey
in the season of changing winds
In storm and calm
I put my trust in the Great Giver
After trouble there is consolation
There is nothing that has not always been.

After trouble there is consolation
let the speakers speak of it today
I journey in a seagoing vessel
having ropes and planks
I will reach the villages
at Twaka that is where I live
Pray to the Lord
There is nothing which has not always been.

Pray to the Lord
the giver to the good and the evil
that He may give to us who are perplexed
giving to us in our immaturity
for Him to give us food and clothing
by His power and strength
that He may take from us our shortcomings
There is nothing which has not always been.

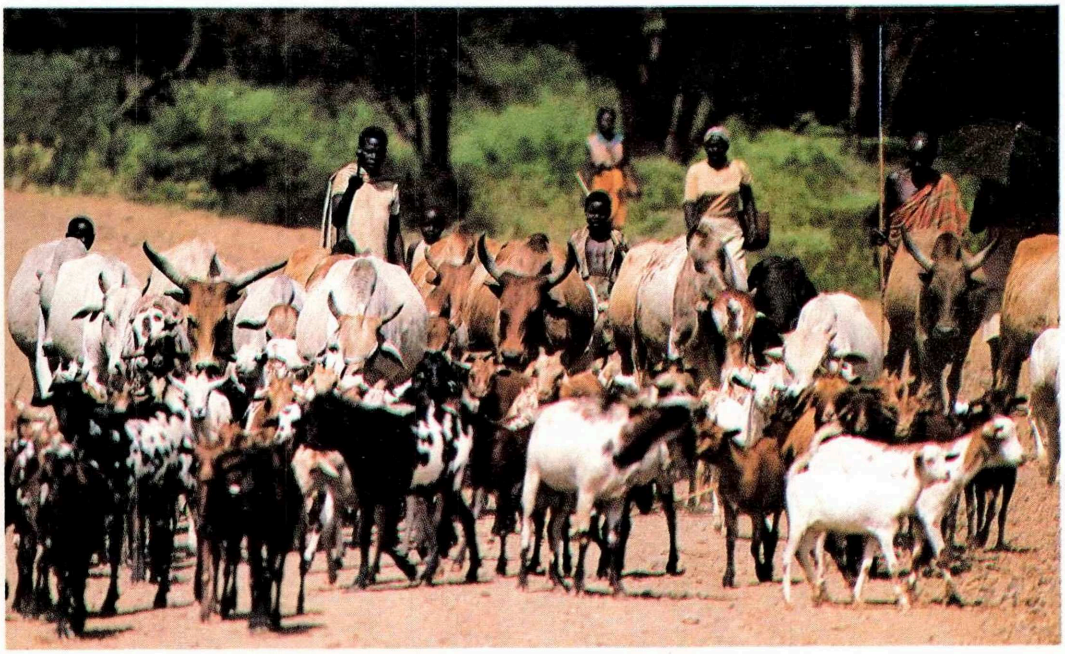
That He may take from us our shortcomings
His servants in dire distress
that we may not bear the burden
of poverty in the world
that our hearts may be tranquil
that they may not be lustful

All is in God's hands
There is nothing which has not always been.

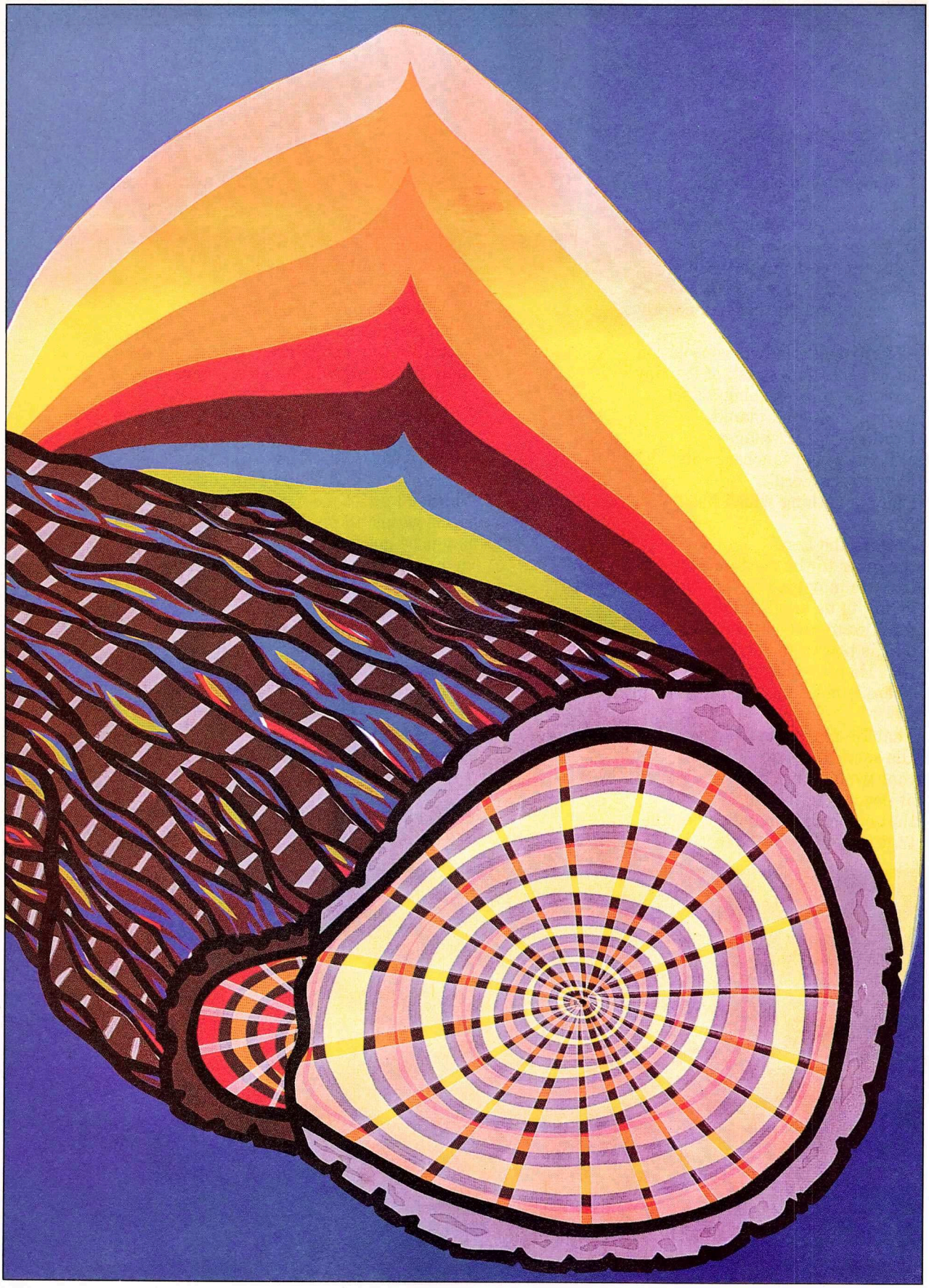
All is in God's hands
consider and bear in mind
Remove anxiety from the heart
enter not into folly
We will come out of trouble
which plagues us for ever
With Him the waters are not deep not deep
There is nothing which has not always been.

With Him the waters are not deep not deep
so do you put away anger
endure what is grievous
let us pray to God the Beneficent
Whither I go let me not tarry
let me return to my fatherland
may it be glorious and wonderful
There is nothing which has not always been.

May it be glorious and wonderful
when God wills so it is
May He take sorrow away from us
and let the sick be cured
then this poverty
is neither disgrace nor blemish
He is able to remove it
There is nothing that has not always been.



CARL PURCELL



Wood Lore

There's more to stoking a wood-burning stove than a city slicker would realize

by Roger L. Welsch

Twelve years ago I bought a small piece of ruined pastureland on the north bank of the Middle Loup River, just southeast of the town of Dannebrog, Nebraska. Then, with the help of many friends, I took apart a log house near Pleasant Dale and moved it, log by log, one hundred miles to the Dannebrog place. We rebuilt the cabin pretty much as it had been first constructed in 1872 by a Civil War veteran named Tom Bishop.

Small towns on the Plains are not generous with their hospitality when a stranger moves in. They like to have you visit but they really don't want you to live there. To the local people I suppose that I was also a stranger stranger than most. I had a ponytail, often with a feather in it, and drove a battered Chevy van wearing bumper stickers from every lost liberal cause of the sixties. The people who came with me to Dannebrog from Lincoln only reinforced the derelict image. The townspeople were polite but remote and to this day, even though I consider myself a resident, when I walk into Dannebrog's Silver Dollar Bar, someone will inevitably declare in loud and dramatic tones, "Ah, the tourists are in town!"

Moreover, I am not a conventional farmer. In the middle of the Plains, America's great grasslands, I have a tree farm. While there are tree farms in Nebraska, they are mostly Christmas tree farms, while mine is a fuel farm. I burn wood to heat my house, and it seems only sensible to me to grow more fuel to replace what I burn.

I was raised in the small city of Lincoln, Nebraska, and am gradually feeling my way through the hazards of tree farming. For that matter I grew up during a period of ample energy, so I am only slowly learning my way around a wood-burning stove too.

A good part of my education came quite unexpectedly. One bitter cold, blizzardy day I was sitting in front of my wood stove, reading, when I heard a knock at my cabin door. It was "Moose" Osterman, the reclusive barber from town. He explained that he had heard all the comments about what a strange fellow I was but, since everyone seemed to have comments about him too, he just thought he'd come down and see for himself what I was all about.

We drank peppermint schnapps and hot chocolate and exchanged opinions about everything from politics to catfish bait. He recited some popular poetry and we talked about heating with wood.

There was the usual observation that there is just something different about wood heat. It seems warmer somehow than other kinds of heat, although that obviously doesn't make much sense (heat ought to be heat). Maybe wood heat is just drier. He discussed

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wood as a renewable resource, although in homier terms, and he told me about some of the favorite stoves that he had enjoyed in his long life. He looked over my Buck's Hot Blast heating stove and pronounced it suitable to the task.

"Don't clean out the ashes too often. At night, open up those little holes at the top so the draft travels over the top of the fire rather than under it. Caulk up holes with a mixture of ashes, salt, and enough water to make a paste."

Then he asked, "What do you burn?"

"Wood," I said.

"What kind of wood?"

"Whatever I can find."

He shook his head with the kind of look I have learned to expect, being a professor and yet not knowing such simple things as what kind of wood one burns.

"During the day," he started, "you burn your Russian olive and cottonwood. It's all right, but it burns fast and leaves a lot of ashes. During the day you don't mind hauling the ashes and stoking the stove, so that's when you burn what we call your 'day wood'. Twenty pounds of cottonwood make about thirty pounds of ashes. Cottonwood is nice for campfires—if you can stand the smell—because it doesn't throw sparks. That's why the Indians used it in tepees and earth lodges. No sparks.

"Avoid willer or punky cottonwood. They're good for nothing. We don't have much pine around here but that's OK. The stuff burns like newspapers—hot and fast. Except it's not as good as newspapers, because it gunks up your chimley so bad." (He said "chimley" for chimney, "dampner" for damper, and "willer" for willow.)

"Maple and boxelder are sort of in the middle. You know, boxelder is really maple. The Indians used to tap boxelder and make sugar out'n the sap. I like maple and boxelder because they are about right in the middle of all the woods.

"Mulberry is a good, hot burning wood and it splits nice, but it's hard to find any length of straight mulberry. Did you ever notice that it is yellow-orange when you cut it, but as it ages it turns dark purple?

"Speaking of colors, elm burns with a nice orange flame and sometimes puts out a flash of green or blue, as if it had a copper wire in it. I like elm. Red elm's your best wood. Burns hot and clean, but it is a tough one to split. That's why they used to use it for wagon wheel hubs, you know. The way to split it is to wait until winter. All wood splits better in the winter when it's frozen. And then it heats twice —once when you cut it and once when you burn it.

"When you split wood, use a maul, not an ax. Never did understand dummies who use an ax to split wood. An ax is for cutting, a maul for splitting. A maul and wedges, that's the ticket. If you have to use an ax, plant it into that elm wood and then turn it over when you bang it down on your cutting block. Don't try to drive the ax down through the wood. Let the wood slide down over the ax.

"Oak, hickory, walnut, and ash are your best bet, if you can find any. Keep your eye open for some place where they are harvesting trunks for a sawmill and they'll usually give you the limbs for the hauling. Plenty of good wood there—some big enough that you'll have to split it.

"Those woods are what you call 'night wood'. They split clean and burn like coal. Ash will even burn when it's green. Only problem with oak is that while it's curing it smells like cat pee. Better store your green oak outside to cure or the whole house will smell like cat pee!

"Fruit tree wood smells so good when it's burning —especially apple—that you should save it for curing meats. A lot of old-timers put apple wood shavings in their pipe tobacco. Cedar smells good too and was sometimes put in tobacco, but it's not good for smoking meat. Stuff burns like gas. If you don't have apple wood for smoking your hams and bacon, use cobs. Sweetest smoke there is. Hickory is all right, but it's overrated compared to apple wood."

He paused for a moment in contemplation, then continued, "How do you start your fire?"

"Matches."

"What I mean is, what kind of kindling do you use?"

"Oh, newspaper, scraps, pieces of bark. Whatever I can stuff in."

"Smokes to beat hell, don't it?"

"Sure does."

"You're using the wrong kind of kindling. What you do is start a small fire with small pieces of clean wood. Fat pine or pitch pine—small pieces—if you have it. If not, just a few small, clean pieces of almost anything—ash, cottonwood, oak, even cedar. Maple

is real nice. Let that small fire burn enough to heat up your chimley and then add a couple pieces of bigger wood, still clean, good and dry. This is just the time you don't want smoky, punky wood. Don't give the fire too much draft or it will smoke all the more.

"Remember, fire doesn't push smoke up the chimley. The chimley sucks the smoke up, and that's the truth. If that chimley isn't warm enough to draw —that's what a chimley does, is draw—to draw the smoke up, the fire will try to push out the smoke, and it will push it out into the room.

"Once the chimley is warm and drawing, add bigger and bigger pieces until you get the fire really going and the chimley pulling the smoke off the fire faster than it can make more.

"I don't suppose you know how to use this stove either."

I shook my head by way of confession. I couldn't imagine what there was to know about throwing wood into a stove. But then I hadn't thought there was much to knowing what kind of wood to throw in or how to get it going either. Obviously, there was more to know about such things than I had ever imagined.

"During the day you can do just like you're doing. Burn day wood. Toss in a piece of cottonwood now and then. When it gets a little cold, shake down the ashes so the air can get at the bottom of the fire and that will get the fire rolling and roaring and even cottonwood will keep the place warm. And keep hauling the ashes. Those softwoods will keep the place warm even in subzero weather. Even when the wind is blowing.

"You know, they call all trees with needles softwood and all trees with leaves hardwoods, but the fact of the matter is, cottonwood and willer are about the softest wood you're going to find. Even softer than pine. When I say 'softwood' I mean the wood is soft, and when I say 'hardwood' I mean the wood is hard. Seems to me, that makes more sense.

"The real trick is to keep a fire going through the night when you don't want to be getting up out of that warm bed to stoke the fire and yet you don't want your house freezing up.

"What you want is a nice, low, steady heat. Yet you don't want to burn up too much wood either. At night you don't need as much heat as in the day. What you want is enough fire to keep the house from getting too cold, and yet you don't want the fire to burn so fast that it is all gone in the middle of the night, leaving you with the job of starting up a new fire and maybe repairing a frozen coffee pot.

"On cold nights, use your ash and mulberry. That's night wood. On really cold nights, use oak. If you can, use an unsplit piece, even if you have some split pieces that are bigger. Unsplit wood burns slower than split. I'm not sure why; it just does. Better one big piece than two smaller ones. Two pieces of wood bounce the fire back and forth and they'll burn up much quicker than one piece, even if it is smaller than the two put together. Close your dampner and your draft and don't shake down the ashes.

"If it's bitter cold and there's a wind blowing, then you pack magazines around that wood in the stove. They don't burn worth a damn and they leave that heavy, black ash. It keeps the air from the wood and the fire will just perk away all night.

"When it's bitter cold and a bit of a wind is blowing the snow around the door, when you have to keep that fire going all day to keep the place warm, you know that you're going to have to do something special for the night. Pull out that big piece of oak, or hickory, or ash that you have saved for the occasion. Pack it with magazines, don't shake down the ashes, close the draught and dampner, and open that little dampner hole on the top of the stove.

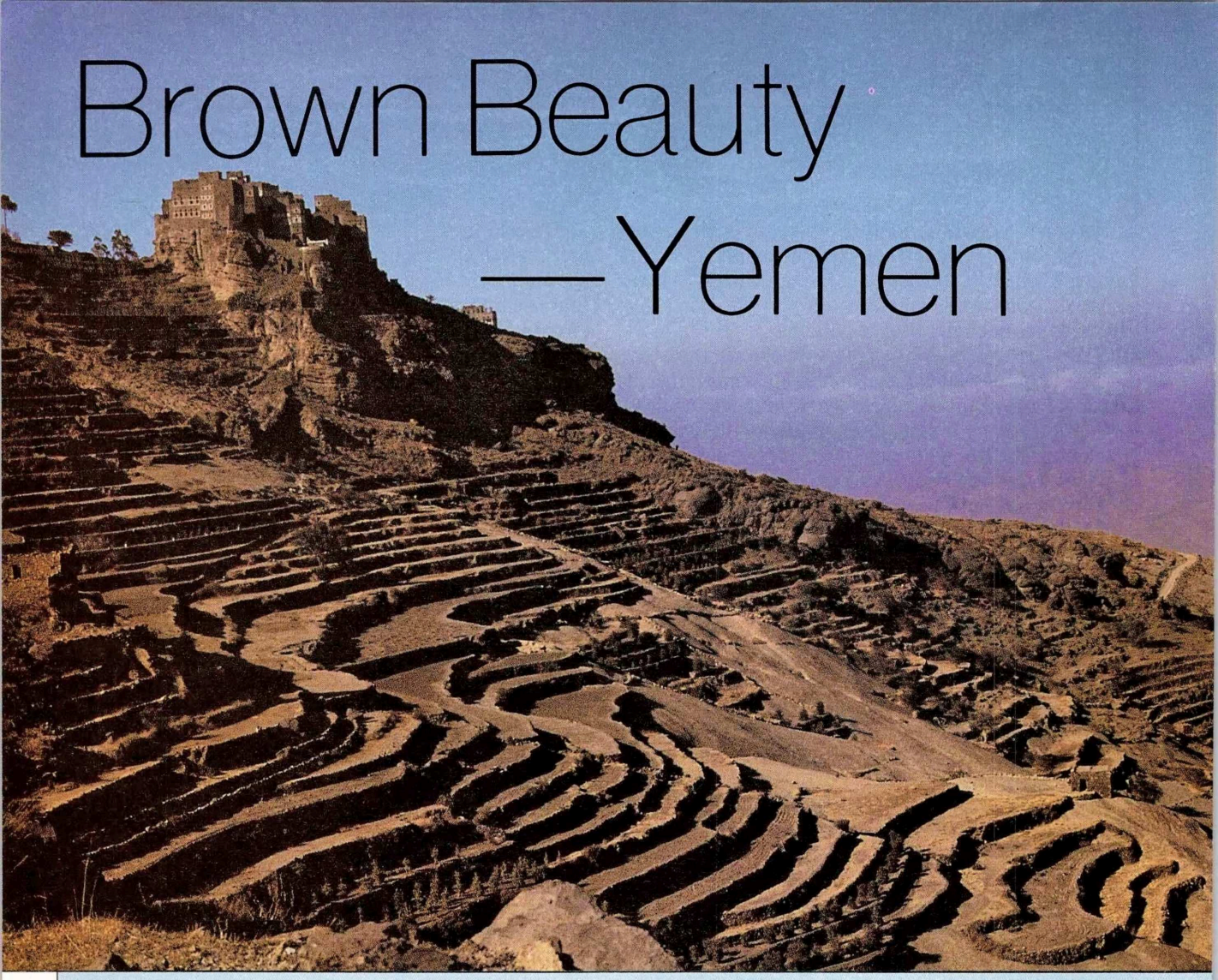
"And when it's twenty degrees below zero . . ." He paused and looked at me dramatically. "When the wind is howling thirty miles an hour, blowing fine snow through every crack on the north side of the house, covering your bed with a dusting of white . . ." Another pause. "When you hear trees popping and the ice on the river makes sounds like rifle shots . . ." He stopped, looked me straight in the eye, and didn't blink. "That's when you use the biggest piece of unsplit oak that will fit through the stove door. Pack it with magazines. Close down the draft and the dampner. Put as many bit pieces of hardwood in that stove as it will hold, separated by magazine paper if you can. And then, most important . . .," he paused again and leaned forward. ". . . most important—just before you crawl under the comforter—drink three bottles of beer.

"If you do that, your house will never freeze up. You may not want to get up out of that warm bed in the middle of the night to stoke that stove, but son, if you drink those beers you'll have to get out of bed."

He sipped at his schnapps and chocolate. "And while you're up, you can stoke the stove." □

Roger L. Welsch is professor of English and anthropology at the University of Nebraska. He is the author of eleven books.

Brown Beauty —Yemen

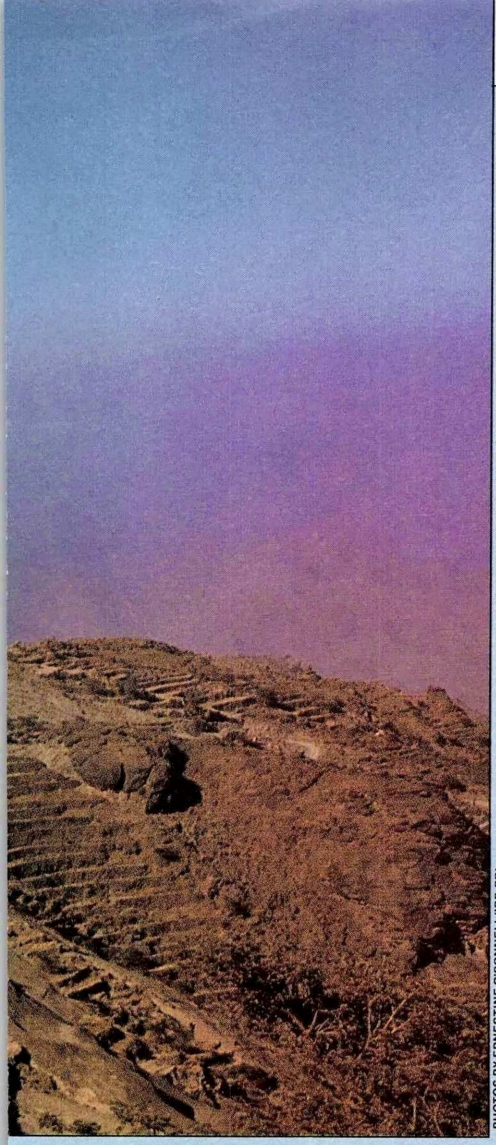


Article and Photography by Ernestine O'Connell

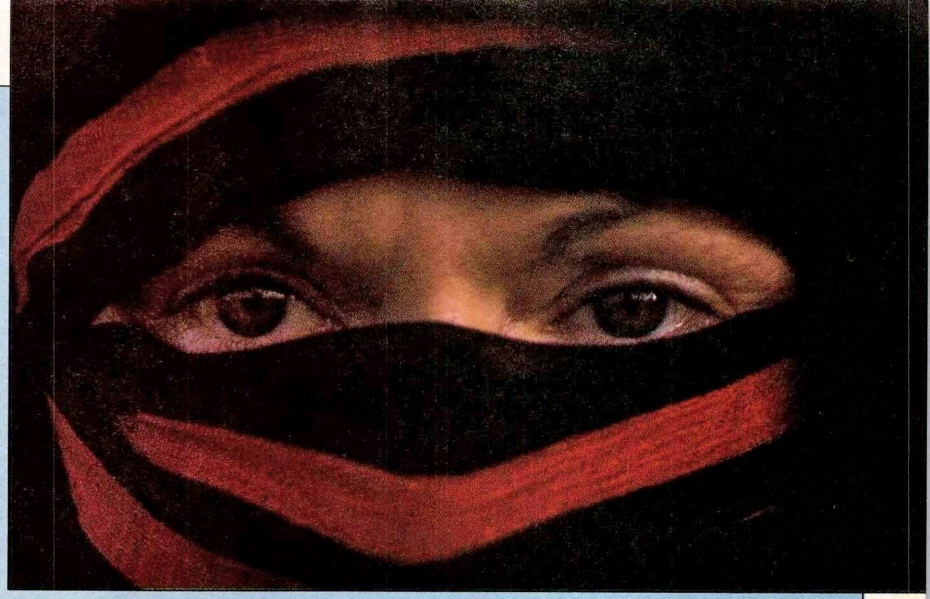
The land known today as North Yemen has been, for centuries, a mysterious, closed country, an enigmatic land at the southwest corner of the Arabian peninsula, skirting the Red Sea. Under the Imams it lay in total isolation, but in the early 1970s the Arab Republic of Yemen was formed and the windows of Yemen were opened. The visitor still feels the past is always present; the cloistered air is still fragrant with the scent of timeless antiquity, and one feels suspended in a web of extreme fragility.

Yemen, the most fertile part of Arabia, remains almost untouched by modern civilization. Today it is a land that is simultaneously mysterious and beckoning, veiled and open. It is a land of pure oriental fascination with spicy smells, impenetrable alleys, veiled women, and some of the oldest mosques in all of Islam. Time has nearly bypassed Yemen. It is a country of the past, though it does possess a modern airport, a few new buildings, a couple of good hotels, a deep-sea port, and some black-topped roads connecting the larger cities.

The ruins of a 3,000-year-old mortarless stone dam at Mareb and massive rectangular pillars of a temple to the moon god, Illumqah, attest to a great civilization that once was. Now, the billows of endless shifting sands that almost hide these ancient stones speak with equal eloquence of what now is. The dazzling Queen of Sheba, known to the Arabs as Queen Bilqis, reigned from Mareb, and it was from here she set out to captivate King Solomon. In her day the dam was intact and water was available to irrigate the desert, so her kingdom of Saba bloomed and flourished. Bilqis and Solomon had a son, Menelik I, king of Ethiopia, but eventually the



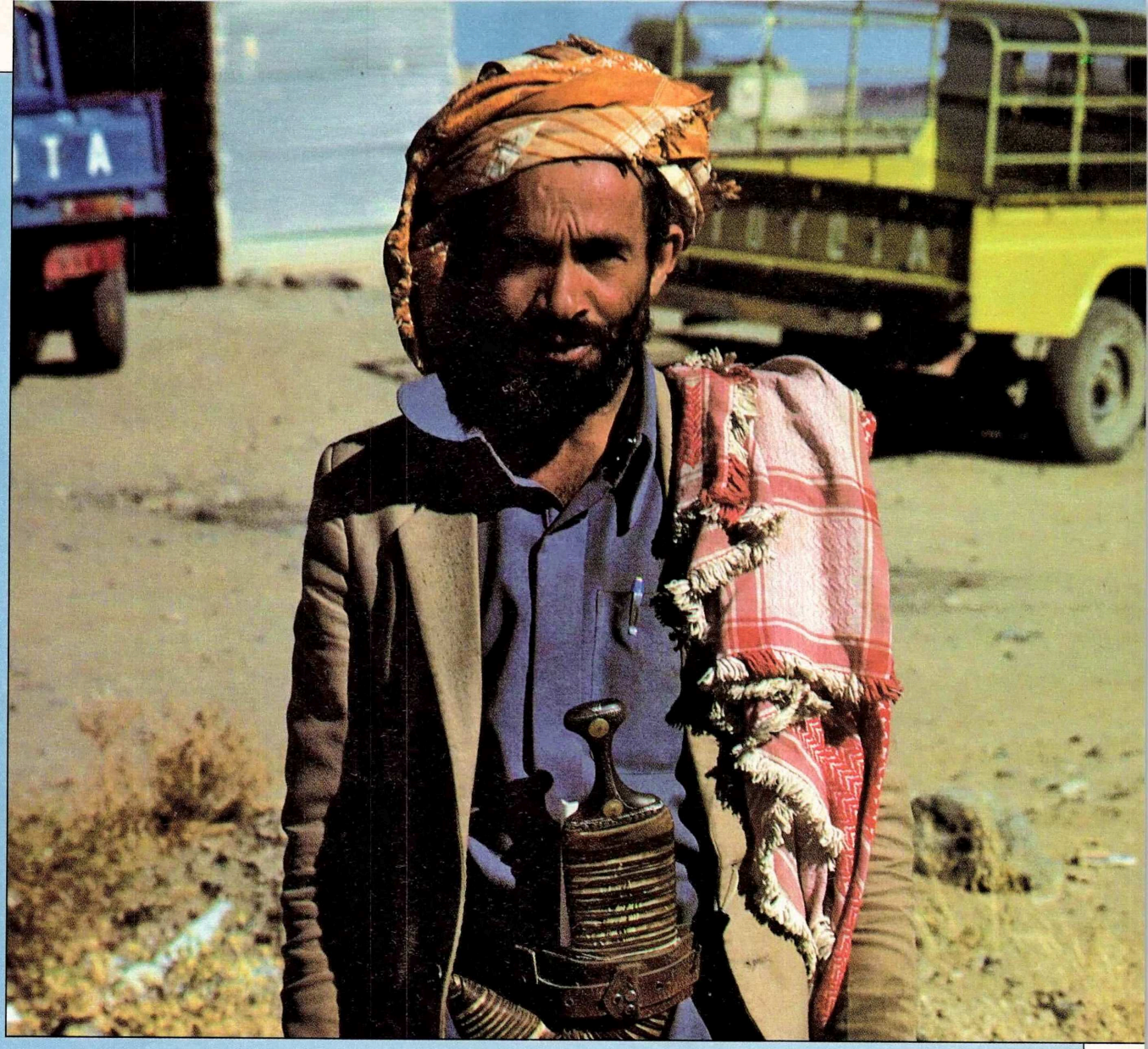
PHOTOS BY ERNESTINE O'CONNELL/SP-PSI



Sabean Moon Temple at Mareb.

gusting winds of time blew Abyssinia into control of Yemen. In that distant period, Judaism and Christianity coexisted nicely, but in the sixth century the Sassanid kings of Persia had assumed control of the country and introduced the religion of Allah. Today it is that Islamic culture that glues together the various blocks of Yemenite society; or, put another way, the warp of the simple nomadic virtues is the foundation of the fabric of Yemen while the weft is the sagacity of a land of born traders.

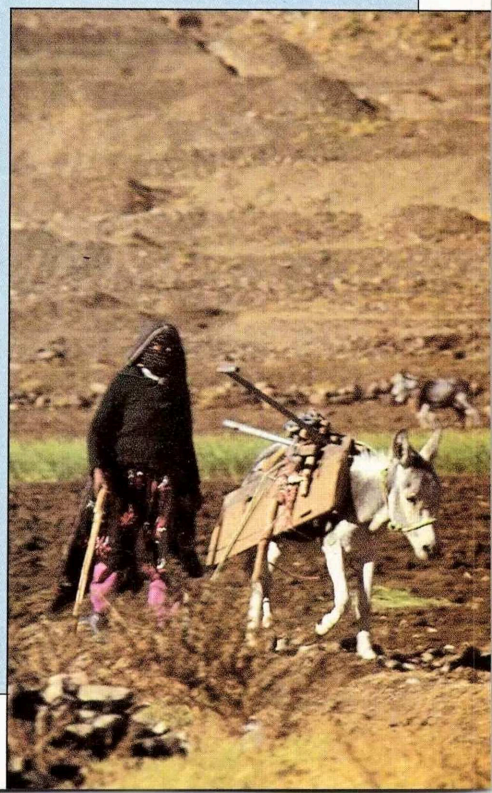
Ernestine O'Connell holds a doctorate in physical chemistry. She has twenty years of university research and lecturing behind her. She has traveled extensively to all parts of the globe and since 1965 has lectured on world civilizations and cultures. She is an amateur geographer and anthropologist with field experience of thirty years, and has been a photographer for forty-five years. Her travels now concentrate on remote areas not yet spoiled by tourists.

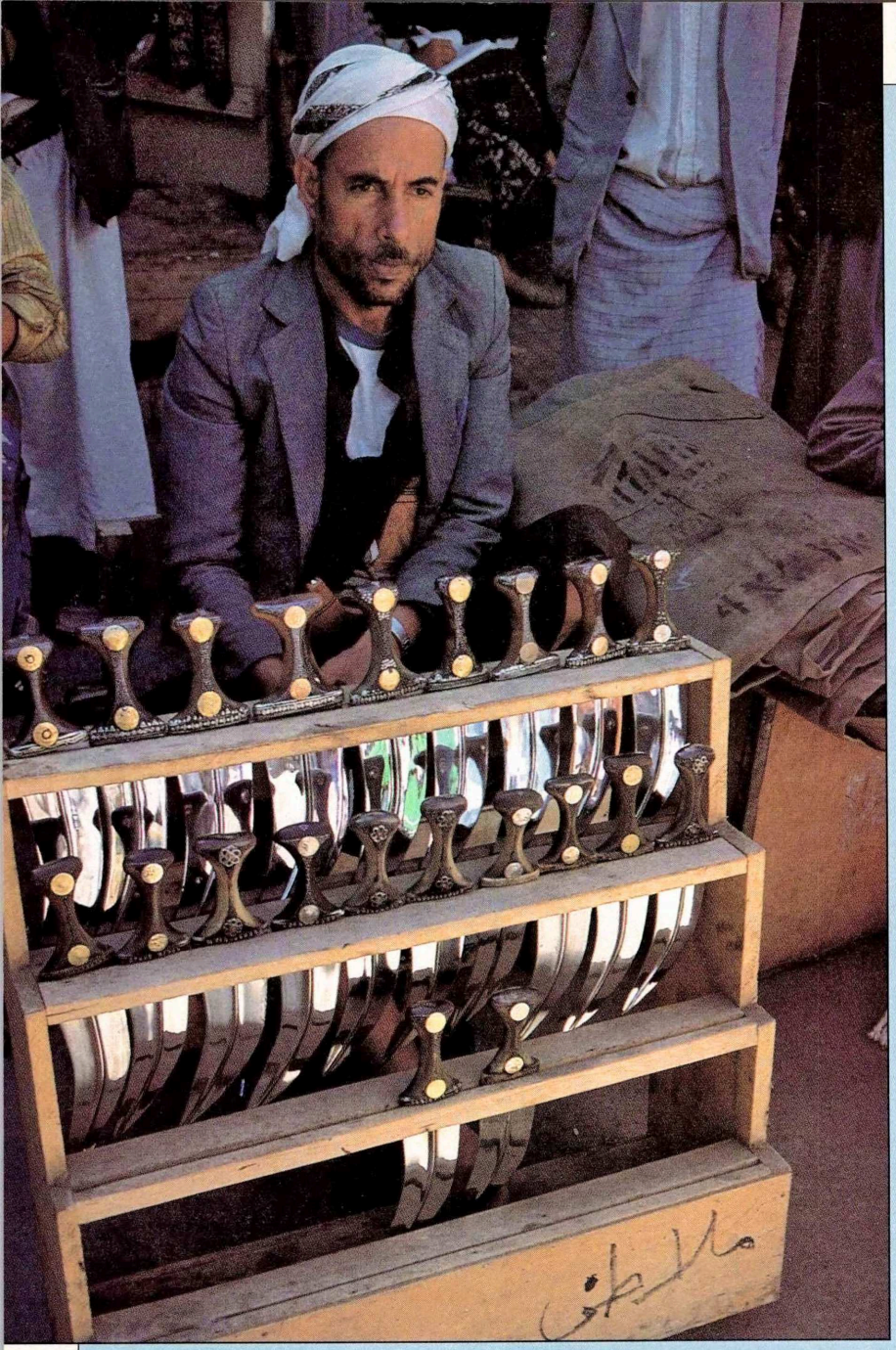


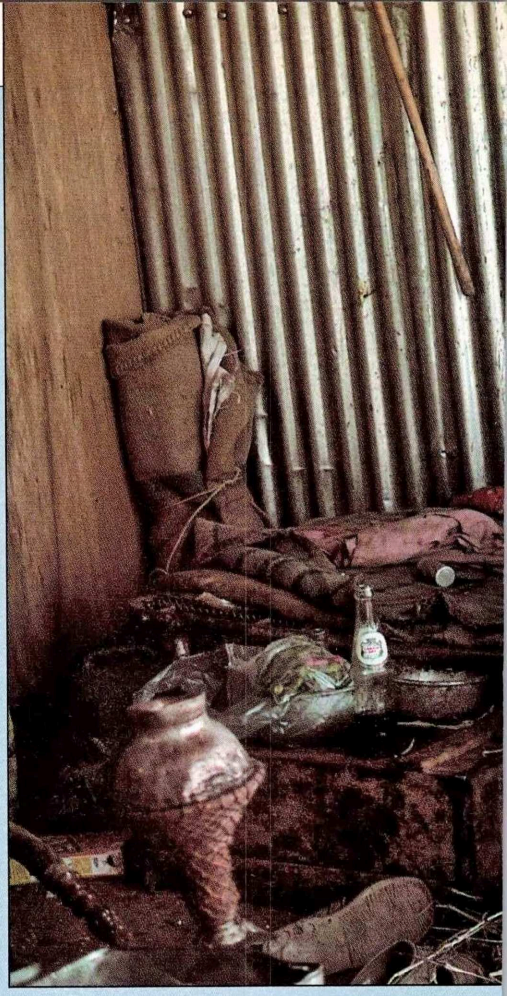
The present capital, Sana'a, is supposed to have been founded by Shem, Noah's son, and is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world. Ancient and modern Sana'a live side by side and occasionally almost clash. Motorcycles and Toyota pickups screech through the streets past stands of spices and kohl and attar, and the shops of the bread makers, the sorts of things that would have been found here two thousand years ago.

Yemenite men are somewhat tall, quite slender, and stalk about wearing a very threatening-looking curved dagger, or *Djambia,* suspended from a heavily embroidered belt. The daggers are generally embedded with antique coins to the hilt. The scabbard may be of leather, with or without plastic decorations, or it may be of silver, carefully wrought in intricate design. The Djambia is given to a boy when he is circumcised and is the most valuable single article he is ever likely to possess. The various shapes and colors of the men's turbans and headcloths, their sharp mustaches and beards, their long *foutahs* (topped by Western suit coats!) add great color to streets almost totally devoid of women. Once in a while, in the markets of the larger towns, some women can be found. At their coming of age they are not given a dagger, but rather, a veil which they wear for the rest of their lives.

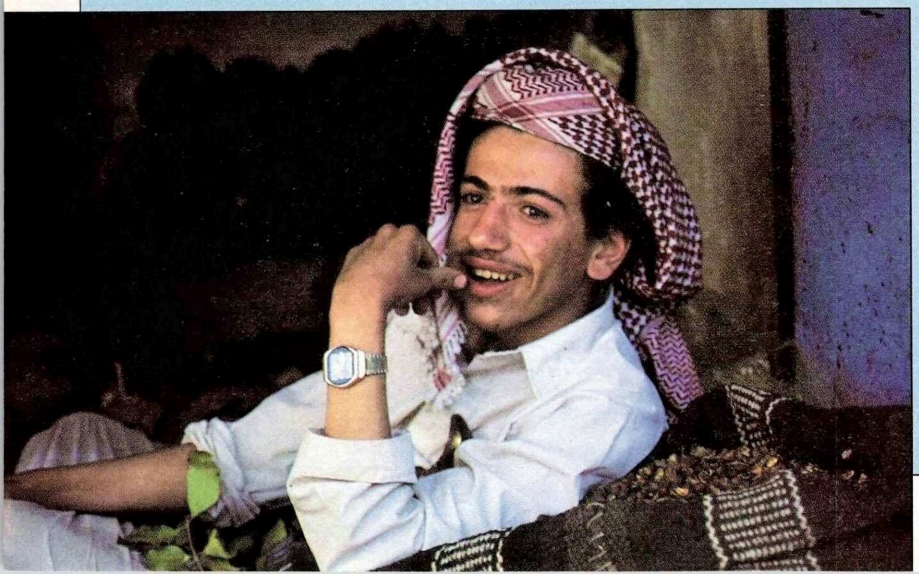
In Sana'a, women can be found wearing a blue wrap emblazoned in the center and around the border with designs in which red predominates. Elsewhere in the highlands they wear black skirt, cape, and veils—and never appear outside unless completely enveloped. It is truly a remarkable sight when they emerge from their homes to go in a group to and from the cistern on the edge of town. Each carries on her head a plastic pail of red, yellow, green, or blue, and a procession of ten or more bright pails marching along a mountain road is unforgettable. The women underneath blend into the surrounding dark rock! In the Tihama or coastal region of Yemen there is a strong admixture of Ethiopian blood and here the women wear bright colors and often are seen with no trace of the veil.





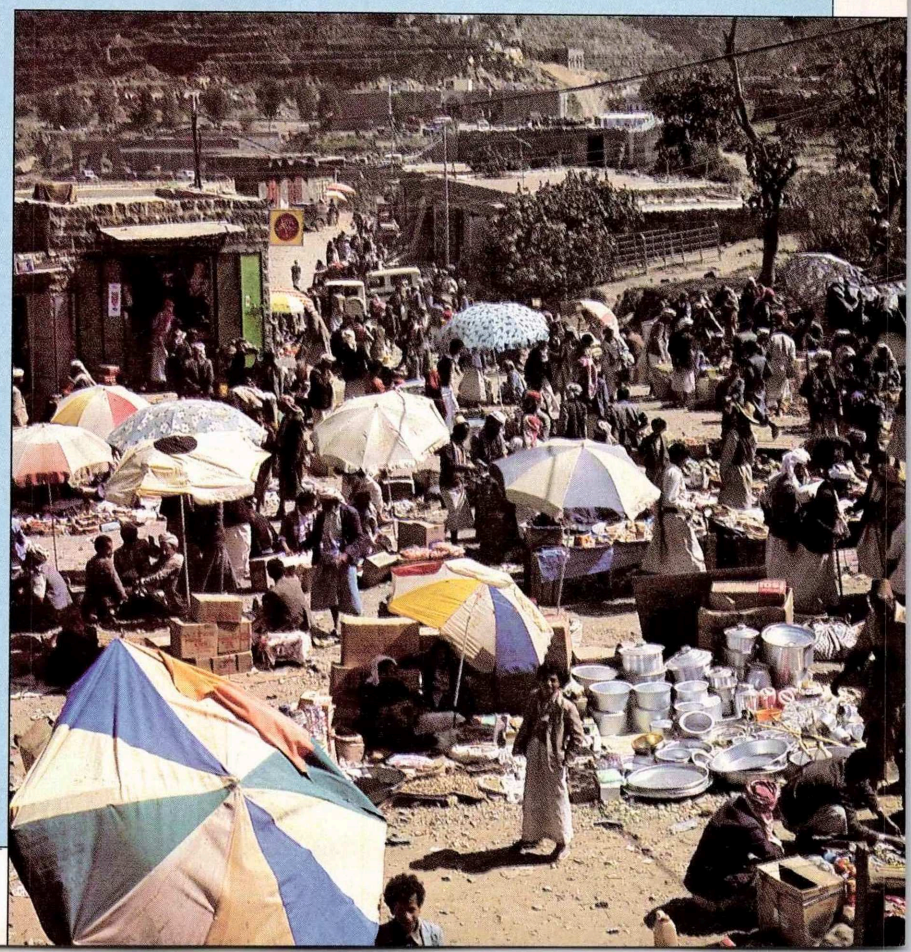


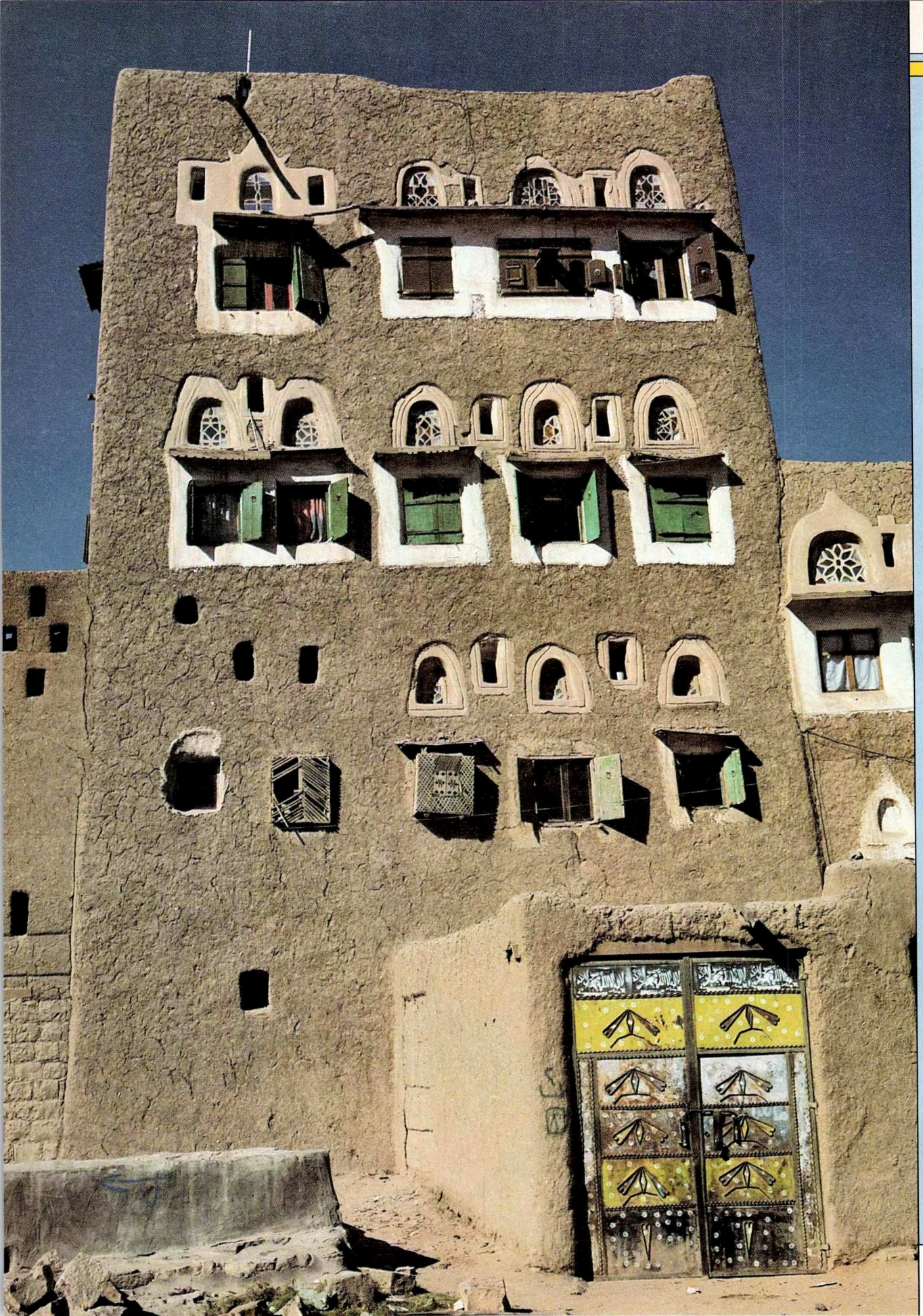
Market day in any town is memorable as farmers from miles around bring their produce —raisins, grains, tobacco, melons, vegetables, and chickens. All are bartered for Djambias, guns, cloth, and manufactured goods. In the souks of larger towns you walk in a milieu of centuries past—intricately designed silver jewelry and scabbards, hand-loomed silk and woolen cloth, pottery, stone basins, all cheek-by-jowl with sweetmeat sellers and clusters of sheep and goats. And it is strictly a man's world, as they are the sellers and the buyers in these weekly markets. Over everything wafts the delightful aroma of coffee, once exported to all the world from the Yemenite port of Mocha on the Red Sea. Men can be seen reclining in their stalls smoking their *nerguilehs* behind trays of spices and strings of garlic and baskets of dried fish. These hookahs are



sold in large markets too, entire stalls dedicated to them, and the cost of a good brass one may run to hundreds of dollars. Tobacco rates high in Yemen!

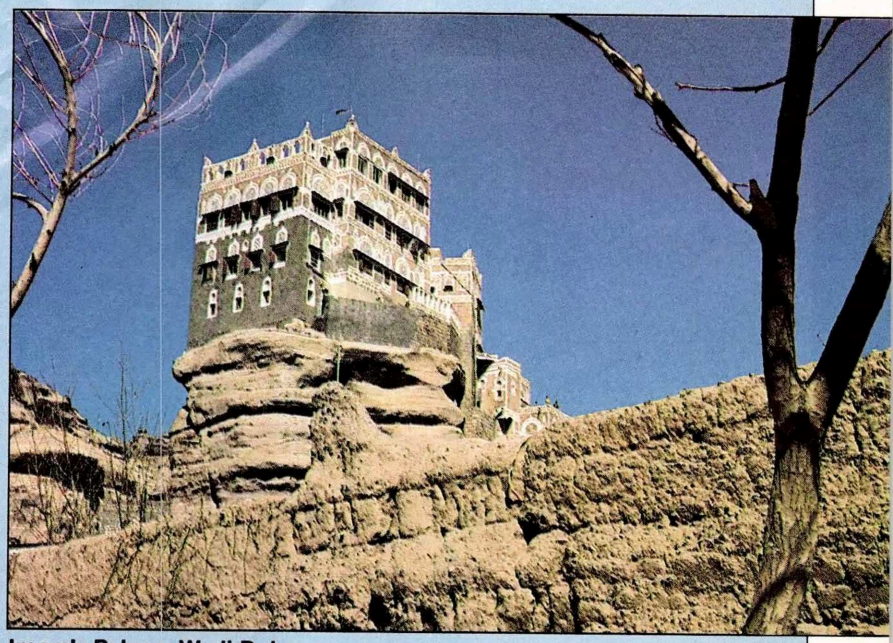
After lunch the men start congregating for their *qat* session. Qat is a shrub or often a small tree, the leaves of which contain amphetamines. For hours on end the men sit in a room, preferably the *kafraj* of a home, and chew qat. Beside them are branches of leaves and bottles of water, and within reach is the narguileh, the smoking tube of which is passed round from man to man. This session goes on till supper time and for the men it is a time of peace and tranquility and oblivion, when time stands still. What does it do to them or for them? That is another question! All the rest of the Arab world has either outlawed or strongly circumscribed the use of qat, but in Yemen it is still the way to spend the afternoon.



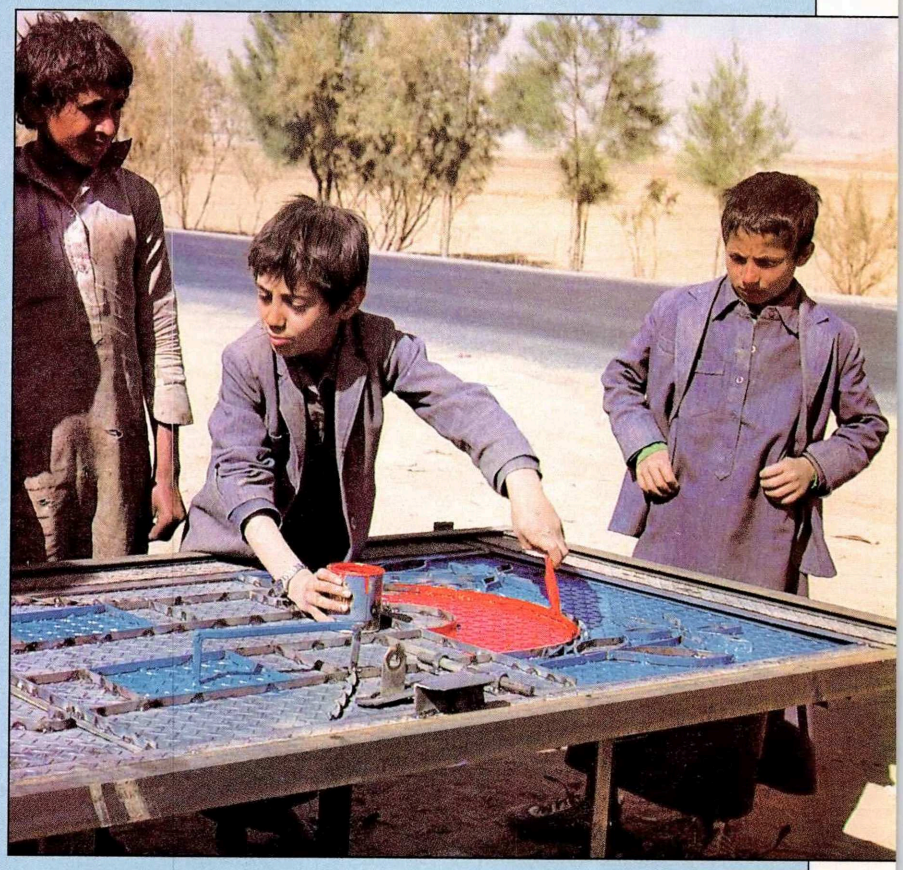


The exotic attraction of Sana'a spreads out to neighboring towns like Rowdah, which is famous for its vineyards and for the summer palace of the last Imam. Nearby Wadi Dahr was another of his retreats and there his splendid palace stands perched on a rock against a backdrop of naked stone, starkly magnificent and wonderfully defensible.

Villages in Yemen are fortified entities built on mountaintops. Tall and elegant buildings are joined together to provide a solid wall of protection and are certainly the antecedents of the modern skyscraper. There may be nine floors to a home, and each building is a unique masterpiece of construction and architecture with intricate alabaster and wood carvings as ornamentation. The first three floors are generally of local stone—granite or basalt—and the remaining floors are mud brick laid on layers of crushed stone, which allows for a bit of internal movement. Most Yemenite houses date back 500 to 1,000 years and each is a single-family residence. The distinctive architecture results from a subtle blending of simple local materials. The lower stone floors are for animals and storage; the third for entertaining; the fourth housing the kitchen and another room for the women and small children. On floor five are rooms for family gatherings; six and beyond are sleeping rooms till one reaches the very top, which contains the *mafraj,* the family's pride and joy. It is a sitting room with large windows, stained glass insets, and great views. All rooms are furnished alike—bolsters and rugs around three walls. The most striking external feature of a Yemenite house is the window treatment. Stained glass is used in semicircular insets and white lime wash in odd designs is applied around the window area. This used to signify that the inhabitants had made the Hadj to Mecca but now seems to be in general use.



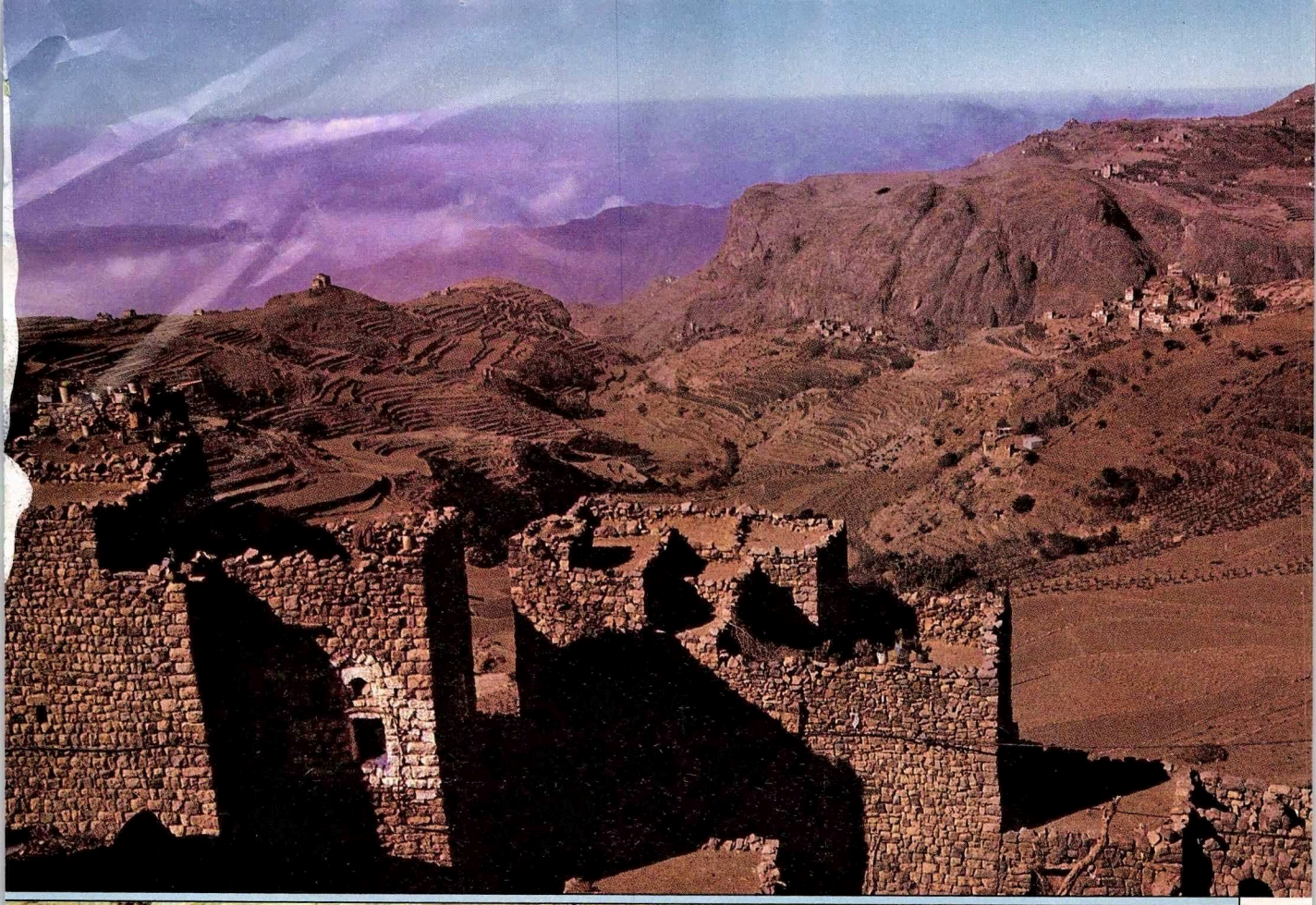
Imam's Palace, Wadi Dahr.

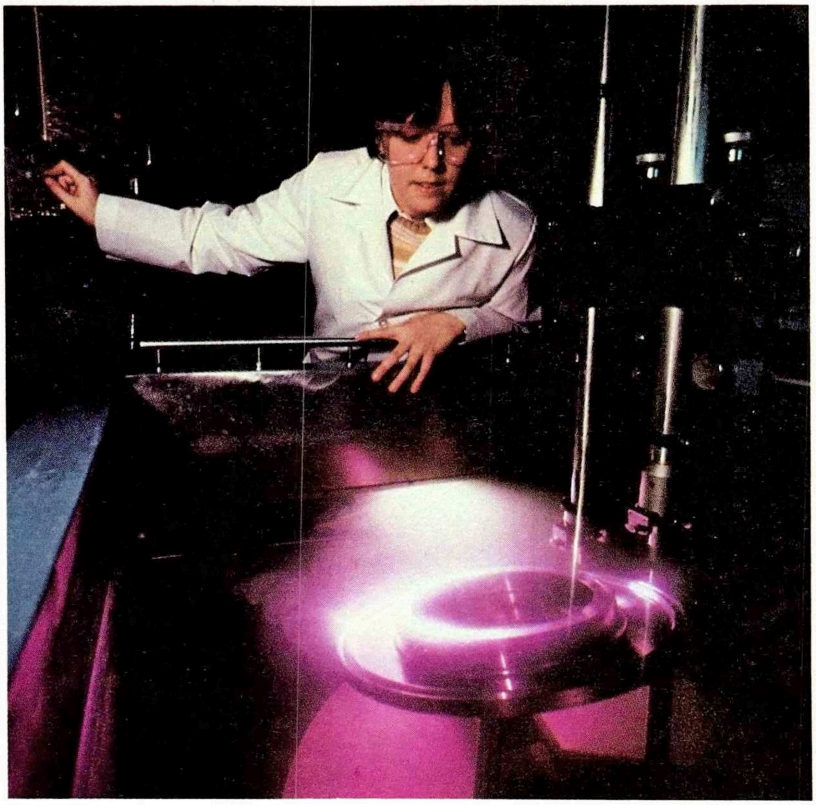


It is believed that the strangely sedentary character of the Yemeni Arabs has accounted for their peculiar architecture. Most other tribes of the peninsula were wholly nomadic, but the Yemenites stayed in one locale and developed agriculture supported by high technology irrigation millenia ago. Their land is extremely rugged and arid, yet, despite these seemingly insurmountable difficulties, they terraced their mountainsides and channeled in the water they had deftly stored from the two short raining seasons. And, thus they flourished—an agricultural people, each subgroup dwelling in its own fortified mountaintop village with its own water cistern, while beneath spreads, in what is often a vertical mile, the terraced gardens of the village.

Sa'da, the northernmost city of Yemen, close to the Saudi border, is constructed entirely of mud. Its buildings have a structural shape caused by the technique of superimposing layers of mud, lifted at the corners for strength. Its city walls are nearly intact, though in the last year or two breaches have not been repaired. The use of mud creates a gentle homogeneous effect in color and texture so Sa'da is one with the ground on which it stands. It has been said of the city that it is one-half sculpture and one-half architecture, which is really a very good description.

At the time of the 1962 revolution, which put an end to the thousand-year reign of the Zaidi Imamate, there was a remark made to the effect that Yemen was then rushing headlong into the fifteenth century. In the couple of decades since, decided progress has been made. Modern Yemen is an organic blend of ancient Sabaean-Himayarite and modern Islamic cultures. Its villages are very old, made of stone and mud; its landscape consists of high, dry rocky crags and sheer dry valleys terraced in farms; its altitude averages over 8,000 feet. There is no sign of life for mile after mile—just the cracked valleys and the peaks tossed up like petrified waves. There is no bird, no man, no beast—only an impassive, impersonal vastness. Then, from immeasurably far away comes the faint cry of the Muezzin, riding the air currents from brown mountain to brown mountain: "Allah is one . . . there is no God but Allah."□





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Ultrahigh frequency sound waves under water combined with computer imaging are used to detect possible flaws in turbine disks. (p. 238)

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THE PUZZLE OF MEMORY

Researchers are gradually discovering how we remember

ANNE HINMAN DIFFILY

When philosophers speculate about the qualities that define us as human beings, inevitably the conversation turns to our minds. The ancients once held the heart to be the locus of individual humanity, but today one of the undisputed anatomical arbiters of our status as *Homo sapiens* is the brain.

An amazing organ it is. Dull gray in color, and the texture of Brie cheese, the brain reposes in dense coils inside our skull. It doesn't look like much, but the human brain is capable of astonishing feats. Besides regulating the life-sustaining mechanisms of our bodies, such as our heartbeat and breathing, the brain performs higher functions such as learning and remembering. And our memories, the philosophers agree, are a key to defining our collective humanity and our individual personalities.

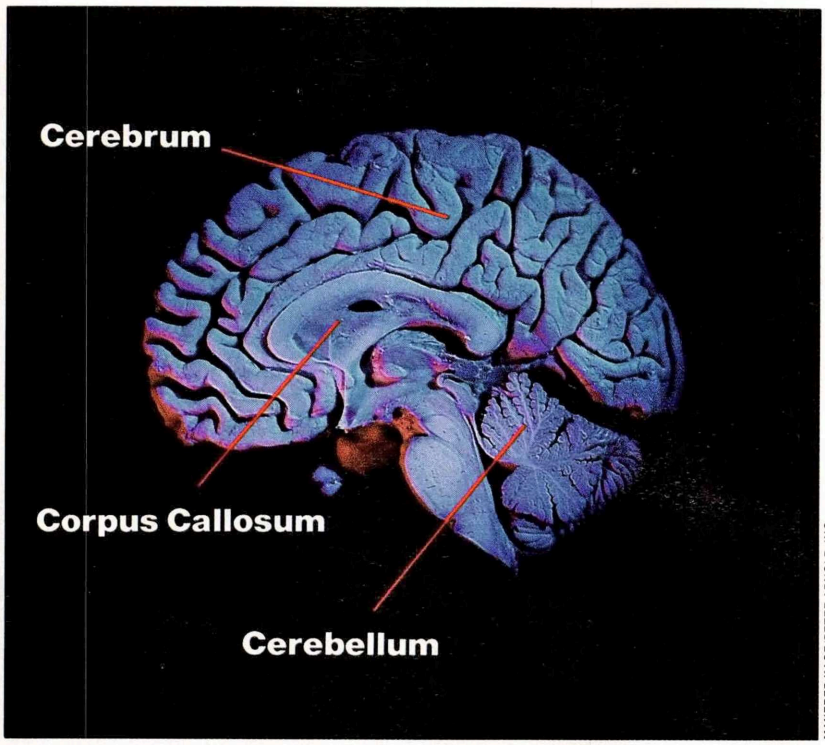
No one is sure if there is any limit to the mind's capacity for memory. The sheer volume of experiences, words, concepts, facts, and faces stored in a human brain puts a computer to shame. On a purely practical level, we admire the brain's facility for retrieving stored information. Our zip code, a friend's telephone number, what our mother looked like twenty years ago, the melody of a favorite song, what we were doing when President Kennedy was assassinated—the information is proffered by our brains on demand, with alacrity and astonishing accuracy.

How we assimilate and retain a lifetime of information involves processes that not even the world's most eminent scientists have yet been able to explain. This is not, however, for lack of trying. Researchers by the hundreds are involved in brain research. They are neurobiologists, psychologists, computer scientists, biochemists, mathematicians, linguists, cognitive scientists, and various hybrids thereof. Out of their laboratories has come an enormous body of knowledge about learning and memory. Yet, synthesizing these diverse findings into a unified concept on which everyone can agree has long seemed impossible. How could a scientist observing the changes in a snail's brain cells, for example, have anything helpful to contribute to—or anything to learn from—a psychologist studying the organization of human memory? They seemed to be speaking different languages.

Now there is hope for a dialogue among brain researchers and theorists that not only will be enriching in itself, but also may escalate the process of finding a workable definition of memory, and an explanation of how it works.

"What seemed impossible now seems possible," says Dr. Gary Lynch, a professor at the Center for Neurobiology of Learning and Memory at the University of California, Irvine. Lynch has been working for fifteen years on experiments illustrating the biochemical mechanisms that result in memory. Recently he has been modeling brain circuits related to memory. "This is the first time in the history of neurobiology," he says, "that we have plausible models of how memory works."

The new approach arises from a collaboration between experimentalists—like Lynch—and theorists, people who are designing mathematical models of neural functions. Once, these two groups of scientists had little in common. Experimentalists often focused narrowly on their own fields. Theorists, on the other hand, often ignored specific aspects of the



MANFRED KAGE/PETER ARNOLD, INC.

Lateral view of right hemisphere of human brain. Within this most complex of organs, memories of facts, figures, emotions, and experiences can last a lifetime, although the chemical components of individual brain cells may have lifetimes of only hours or days.

MANFRED KAGE/PETER ARNOLD, INC.

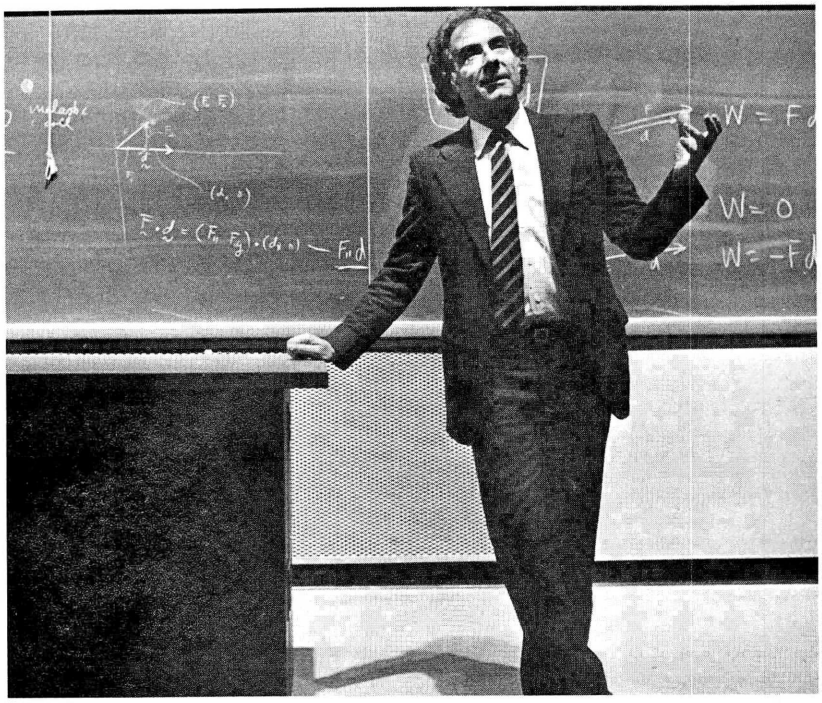
These heavy folds of the cerebral cortex are sometimes referred to as the grey matter of the brain.

biological and cognitive sciences that would have made their theories more usable by laboratory scientists.

The Erosion of Scientific Barriers

There were gulfs also between the researchers themselves. "Up until now," says Dr. Ford Ebner, cochairman of Brown University's Center for Neural Sciences, "there has been an arbitrary separation between the psychological or cognitive areas and biological research. Biology wasn't sophisticated enough to deal with psychological theories, but that's breaking down rapidly. Neurobiology and behavioral psychology are fast becoming the same."

One of the people responsible for the erosion of scientific barriers in memory research is Ebner's colleague, Dr. Leon Cooper, the other cochairman of



JOHN FORASTE/BROWN UNIVERSITY

Dr. Leon Cooper is a Nobel laureate in physics from Brown University who has had a strong interest in memory for the last fifteen years. He has formulated a mathematical model of human memory that has theorists and experimentalists finally sitting at the same scientific table.

Brown University's Center for Neural Sciences and a Nobel laureate in physics. Cooper began to ponder the problem of memory in the early 1970s. The topic wasn't as far afield for a physicist as it might seem.

"I had always been interested in studying areas that had large numbers of interacting units," Cooper says. "In physics, these are known as 'many-body systems'." In 1970, one of his graduate students showed Cooper a statement in a neurophysiology textbook that indicated that while a great deal was known about neurons, no one had any idea about how memory was stored. "That seemed so peculiar, so anomalous to me," Cooper recalls, "that I thought, 'Well, let's think about that. It can't be too hard.'" The problem has occupied him ever since, but he is not overawed by it.

"People sometimes get a little bit mystical about the brain," Cooper says. "Certainly, thinking, memory, and consciousness are remarkable phenomena. Many people consequently are reluctant to believe that scientific methods can attack such problems. I don't believe that. My own feeling is that by perfectly orderly scientific procedures, we will find exactly what those phenomena are. The chances are that this won't even involve any special new assumptions, but rather that the explanations will turn out to be rather subtle properties of large systems of interacting nerve cells."

Cooper's interest in memory has not only remained strong during the past fifteen years, it has led him to devise a mathematical model of human memory that has theorists and experimentalists finally sitting at the same scientific table. He had some expert help right from the start. "I asked a graduate student to find a way of writing down our ideas about memory that would reflect the way it is embodied in neurons," Cooper recalls. "He came back and said he'd found a paper by a fellow who had already been working on that." The "fellow" was Dr. James A. Anderson, a neuroscientist then at Rockefeller University. Cooper called Anderson, they struck up a working relationship, and within a few years Anderson was at Brown University, where today he is a professor with appointments at the Center for Neural Sciences and at the Center for Cognitive Science.

Anderson, whose interests are on the cognitive side of memory systems rather than in the biology of neurons, has been developing computer systems that attempt to mimic the way the mind reasons and learns. "Our brain is very powerful," Anderson says,

"but the nervous system itself is slow compared to a computer—it operates in the millisecond range, whereas computers work in the microsecond range and below. How does the brain get its tremendous power, then? We're very good at using these 'dumb' neurons, so there must be a trick the brain has learned to make them work together."

The answer, Anderson says, is that the brain has billions of units that work in a parallel fashion, allowing it to do relatively few things, but to do them extremely well. This differs from computer architecture as we know it, in which digital systems operate sequentially on a sort of filing-cabinet method of linear information retrieval. If human memory worked this way, it would mean the brain would have to flip through millions of pieces of data to extract the one it sought. But, fortunately for us, memory operates much more efficiently.

Memory Is Distributed

Memory, according to Cooper and Anderson, is "distributed," rather than localized. Essentially this means that information is stored over a number of areas in the brain, rather than being tucked into one microscopic cluster of neurons. "It is too simple to see a given piece in the brain as where a mental act occurs," Dr. Stephen Kosslyn, a cognitive psychologist at Harvard, said. "The new understanding is that specific networks of cells distributed throughout the brain are highly involved in each component of the mental act."

"Memory thus is more like a hologram," says Cooper. "An individual item is stored over a large portion of the system," he explains. "Each junction of brain cells stores some portion of the entire experience of the system, so that at any particular point, many events are superimposed." How, then, does the brain retrieve information from such a system?

The answer appears to lie in a process of association. "If you tickle the entire system properly," Cooper says, "it gives you a specific thing that is stored, separating it from all the other things. You don't have to know where it is. This is known as a content-addressable memory. It depends on what stimuli are coming in from the outside world. If A is connected with B in your memory, and B is connected with C, when A comes in you get B, and when B comes in you get C, and it spins around like that. You see something and immediately something else is recalled." The "address," then, of an item in memory is another item, and what the other item is depends entirely on individual experience, Cooper believes.

Anderson points out that such a system tends to be "fuzzy" rather than precise, but this may help humans cope with the world around them. "People are bad at detail, compared to a computer," he says, "but good at dealing with the big picture. We can't touch a computer's ability in arithmetic, but the computer cannot deal with ambiguity. If I say to you, 'bat,' 'ball,' and 'diamond,' you'll know what subject I'm talking about. The words cooperate to indicate 'baseball' to us. But a computer would have to check its definitions against each word. The more words you gave it, the longer it would take to figure out the unifying concept. The more information I give a person, the *faster* he or she will make the connection."

The new approach arises from a collaboration between experimentalists and theorists.

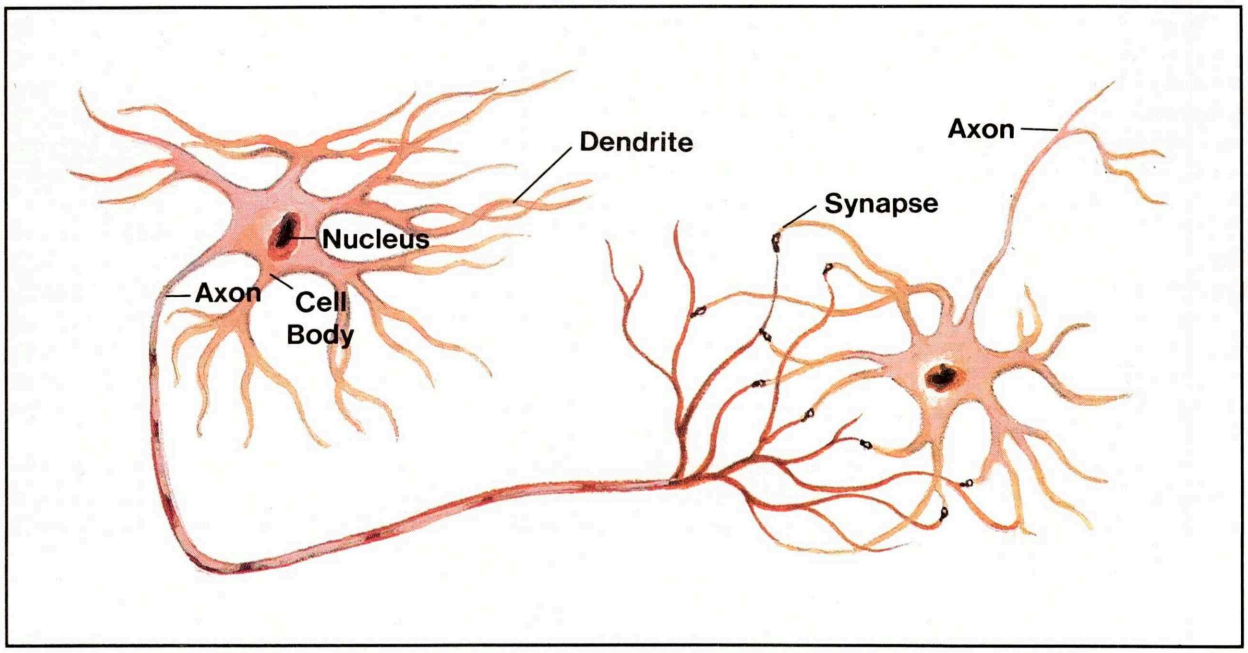
Crucial to the computer systems that Anderson models after human brain functions is the notion of concept formation. The brain appears to have a built-in tendency to generalize, to organize information. The theorists who deal with neurological systems recognize this, too. "Almost certainly what we call 'thoughts' are the play of electrical activity in neural networks," Cooper says. "Very probably these networks modify themselves, through experience, to store memory. And quite possibly, an underlying directive is to seek patterns, associations, connections in the external world—to jump to conclusions." Psychologists have noted that people tend to retain concepts better than specific experiences, which may be an advantage in the event of brain damage or organically-caused amnesia. The mind may be spreading knowledge across a wide section of neurons so that if some are destroyed, it can still recall a prototype that will help it deal with new information.

"If you make your best guess," Cooper says, "the chances are that memories are a combination of local and distributed storage. Everything is always more

False-color scanning electron micrograph of neurons (nerve cells) from the cerebral cortex. The billions of interconnected neurons in the brain seem to hold the key to memory. They are being studied intensely by hundreds of researchers from all possible perspectives—from Leon Cooper's macromodels of interconnected neuronal networks, to the chemistry of the connections (synapses) between neurons, to the mechanisms of changing the pathways of signal transmission.

CNRI/SCIENCE SOURCE P.R.

Below: two neurons in synaptic contact. Each neuron has one *axon* which carries a signal away from the nucleus and at least one, but often many, *dendrites* which carry signals to the nucleus. Each neuron is in contact with many others at the points of contact called *synapses*. Each of the approximately ten billion neurons in the human brain may have over a thousand synapses.



complicated than what you first start with. But in the beginning, it's essential to make simplifications and to make the right ones." His own mathematical model of the properties of human memory takes the problem down to the microscopic level, to the individual brain cells—neurons—and their relationship to one another.

A forerunner of Cooper's theory is the seminal work by neuroscientist Donald Hebb, author of *The Organization of Behavior* (1949). Hebb proposed that psychological functions such as learning and memory are due to activity in an assembly of neurons that are linked by specific circuits. When the neural circuit is activated by a stimulus—such as information from the olfactory system about a particular odor—a change takes place at the junction, known as a synapse, where electrical impulses race from one neuron to another. If the change is a short-lived increase in the synapse's responsiveness, or excitability, a short-term memory has been created. Longer-lasting modifications of the synapses lead to their strengthening, and thus to long-term memory.

Studying Snail Synapses

A neuron has a long fiber extending from it—the axon. There are estimated to be more than 100 billion neurons in the brain, and the axon of *each neuron* may have as many as tens of thousands of contacts with another neuron. Clearly this puts neuroscientists into the position of having to consider unthinkable numbers of interactions—or does it?

Not necessarily. As with Cooper's theory, the trend in neural research has been to study single cells in order to draw conclusions about the mechanism behind learning and memory. One of the foremost practitioners of this "reductionist" approach to studying higher brain functions is Dr. Eric Kandel of Columbia University's Center for Neurobiology and Behavior. Kandel and his colleagues are among the researchers who study the cell biology of higher invertebrates, in this case a marine snail, *Aplysia californica*. Invertebrates are useful because they have relatively few nerve cells, and those cells are very large—about 500 microns in diameter, as compared to 30 or 40 microns from human cells; they can even be seen with the unaided eye.

Kandel has studied learning in *Aplysia* by squirting a small jet of water at its siphon, a fleshy spout that is part of the covering of the snail's gill. When the siphon is thus stimulated, the gill automatically contracts in a protective reflex. After repeated squirts, however, the snail learns to ignore the stimulus and stops withdrawing its gill. Kandel has worked out the cell behavior of this conditioned response: When a single sensory cell is activated by the squirt, it in turn activates the motor neuron responsible for gill movement. There is progressively less gill withdrawal because of a chemical change in the synapse between the two neurons. In effect, the creature now "remembers" that it doesn't need to protect its gill after so many false alarms. [See related story, "Sophistication in Our Nervous System," THE WORLD & I, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 270–273.]

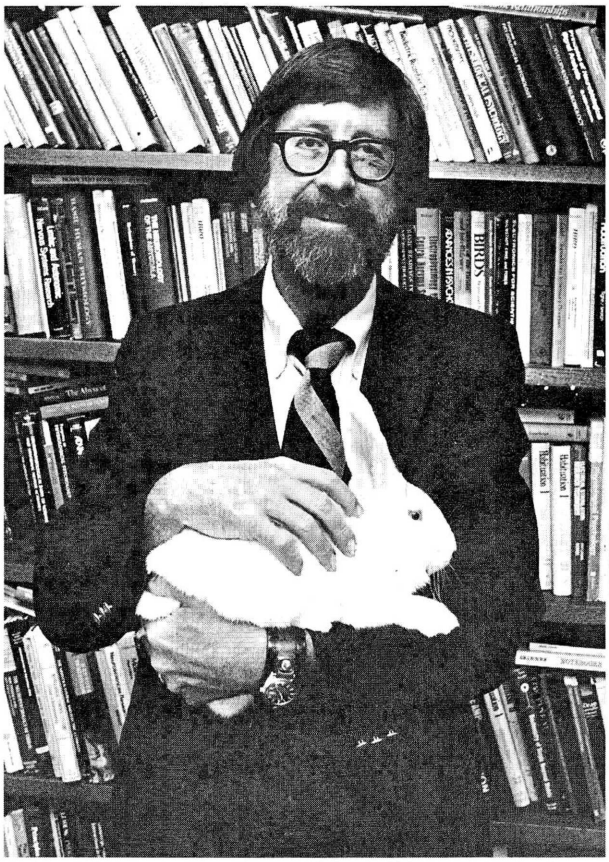
> While a great deal was known about neurons, no one had any idea about how memory was stored.

The molecular mechanisms for short-term synaptic changes, Kandel has pointed out, may be extended to explain aspects of long-term memory as well. Also, Kandel says that the cellular bases of conditioned learning are the same throughout the animal kingdom, so that his work with learning in *Aplysia* is likely to apply to higher mammalian organisms, such as humans.

The Essential Memory Trace

How the learning process leads to the storage of actual memory in an organism is the interest of Dr. Richard Thompson, professor of psychology at Stanford University. In his research he has attempted to identify what he calls the "essential memory trace"—the record of pathways in the brain that incorporate changes in neural activity into permanent structural alterations. Thompson has worked with rabbits, conditioning them to blink their eyelids at the sound of a tone.

In the cerebellum—the part of the brain that regulates voluntary muscular movement—Thompson believes he has found strong empirical evidence of memory traces. "We wanted to know, how does information about both the conditioned stimulus—a



COURTESY OF CHUCK PAINTER/STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Richard Thompson, professor of psychology at Stanford University, has attempted to identify what he calls the "essential memory trace"—the record of pathways in the brain that incorporate changes in neural activity into permanent structural alterations. By studying learning patterns of rabbits, Thompson believes he has found empirical evidence of memory traces in the cerebellum.

neutral tone—and the unconditioned stimulus—a puff of air directed at the eye, producing an aversive blink—get into the cerebellum?" Thompson says. "We've found that it's through a special pathway into the cerebellum that involves a structure called the 'inferior olive.'" When information enters the olive a special kind of nerve fiber, called a "climbing fiber," makes a powerful connection between the olive and cells in the cerebellar cortex. The eyeblink response becomes reinforced. Meanwhile, the audible stimulus, the tone, has weakly activated many cells throughout the cerebellum by way of another kind of fiber, "mossy fibers." When the two are delivered together, the combined stimulus strengthens the synaptic connections and reinforces the "lesson."

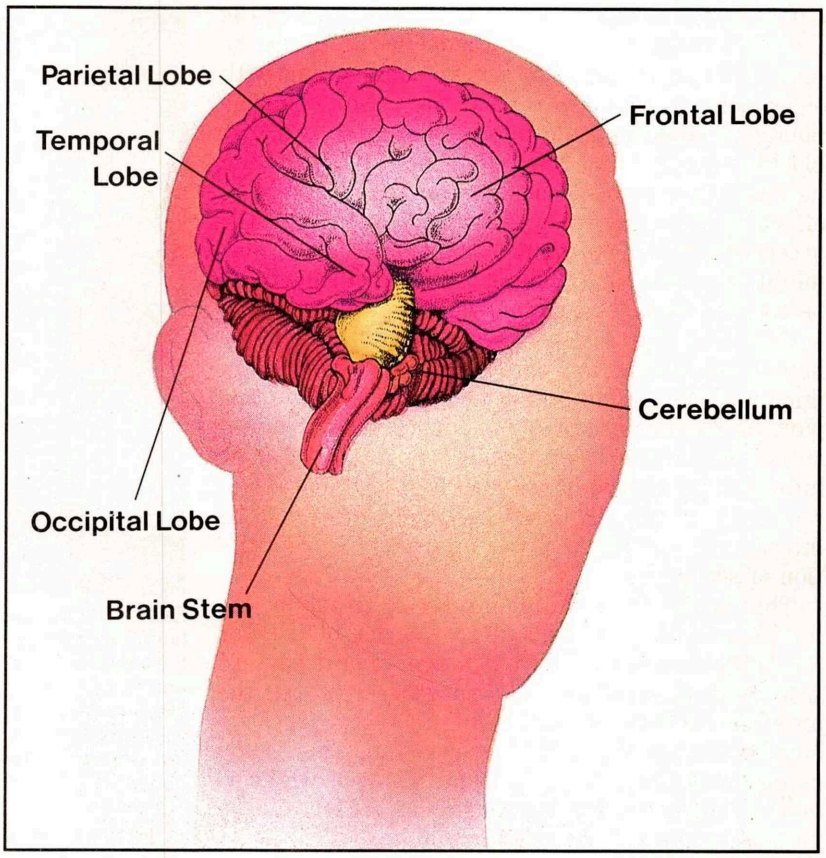
"In this situation," Thompson says, "the memory is very long-lasting. It's virtually permanent in animals. We're talking about motor skills, like riding a bike. You might go years without riding your bike, but when you get back on, even though you wobble a little you still know how to do it." Destroying a critical spot in the cerebellum, however, will abolish the learned behavior. Furthermore, Thompson says, there is a different spot in the cerebellum that corresponds to each different learned behavior. Does this contradict the model of a distributed memory favored by Leon Cooper and others?

"It does appear to shoot down the distributed memory idea," Thompson says. "But this doesn't necessarily contradict all of what Leon is saying. I'm talking about hundreds of thousands of neurons in a very small location in the cerebellum. I'd agree with Leon that within that region, memory is distributed. However, we've found that mossy-fiber input is highly distributed as compared with climbing-fiber input. So that is a system that fits in well with the distributed model, too."

Plasticity of the Nervous System

At the heart of neurobiological research on memory is the notion of plasticity. The term refers to the changing connections between brain cells—the cellular basis of learning and ultimately of memory. Researchers at Brown University are using Leon Cooper's theory to devise experiments with young cats relating to the study of the plasticity of the cerebral cortex where vision is processed. "For a time after birth," explains Ford Ebner, "the mammalian nervous system is extraordinarily 'plastic,' or susceptible to change. In humans, this period of plasticity lasts about ten years; in cats, about four months; and in rats, a week. During that time, sensory experiences have a tremendous impact on the system. Afterwards, the brain becomes more hard-wired; it's difficult to change it. We work with animals in that initial period of plasticity, when detectable changes are easiest to elicit."

To investigate Cooper's theory about the modification of synapses, Ebner and his colleagues raise animals with abnormal visual experience: They induce monocular vision by suturing or patching a kitten's eye. "This changes the neural circuitry in the brain," Ebner says. A young animal, explains Brown



Surface view of the right cerebral hemisphere and accompanying brain elements. The four lobes indicated are all parts of the cerebrum, the largest portion of the human brain.

University researcher Dr. Mark Bear, learns to see only through the eye that sends useful information to the visual cortex. If one eye is rendered nonfunctional, no information is received and the neurons in the visual cortex do not "learn" to see with that eye. After a period of time, the closed eye remains functionally blind even if it is reopened. The switch from two-eyed to one-eyed vision is called an ocular dominance shift. Ebner verifies that the shift has taken place in the visual cortex by looking at a cross section of cortical tissue through a microscope. "The fibers are vastly altered," he finds.

"Then we ask, 'Can you prevent that abnormality from occurring?'" says Ebner. "By using chemicals, for instance, you could raise the animals so that they were lacking a substance in their brains. If you found the substance affected modifications in the brain, you might have a 'global modulator'—something that affects all cells in the brain in the same way."

This sort of "global learning signal," as Cooper describes it, is a component of his theoretical model. It would, in effect, change short-term to long-term memory by means of a triggering action. "Whether you remember something or not is simply a yes or no question," Cooper says. "That 'yes' or 'no' could be a simple chemical that's released and that invades all the neurons at a given time." Bear spent a year in Germany working at the Max Planck Institute with renowned neuroscientist Wolf Singer on such chemicals. "We tested for a role of norepinephrine and acetylcholine in ocular dominance plasticity," he says. "We destroyed both of those chemical pathways in animals and produced a severe deficit in plasticity." He is continuing that line of neurochemical inquiry at Brown.

Dr. Jerry Daniels, a professor of engineering at Brown University, has been investigating the effects of environment, experience, and chemicals on ocular dominance plasticity. So far he has used only unconditioned stimuli—the appearance of various light

patterns, for example—and has studied the way the kittens learn to respond to them. In the future he may do experiments that involve conditioning with older animals that are beyond the period of prime plasticity and have developed normal vision. By blocking one eye and rewarding the cat for shifting its optic flow in response, Daniels may attempt to effect changes in the brain system long after the accepted period of optimum learning has ended. "This might teach us how humans could learn something better," he says, "and remember it longer."

Restoring plasticity to a system could conceivably have implications for people whose memories are impaired due to brain injury or illness. Damage to a part of the brain called the hippocampus, for instance, can result in an inability to retain any new information, although previous life experiences are recalled normally. The sufferer might meet you, be introduced, and five minutes later have no recollection of seeing you.

That is exactly how a man referred to only by his initials—"H.M."—is afflicted. He was operated on for a seizure disorder thirty years ago. In a departure from normal procedure, the surgeons removed the anterior portions of both of his temporal lobes instead of the usual one. H.M., who is still living today, cannot now find his way around his own neighborhood. If anyone is introduced to him, he forgets the person's name and face within minutes.

At the University of California, Irvine, Gary Lynch and his colleagues are looking at drugs that produce an effect similar to H.M.'s amnesia in the hippocampus of rats. One drug, leupeptin, was shown to block the formation of new memories; another drug, aminophosphonovaleric acid, proved in experiments by Lynch and Dr. Richard Morris in Scotland to block long-term memory processes. It also had few side effects for the animals, so their behavior can be studied better than that of rats that appear to be "drugged" due to a particular substance. Thompson said, "We can make predictions now about both biochemical/physiological models of memory and cognitive models; we can take our work to the level of behavior. This is a whole new game."

Enzymes Change Neural Connections

Working with rat hippocampuses, Lynch also has found an enzyme that produces changes in the structure of neural connections. He proposes that it

CNRI/SCIENCE SOURCE P.R.

False-color transmission electron micrograph of the synapse (junction) between two neurons. Researchers are discovering the way in which synaptic properties change during learning and remain unchanged for memory. The synaptic gap *(center)* appears deep red in color. Nerve impulses pass across the gap through the release of neurotransmitters which diffuse across the synaptic gap and trigger an electrical impulse in the next neuron.

is calpain, a proteinase (an enzyme that digests proteins) that is activated during learning and changes the strength of synapses. "Neurons are not solid; they are fluid membranes with the viscosity of heavy oil. They are held together by a framework called a *cytoskeleton.* A brief electrical stimulation of the hippocampus can cause calpain to break part of the cytoskeleton. The remaining pieces reassemble themselves into a new shape and structure that will remain changed until another high-frequency stimulation occurs. The changed connection can sit in the new configuration for the lifetime of an organism. This would explain human long-term memory."

Discovering the effect in 1980, he says, was "astonishing. It was like achieving the long-time dream of neuroscience—finding the way to account for the durability of memory. Memories can last a lifetime, but the proteins and lipids that make up our brain cells have lifetimes of only hours or days." Discovering that the synapses change their structure allowed Lynch and others to explain that process satisfactorily. The physiological basis of memory can be

thought of as a building: "You take every brick away, one by one," Lynch says, "and replace it with a different brick. In the brain, this happens more rapidly than you can imagine. This image gave researchers the idea that the brain was not just changing 'bricks,' it was building a new structure."

Lynch has been working with the olfactory systems of rats to attempt to "go into a real brain network and see it operate. Could we watch real memory happen?" He decided that rat olfaction was a system particularly well-suited for such research. "The olfactory cortex is only a few synapses removed from the hippocampus," Lynch explains. "This means that our hippocampuses are very close to direct sensory input from the outside world. This may account," he adds, "for the powerful nature of memories triggered by smells."

Within the past year, Lynch has found himself involved in collaborations that he "couldn't have dreamed of" a few years ago. "I ran into these physicists who were involved in brain sciences, like Leon Cooper," Lynch says. "The circuitry they have designed for their models bore a striking resemblance to the circuitry I have deduced about the olfactory system. They were working with the visual cortex, and the olfactory cortex has the same qualities. My plasticity rules can be modified to match some of the things Leon is working with."

Putting the Whole Package Together

The next question for neuroscientists working on problems of learning and memory, Lynch says, is, "Can we put the whole package together?" Will the researchers in their laboratories and the theorists in their offices find ways to integrate all of the knowledge being accumulated about higher brain functions?

"It's a strange moment," Lynch says. "You find yourself looking at the questions you started your career with, and back then you never dreamed you'd have an answer for them. Now, it's no longer unlikely. Things could happen very quickly—we could get a pretty thorough picture of what memory is. But remember: Science is never right; it's always close. And beyond lie even more delicious questions: Why do some memories have a powerful emotional content? Why do we store some things with other things? Is a memory of riding a bicycle the same as a memory of your mother's face?

"The problems are getting sharper and sharper," Lynch says. "The cognitive scientists are helping us to define them and we've come to the recognition that we can't approach high-level brain problems without a theory, such as Leon's. Many of us have a free-flowing collaboration now—it's not at all structured. And we're finding a surprising convergence in the things Eric Kandel has discovered, and Dick Thompson, and what we're doing here, and elsewhere. I think when you're talking about understanding memory at a simple level, we can be optimistic. We have all these neurobiologists making breakthroughs, and we have people like Leon who know how to do network models and work with computers. It's just a matter of getting everyone together at the same party."

Leon Cooper is optimistic, too, although the scientist in him adds a cautionary note. It's too early, he says, to draw any sweeping conclusion from current research on memory, learning, and higher functions of the brain. But he allows that the new interactions being formed among people in this field are "very, very exciting. We all have different approaches, but there are common basic principles involved and we're beginning to come together theoretically."

How does the human brain remember? What is the secret of the wonderful, seemingly magical process that makes us the unique individuals that we are? Scientists are beginning to find answers to these questions.

"What I can say at the moment," Leon Cooper concludes, "is that we have a theory of the entire neural network that, in my opinion, explains much that has been observed regarding cortical plasticity. It also has suggested some intriguing new relationships that are on the verge of being verified in experiments currently under way. The primary value of this, however, is that we have developed a theoretical language that talks to the experimentalists, probably for the first time. And if we can talk to each other successfully, we have created an interaction that just opens everything up."

Scientists are adding piece after piece to the puzzle of memory. Can we know our own brains? "If you understand how memory works, you can understand the mind," says James Anderson. He considers that motivation, and with a twinkle in his eye he adds, "Speculation is great fun."■

Anne Diffily is managing editor of the Brown Alumni Monthly.

NONDESTRUCTIVE TESTING

Examining products for imperfections without damaging them has become a science that benefits consumers

DAVID I. LEWIN

If a nineteenth-century factory worker wanted to check a newly made train wheel, he would strike it and listen to the sound. Today the worker would subject the wheel to X rays or ultrasound, pass it by a magnetic coil, or perhaps even probe it with a laser beam.

The art of testing an object for defects without destroying it or changing its usefulness is called either "nondestructive *testing* (NDT)" or "nondestructive *evaluation* (NDE)." It can be traced back centuries to egg candling and metal ringing. Within the past hundred years this art has become a science based on discoveries about the structure of matter and matter's interactions with energy. Nondestructive tests ensure the safety and reliability of man-made objects as different from each other as airliners and automobiles or industrial boilers and microchips. As new materials with unique properties come into use, academic and industrial researchers seek to develop appropriate tests.

"The biggest challenge in nondestructive evaluation is understanding how the probing energy interacts with the material to give the information you want," said Thomas Yolken of the National Bureau of Standards (NBS) in Gaithersburg, Maryland, a Washington, D.C., suburb. According to Yolken, who heads up NDE activities at this federal laboratory, almost every form of energy is used by nondestructive techniques: electromagnetic energy (light, X rays, gamma rays, magnetic fields), mechanical vibrational energy (ultrasound), and thermal energy. Subatomic particles such as neutrons and electrons are also used to study materials nondestructively.

Ten years ago, Yolken would have described NDE as a technology based largely on empirical knowledge. The practitioner searched for a needle in a haystack—a potential cause of failure. Finding the "needle" required in-service inspection: stripping down an aircraft engine to look for cracks or signs of wear; inspecting a pipeline for leaks, or for flaws that could produce leaks; and certifying that large turbines at electric power plants are fit for continued use.

In manufacturing, NDE has been used either at the end of a process or between major steps to separate "good" products from "bad." If a weld was tested and found unacceptable, it would be ground out and redone. If a bad part could not be reworked to meet the manufacturer's standards, it would be discarded. "The positive feature of this is that you don't sell bad products," Yolken said. "The negative feature is that you don't find your problems until you have a lot of value added, and that is expensive."

Historically, nondestructive tests have been labor-intensive. Until the last decade most were performed manually by skilled technicians. The tests would typically show that a flaw was present but tell neither its size nor its precise location. Testing was time-consuming and slowed production. Procedures were as simple as dipping a part in fluorescent dye to make hard-to-see cracks visible under ultraviolet light, or as sophisticated as visualizing the inside of

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Ultrasonic acoustic devices being used to listen to the sounds that originate from the welding together of jet engine parts. Analysis of these sounds is part of the research into techniques to make quality welds the first time and every time.

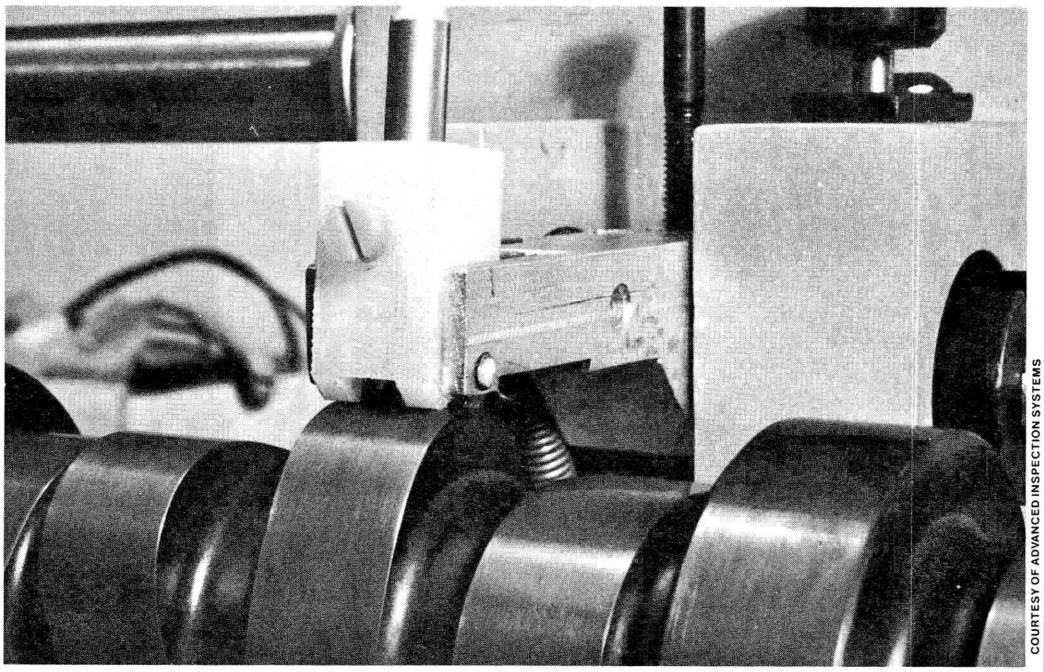
an object with X rays or ultrasonic waves. Another technique took advantage of the phenomenon that passing a magnetic coil over the surface of a metal part causes eddy currents in the part. Changes in the magnetic field produced around the part by the eddy currents can point out flaws near the surface or provide information about the part's metallurgical properties.

Automating The Tests For Defects

More recently, tests have become computerized and automated. Automated eddy current devices at Ford Motor Company's Van Dyke plant in Sterling Heights, Michigan, check the axle shafts that go in rear-wheel-drive cars. These shafts must be hardened at the spots most subject to wear. Sample shafts are taken from the production line and tested to verify that they have had the proper treatments. What once took a man with a diamond saw thirty minutes to inspect takes the eddy current system two minutes, and without damaging the part. While the eddy current technique allows reuse of the sample shafts, and permits a more detailed audit of production as well, it is too slow for inspection of every shaft made.

"In the auto industry the emphasis is indeed on automating inspection," said Emmanuel Papadakis of Ford's Manufacturing Development Center in Detroit. He pointed out that automation reduces the chance of errors from weariness or inattention by a worker, which can occur when hundreds of parts must be checked each hour.

Automation of inspection is not limited to the factory. Inspection at regular intervals, as practiced in the airline and electric utility industries, is being replaced by continuous monitoring. Routinely taking apart a jet engine or other piece of equipment for inspection may actually cause more damage than it prevents. Data from sensors attached to a structure while it is in use can indicate when maintenance is needed.



COURTESY OF ADVANCED INSPECTION SYSTEMS

An eddy current system tests camshafts for cracks, surface porosity, and grinder burns. High-speed versions of this system can track the output of a dozen or more grinders. This process works by passing a magnetic coil over the surface of a metal part which generates eddy currents whose character reflects the properties of the metal.

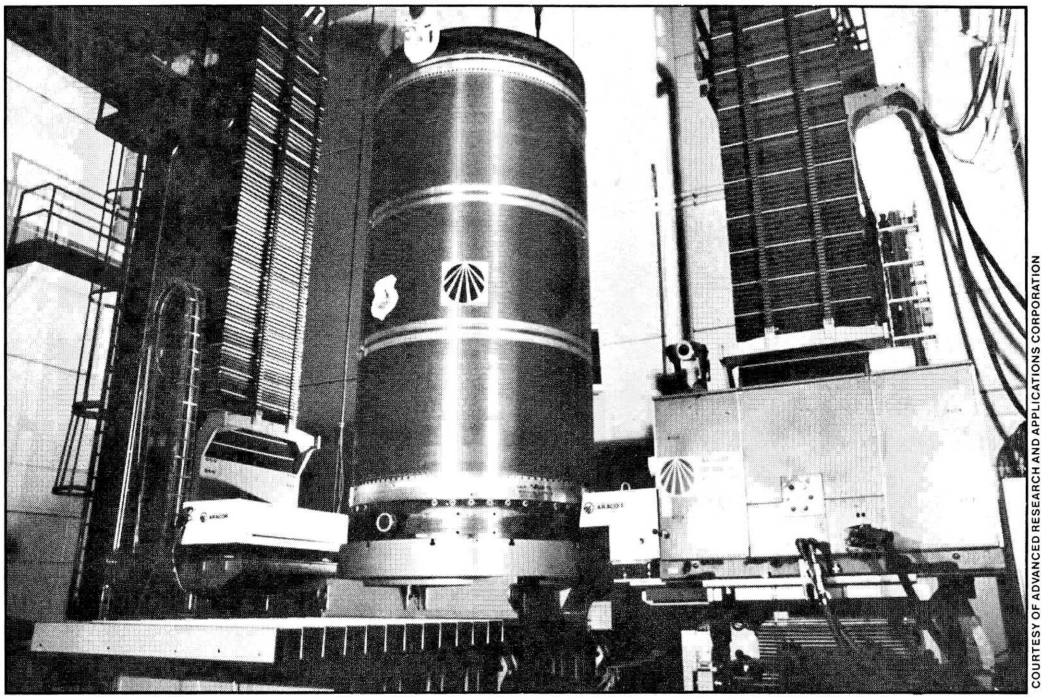
Key structures on aircraft are increasingly monitored during flight for signs of fatigue or crack growth. The electric power industry is similarly moving towards continuous monitoring of turbines to prevent the loss of generating capacity.

Crack growth releases energy in the form of ultrasonic waves, a phenomenon termed "acoustic emission." In use since the 1950s as a nondestructive test, the monitoring of acoustic emission has recently changed from a qualitative to a quantitative method through the efforts of researchers at the National Bureau of Standards and at the United Technologies Research Center in East Hartford, Connecticut. This latter group has used the technique to listen for flaws in rocket motor casings, helicopter parts, and highway bridges.

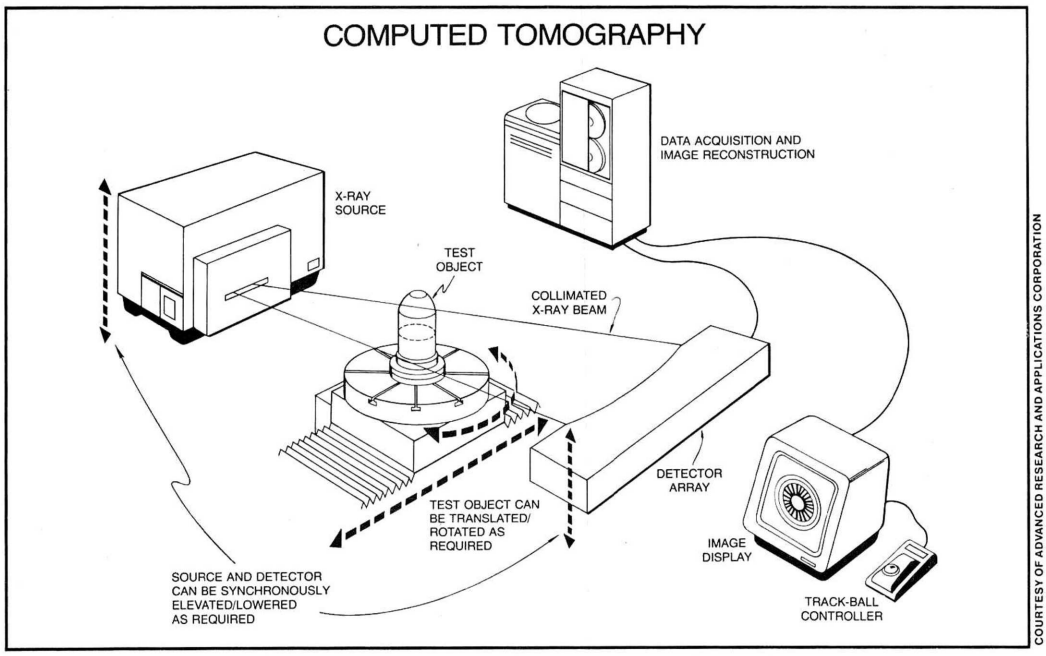
Industry Borrows From Medicine

Techniques borrowed from medicine have made major contributions to nondestructive testing over the last twenty years. Conceptually, noninvasive tests for medical diagnosis share the same physical principles as industrial NDT. Some differences arise from the nature of the human body, which consists largely of soft tissue. Because of the emphasis American society places on health care, noninvasive medical techniques have long been ahead of techniques for industrial testing.

Fluoroscopy, which uses an X-ray-sensitive fluorescent screen in place of film to produce images of internal human organs, was brought into industrial use around 1963 and renamed "real-time radiography" to reflect the emphasis on seeing the X-ray image of interior structures of manufactured components as it occurs. Today's most advanced systems record the X-ray image with a solid-state camera that feeds its output to a digital computer. Similarly, the health field's computerized tomographic (CT or "CAT") scanner—which produces three-dimensional X-ray images of internal body parts—has moved into the aerospace industry's testing laboratories. Solid fuel rocket motors manufactured for the U.S. Air Force are tested in a giant X-ray tomograph that uses a powerful linear accelerator as its X-ray source. For smaller objects, industry is acquiring

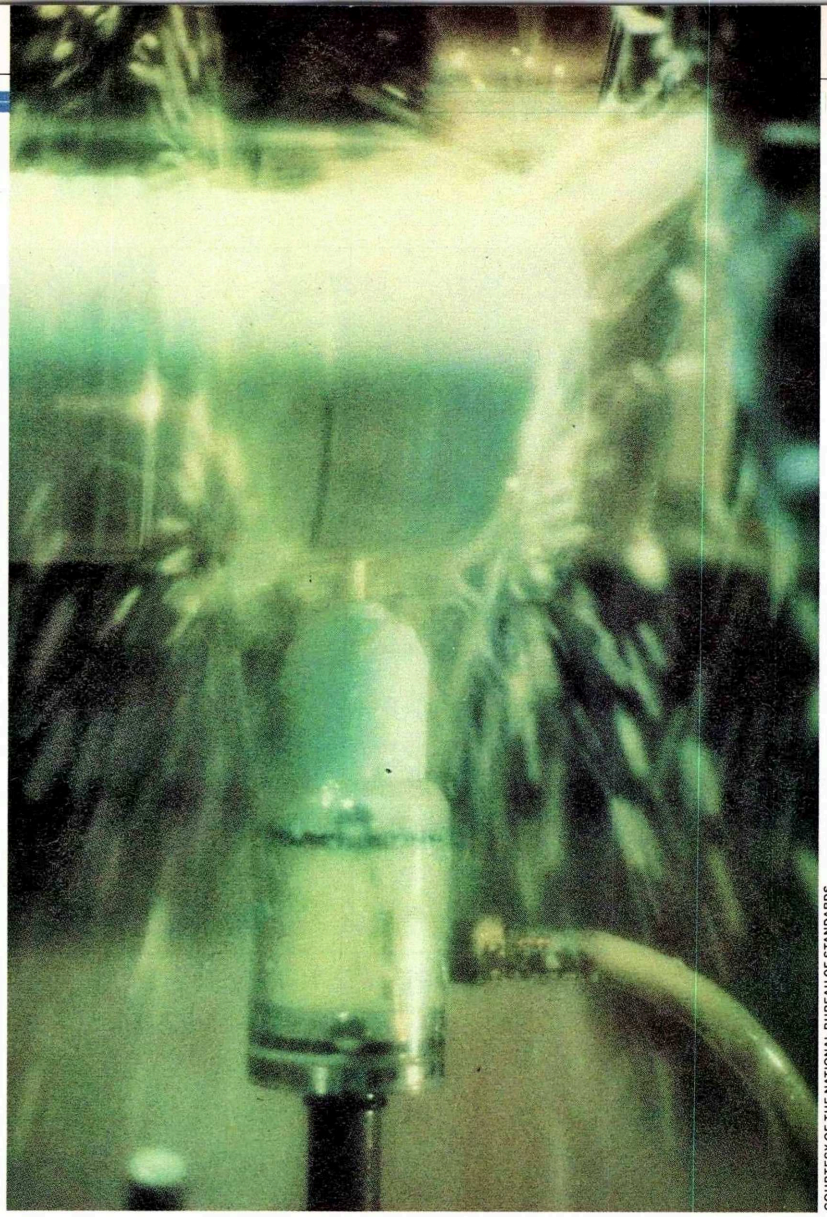


COURTESY OF ADVANCED RESEARCH AND APPLICATIONS CORPORATION



COURTESY OF ADVANCED RESEARCH AND APPLICATIONS CORPORATION

Above: A huge rocket motor rests on a gantry for radiographic testing by computed tomagraphy (CT). Developed in the medical field for imaging internal body parts, the CT technology is now moving into the aerospace industry's testing laboratories. *Below:* Schematic diagram of a large computed tomography system built for use in aerospace applications.



COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS

Prototype of an acoustic surface roughness monitor, here mounted on a lathe. Incorporates an ultrasonic transducer into the nozzle of the lathe's cooling system. Sound waves travel down the coolant stream and are reflected back upstream from the surface of the workpiece. The strength of the returned signal is a measure of the surface smoothness of the workpiece. This device may be used for in-process monitoring of tool wear.

used first-generation tomographs from hospitals, which then purchase second- and third-generation machines.

Both medicine and industry use ultrasound imaging, which employs sound at frequencies in the millions of cycles per second, inaudible to human ears, to visualize the interior of objects. Physicians use the technique to view organs within the human body or to examine a developing fetus in its mother's womb. Quality-control inspectors in industry use ultrasound to check the condition of welds, locate fatigue cracks in machinery, or find defects in nuclear reactor fuel rods.

Like sonar reflecting off a submerged rock, ultrasonic waves traveling through a material bounce off its internal flaws. By measuring the time it takes an ultrasound pulse to travel through an object, an inspector can accurately gauge its thickness. Piezoelectric crystals such as quartz are used to generate and detect ultrasound. These crystals change shape when an electric current is passed through them, producing rapid mechanical vibrations; when squeezed by a vibrating surface, the crystals generate an electric current instead.

Detecting Flaws as They Develop

Nondestructive tests have been used primarily at the end of a manufacturing operation. By that time, it is too late or too expensive to correct most problems; this prompts researchers to investigate ways of using NDT earlier in the manufacturing

cycle. "What we are seeking to do," said Richard Williams of the United Technologies Research Center, "is to use nondestructive evaluation to help us make a part right the first time."

A skilled machinist can tell by the sound of his cutting tool whether the work is going well. Sensors being developed for automated machine tools will use ultrasound to detect unacceptable tool wear or other problems and to alert the controlling computer about them. Williams' group, in fact, has programmed a computer to identify acoustic emission patterns characteristic of chip formation which might emanate from the workpiece. Using this information, the computer speeds up the machine tool, slows it down, or changes its cutter. At the U.S. National Bureau of Standards, ultrasound reflecting from the surface of a part during machining provides information about cutting-tool wear that can be used to control the operation. According to the technique's developer, Gerald Blessing, the surface of a part becomes rougher as the tool cutting it becomes worn. Ultrasound traveling down the stream of water or cutting oil used to cool and lubricate the cutting tool reflects differently from smooth surfaces than from rough surfaces, providing the required information.

The standard radiographic, eddy current, and ultrasound techniques work well when applied to traditional metal alloys. Entirely new methods are required, however, to meet the needs of industries using advanced nonmetallic materials such as ceramics, composites, and rapidly solidified "super" alloys.

These new materials are rapidly replacing steel in many military and aerospace applications and are expected to make inroads in domestic applications as well. These advanced materials are stronger, lighter, and cheaper than traditional materials, but they must be processed under exacting conditions and can be less forgiving of small structural defects. The challenge in manufacturing advanced materials is to measure the material's properties while it is being made and to use this information to control the process.

Flaws as small as a micron—.00004 of an inch—at the surface of a ceramic part can cause the part to fail during use. Ceramics begin as a powder, often silica or alumina mixed with a binder to hold it together. This mixture is pressed into shape and fired, much as a potter fires his clay, in a process called "sintering." The heat and pressure cause the powder particles to bond together and flow, filling the pores between them. How long the ceramic is fired and at what temperature determines its properties and structure. To relate structural changes during sintering to the ceramic's properties, materials researchers need new tools, sensors that can rapidly measure the structure and properties without changing or destroying the material.

Similarly, composite materials have unique modes of failure requiring specific nondestructive methods to detect. A composite consists of a matrix of polymer, ceramic, or metal that contains strengthening fibers, much as reinforced concrete is strengthened with steel rods. The fiber-surrounding matrix may craze, producing a fine, branching network like shattered glass or ice that someone has stepped on. If the fibers are set down in ribbonlike layers, as they are in many composites, the layers can delaminate, and pull away from other layers of ribbon or from the surrounding matrix. Finally, the fibers can break along their length, weakening the composite.

Industry has just begun to explore this field of automated materials processing.

Fabricating ceramics, composites, or advanced metal alloys does not take much manual labor. Most of the work consists of watching gauges and taking samples to be checked in the laboratory under a microscope. If the material is not right, the operator might change the temperature or add a small amount of some ingredient. Sometimes the entire batch has to be scrapped or recycled, a waste of energy and raw materials.

The National Bureau of Standards is developing nondestructive testing methods (the bureau and university researchers prefer the term "nondestructive evaluation") to control the manufacture of materials as it takes place. Industry has just begun to explore this field of automated materials processing, and applications are still to be found on the laboratory bench rather than the shop floor.

For the foreseeable future, polymer-matrix composites appear to have the broadest potential for use. In these materials two epoxy resins are mixed to

form a plastic, and reinforcing fibers are added. This mixture is cured under controlled heat and pressure to form a solid containing trapped fibers. The properties of the final composite depend on the curing rate, but industry has been unable in the past to monitor this rate. Without accurate control of this process bubbles, delamination, and other problems can occur.

By inserting optical fibers into the composite's mold and adding to the epoxy a fluorescent dye that is sensitive to the viscosity of its surroundings, Bruno Fanconi of the National Bureau of Standards is able to monitor the viscosity of the mixture during curing. Knowledge of viscosity is a key element in controlling the process and can be used along with a computer model of curing to control the applied heat and presure.

Flaws in ceramics often begin with problems that occur while the powder is being compacted, but before it is fired. Detecting these problems before firing would prevent additional costly processing. Graduate student Martin Jones of Johns Hopkins University, working at the Bureau of Standards with Gerald Blessing, has developed an ultrasonic technique to distinguish well-compacted ceramic powders from those compacted poorly. By comparing ultrasound measurements taken at the top and the bottom of the column of powder, Jones and Blessing can calculate the velocity of sound in the powder. This velocity depends on the consistency of the unfired ceramic and can be used to control and improve the compaction process as it takes place.

Both of these nondestructive methods for process control require contact with the material being processed. For many applications, sensors for process control must collect information rapidly and work safely in furnaces or other harsh environments. These sensors must be sufficiently inexpensive to be cost-effective and must not interfere with the manufacturing process. One instrument fits these requirements: the laser, which can stand back from the production line and need not make contact with the material being tested. Only its light need ever touch the material's surface.

Both medicine and industry use ultrasound imaging to visualize the interior of objects.

Testing With Lasers

The laser has become a ubiquitous tool of nondestructive testing in the research lab. Materials scientists in industry and universities are studying a variety of laser techniques that take advantage of the fine print in the laws of physics. Bouncing a beam of light off an object would not seem to tell much, but a laser is not just a fancy flashlight. Its flash can last for less than a millionth of a second, yet be immensely bright. The beam is well-disciplined, spreading only a few feet over hundreds of thousands of miles.

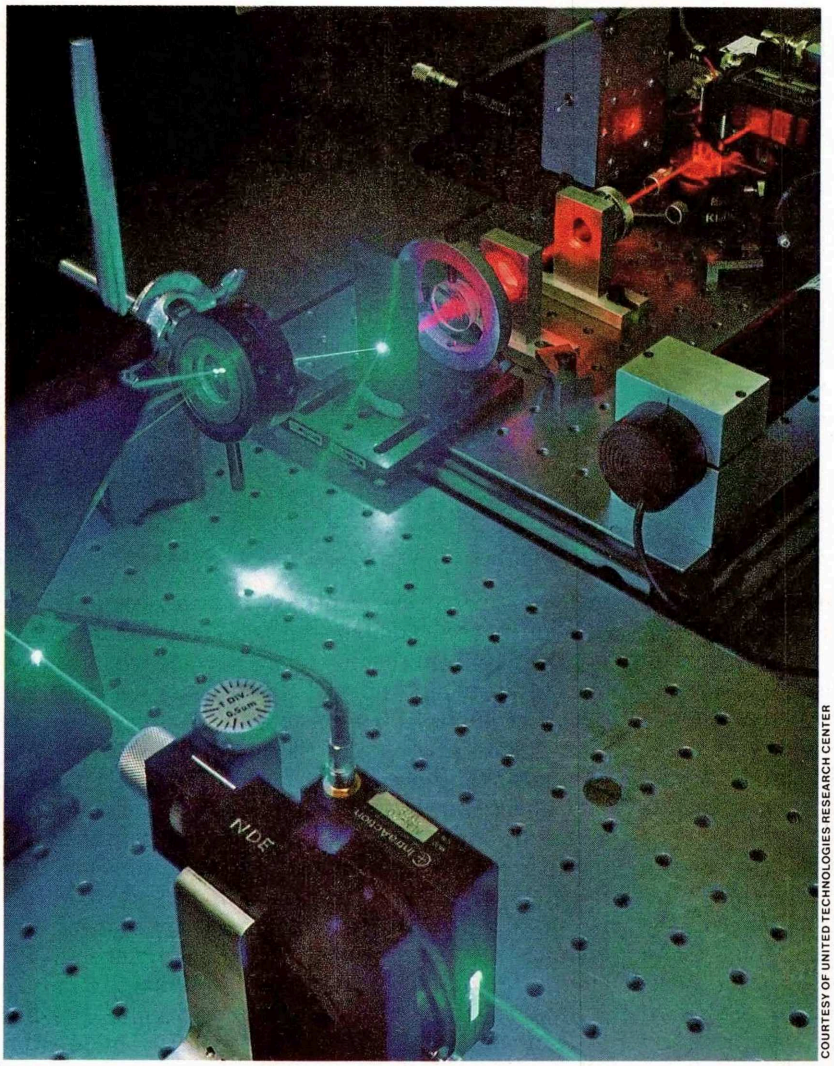
While the reflection of a laser beam can be used to learn about surface flaws, the beam can also act as an intangible hammer, introducing ultrasonic waves into a material by instantaneously heating or vaporizing a small region of the material's surface.

"Right now most of the people using laser generation [of ultrasound] just bang the surface," James Wagner of Johns Hopkins University noted. "Although it is high technology, it is not very different from banging a bell with a hammer." He believes that his research can modify the laser system to couple sound into materials more effectively. Similar research is underway at United Technologies' corporate research labs.

It is the steel industry that may be the first to apply lasers as sensors for control of materials processing. For nearly five years the National Bureau of Standards has been working with the American Iron and Steel Institute to develop two nondestructive sensors: one to measure porosity in cast steel slabs and another to give information on the slab's internal temperature distribution.

Pores develop at the open end of the mold when slabs are cast. To remove this porous steel, which would weaken the metal, a workman with a cutter crops off the top tenth of the slab. If he sees large pores in the newly exposed surface, he crops off more. The scrap from this operation is melted down and recycled. The steel industry wants to automate this operation because workmen find it difficult to handle the 1,200° C slabs. The porosity sensor—and automation—are expected to reduce the amount of good steel cut from the slabs and recycled unnecessarily.

As a quick fix, metallurgists at NBS developed an



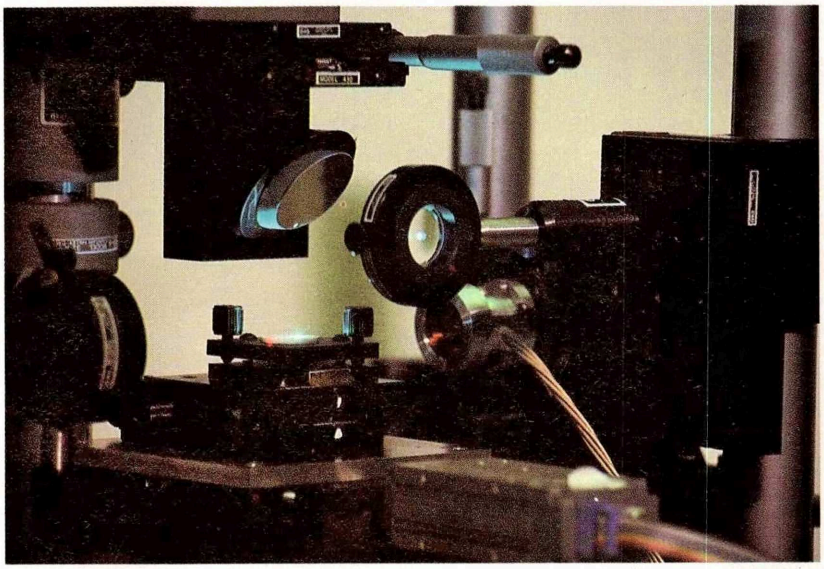
COURTESY OF UNITED TECHNOLOGIES RESEARCH CENTER

In a new nondestructive evaluation technique, two lasers are used to detect surface and near-surface defects as small as 10 micrometers. Called laser-in, laser-out photoacoustic microscopy, the technique integrates a high-resolution laser interferometer with a laser heat source. Applications of this technology will include the inspection of high-temperature coatings and microelectronics.

ultrasonic system to detect the pores, since ultrasound reflects off pores in metal the way light reflects from bubbles in glass. The group, headed by Hayden Wadley, first used a piezoelectric transducer coupled to the slab by a wheel that allowed the slab to move past the transducer. This sensor is being tested further at the Argonne National Laboratory in Illinois before being placed in steel mills. A more advanced model would use a laser beam as the source of ultrasound in the slab. Electromagnetic sensors, similar in principle to eddy current detectors, would pick up the acoustic waves after they travel through the material. Nothing would touch the slab, so sensing could be done shortly after casting.

Wadley and his coworkers have also developed a sensor that uses laser-produced ultrasound to give a picture of the temperature at each point within a slab. This sensor takes advantage of the relationship between the velocity of ultrasound in steel and the metal's temperature. According to Wadley, "By measuring the velocity, which is characteristic of the temperature, you have the basis of a thermometer."

Calculating the temperature at each point within the metal requires the use of several banks of ultrasound detectors, with the banks positioned next to different faces of the slab. Borrowing, from X-ray



COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS

Thermal wave imaging, called the "mirage" process requires two lasers. One beam strikes and heats the surface of the object being examined. The second beam skims parallel to the surface of the object to detect the heat waves being generated by the heated object. In this photo, the object is heated by the blue-green argon laser beam and heat is detected by the red helium neon laser beam.

tomography, the theory that allows reconstruction of three-dimensional images, the NBS researchers combined this with an accurate model of heat flow in steel to obtain the results they sought. These results are accurate to within 1° C or 2° C for points as close together as 2 millimeters. Knowing the internal temperature distribution can save steelmakers hundreds of millions of dollars by reducing the cost to reheat slabs for further processing.

The steel researchers have adapted the temperature sensor for locating the "mushy zone" in continuously cast steel. After this zone is pinpointed, the boundary between totally solidified and liquid metal can be used to control the speed of the continuous caster. By running the caster at its optimum speed, production can be maximized while preventing costly spills of hot metal onto the production line.

Electromagnetic detectors will not work with such nonconducting materials as ceramics or polymer-matrix composites. For these materials, lasers can serve to generate and sense ultrasound. The motion of a material's surface—such as produced by ultrasonic waves—can be measured with extreme accuracy by comparing light from a reflected laser beam with that from a reference beam. Advanced work in this area is under way in James Wagner's laboratory at Johns Hopkins University and Harry Ringermacher's center at the United Technologies Research Center. Both laboratories are working with laser heterodyne interferometry, a technique that dramatically increases the sensitivity of measurement.

Wagner uses a double-exposed hologram to record light waves from the material's surface when at rest and after being "pinged" by a laser or a small explosive charge. The holographic images retain spatial information not recorded by conventional photography. Since the surface of the object ripples like an ocean wave as an ultrasonic wave passes across it, light from the corresponding points on the holograms of the surface at rest and in motion will interfere, producing a pattern of light and dark that is termed *interference fringes.* By measuring the distance between adjacent fringes, Wagner can calculate the contour of the acoustic wave.

This technique can detect only waves with heights of 0.25 microns (.00001 of an inch) or more—the ultrasonic equivalent of a shock wave. By using different frequencies of light to reconstruct his two holographic images, Wagner can increase the method's sensitivity a thousandfold. The ultrasonic waves he can detect now represent motion on the order of the diameter of an atom and are representative of ultrasonic waves in practical use.

Reading Thermal Waves

While laser detection of ultrasound takes advantage of the laser as a light source, a newer technique relies on the laser as a source of heat. Heating the surface of a material periodically—even by just a

fraction of a degree—sets up thermal waves that travel into the material. These are not true waves like sound waves: thermal waves travel only a few wavelengths into the object before being absorbed, dying out in .02 of an inch in aluminum, for example. In contrast, ultrasonic waves will travel through metal as much as 30 feet thick.

"This is a very nice technique for looking at structure that is just slightly below the surface," said Yolken. "It looks like it will be extremely useful in the electronic materials area, where you have a number of thin structures, one on top of the other." Thermal-wave techniques would also be useful for detecting small but critical surface (or near-surface) flaws in advanced ceramics—a task under study at NBS.

Grady White of NBS and Loretta Inglehart, a Johns Hopkins guest scientist at NBS, who are conducting the ceramics work, noted that there are several ways of obtaining information once thermal waves have been introduced into a material. One technique, photoacoustics, requires that the sample be placed in a gas-filled chamber along with a sensitive microphone to monitor the gas pressure in the chamber. A laser beam scans the surface while periodically heating the material. Some of this heat is radiated back into the surrounding gas, producing pressure changes that are picked up by the microphone. By plotting the output of the microphone against the position of the laser beam, a map of the object's surface and subsurface thermal features can be constructed. The technique can easily detect the effects produced near the surface that change the material's normal thermal characteristics—for example, pores in ceramics.

But thermal wave imaging has to be taken out of the gas-filled chamber to be useful in materials processing. A noncontact method that makes the chamber unnecessary is familiar to anyone who has looked down a road on a hot day. Developed in France, the "mirage" technique relies on the fact that air bends light differently at different temperatures. This is the physical principle underlying highway mirages.

The method uses two lasers, one with a beam perpendicular to the object's surface to heat it periodically, another with a beam skimming the surface to detect the thermal waves. The deflection of the second beam as it passes through regions of heated air next to the surface measures the thermal properties of the material at that location. If the material studied—say, glass—is transparent to the wavelength produced by the second laser, direct thermal measurements can be taken inside the sample itself.

At United Technologies, Harry Ringermacher is working with a combination of thermal wave imaging and scanning electron microscopy (SEM), which gives a three-dimensional picture of an object's surface at very high magnification. He has accomplished this by building an acoustic transducer into the specimen stage of an SEM and modulating the electron beam. A periodically interrupted electron beam will produce the same kind of heating as would a laser, but over a much smaller area.

Thermal-wave techniques would also be useful for detecting small but critical surface (or near-surface) flaws in advanced ceramics.

"Not only do you get an SEM picture, but you also generate acoustic waves by the impact of the electrons," said Robert Green of Johns Hopkins University, who heads the Center for Nondestructive Evaluation there. He says that the electron-acoustic technique has great potential for inspecting microelectronic circuits, since different layers of the circuits could be studied individually with various energies and frequencies of electrons. "A simple diode or transistor was so cheap that if it didn't work, you could throw it away," he said. "But now electronic devices are getting so complicated that people need some tools to see what has happened at various layers."

Like egg candling and metal ringing of old, today's nondestructive testing still has the same purpose—to assure that products are defect-free and possess the qualities required to do the job they are designed to do. Only the testing methods are changing. These new methods give more thorough checkups and also are adaptable to the numerous new products for which older methods would be inadequate. ■

David I. Lewin writes on science, technology and medicine from Washington, D.C.

JET ENGINES

This propulsion system has been the foundation for the transportation network of the emerging Global Village.

RON DAVID

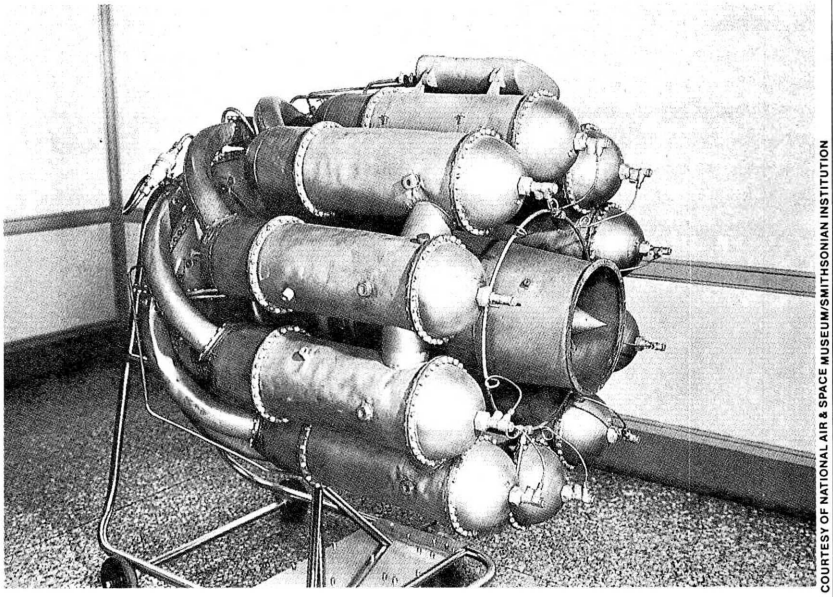
Seventy-year-old Arnesta Ocepek was sitting in her car waiting for a friend when the pain began. First it felt like indigestion. Then the pressure began to build and Mrs. Ocepek decided to drive the few blocks back to her apartment and rest for a while.

By the time she got to her door, she felt absolutely horrible and called her neighbor across the hall for help. The neighbor took one look at her ashen face and called the rescue squad. Arnesta Ocepek was dying. During the next several hours, however, a series of events were to take place that would save her life.

Arnesta was transported to a nearby hospital, where it was determined she had an aneurysm. A blood vessel near her heart was badly damaged, and the attending physician explained that the only place her particular problem could be handled was at the Methodist Hospital in Houston more than a thousand miles away. A Lear jet equipped as a mobile intensive care unit was chartered, and today, after successful surgery, Arnesta Ocepek is home again. She is not completely well, and another trip to Houston will be necessary for follow-up treatment, but thanks in part to speedy jet transportation, Arnesta is making plans for the future.

This is an example of the benefits that have become commonplace through the jet airplane.

When a vital part on one of the Ford Motor Company's assembly lines in Detroit broke down, a courier jet picked up a replacement in Atlanta and



COURTESY OF NATIONAL AIR & SPACE MUSEUM/SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

The Whittle W.1X turbojet engine—an early version in the series of jet engines that propelled Britain and the United States into the jet age. The Whittle turbojet first ran under its own power on April 12, 1937.

COURTESY OF THE BOEING CORPORATION

COURTESY OF NATIONAL AIR & SPACE MUSEUM/SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Above: The Boeing 747, a modern wide-body jetliner, can carry up to 450 passengers thousands of miles nonstop with a comfort and speed undreamed of by early jet engine designers. Its four engines generate over 50,000 pounds of thrust each.

Air passengers have learned to take it for granted that they can travel to all parts of the globe in relative ease. Shown here is the interior of the 747.

delivered it to Michigan in less than three hours. Two thousand assembly line workers were back on the job before lunch time.

Jet flight has reduced our planet to the size of Manhattan Island if you consider that it took about a day to send a messenger halfway around the island when Dutch traders purchased it from the Indians. Today, anyone can fly to almost any location on the earth in a day, giving rise to the concept of the Global Village.

Until the early part of this century we were obliged to cross the oceans by ship, requiring travel times measured in weeks. Today we can do so in jumbo jets in one-twentieth of the time. Jet travel is comfortable, convenient, and per passenger mile by far the safest mode of transportation known to man. As a result, millions of travelers cross the oceans every year and tens of millions travel by jet continentally. Through air travel, the term 'remote region' has almost become obsolete.

In 1958, the year that marked the beginning of the jet age, less than 30 percent of the adults in the United States had ever flown. Today that figure is greater than 70 percent. Chicago's O'Hare Airport accommodated 50 million passengers last year, more than did the entire U.S. air carrier fleet in 1958.

Probably since the beginning of history humans have had the ambition to fly, although only in this century have we had the technology to do it. Prior to this century, there was only occasional attention paid to the mechanics of flight. The Italian scientist and artist Leonardo da Vinci, for example, studied wing design and toyed with the notion of flight in the fifteenth century; and a German engineer, Otto Lillienthal, conducted dozens of successful gliding experiments in the early 1890s.

Controlled Heavier-than-Air Flight

Industrial developments in the last century, however, gave us the technology to build a light-weight internal combustion engine for propulsion. The Wright brothers were the first to have the vision and expertise to wend their way through the labyrinth of trial and error to combine propulsion and aerodynamic design so that a heavier-than-air craft could be controlled. Only through control could sustained flight become reality. Had Orville and Wilbur Wright been less tenacious and ambitious, however, other brilliant souls would eventually have succeeded in their stead. Man was ready to fly. He had the vision, the materials, and the ambition.

Much to the annoyance of the Wrights, however, the brilliant achievement of controlled flight received little notice in the United States, their homeland. In the years immediately preceding World War I, the United States was a staid and complacent nation girded by enormous oceans that rendered it almost impregnable from any potential enemy at that time. In Europe, on the other hand, where the countries tended to coexist with all the stability of crustal plates in the vicinity of the San Andreas Fault, the Wrights quickly became the darlings of the air age. Years before the U.S. government even considered buying the first Wright airplane, the famous brothers had flown at airshows before most of the heads-of-state in Europe and sold dozens of Wright Flyers in the process.

In 1914, eleven years after the Wright brothers' first flight at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, war erupted in Europe. When it did, the armed forces of the principal players all had their aerial armadas in place; while in the United States, still nestled in isolationism, the army was just beginning to experiment with training planes.

When the war ended in Europe, however, the United States adopted existing military technology for commercial needs and soon took the lead in the era of flight, transporting mail, people, and even cargo at speeds that could not be matched by surface transportation.

On May 20, 1927, U.S. pilot Charles Lindbergh completed the first transatlantic solo flight—from New York to Paris in thirty-three and a half hours. This made him one of the world's most widely publicized heroes. More importantly, the flight dramatized for millions of people the new possibilities inherent in aviation.

By 1928 U.S. aircraft manufacturers were capitalizing on European designs, such as Tony Fokker's tri-motor transport (which was manufactured by Ford), and Douglas Aircraft was zeroing in on the DC-2 and DC-3. U.S. manufacturers had honed aircraft piston-engines into highly reliable power plants that often ran for up to a thousand hours before overhaul. The United States had set the standards for the state-of-the-art in aviation.

Meanwhile, in Cranwell, England, twenty-one-year-old Pilot Officer Frank Whittle, who was to become the father of the centrifugal flow turbojet

GROWTH OF U.S. AIR TRAVEL

The first continental airmail route was named "Columbia," and it linked New York and San Francisco with Salt Lake City, Cheyenne, Chicago, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh. Those seven cities served as the hubs for eleven of the twelve original Civil Air Mail (CAM) routes that were established by the Air Mail Act of 1925. Those CAM routes served as the catalyst through which today's giant airline industry evolved.

The Columbia system was completed in 1927. That was the same year Charles Lindbergh, who had spent most of 1926 flying CAM-2 between St. Louis and Chicago, blazed a trail for intercontinental air travel by flying alone in the *Spirit of St. Louis* nonstop from New York to Paris.

By 1936 every airmail plane flying a CAM route also carried passengers. The year marked a milestone in aviation history because according to the Air Transport Association, which was also founded in 1936, one million passengers were carried by U.S. airlines that year.

By 1955 that figure had grown to 40 million passengers. By that time nearly 30 percent of the American people had been airborne at least once. With the advent of jet transports, the number of Americans who have flown has soared to 70 percent, and the Air Transport Association of America projects that in 1986 the airlines will move 400 million passengers. U.S. airlines transported 318 million passengers in 1983, 344 million in 1984, and more than 380 million in 1985.

Air cargo may top 500 million tons in 1986 for the first time in any year, and airline revenues are expected to exceed $50 billion. A fleet of only 3,500 aircraft is responsible for these statistics.

engine, had just graduated from the Royal Air Force College. For his senior thesis he had chosen the rather ambitious subject of "Future Developments in Aircraft Design." In it he derived a formula that envisioned an airplane traveling at speeds and altitudes far greater than those achievable with piston-engines.

Up to that time and for eleven years afterward, piston engines were the only thrust-producing power plants available to airplane manufacturers. However, the piston engine was limited. As Whittle wrote years later, "Even with a supercharged piston engine, the power dropped with height faster than aircraft drag [from air resistance], so much so that the ceiling of an average fighter was not much above 20,000 feet.

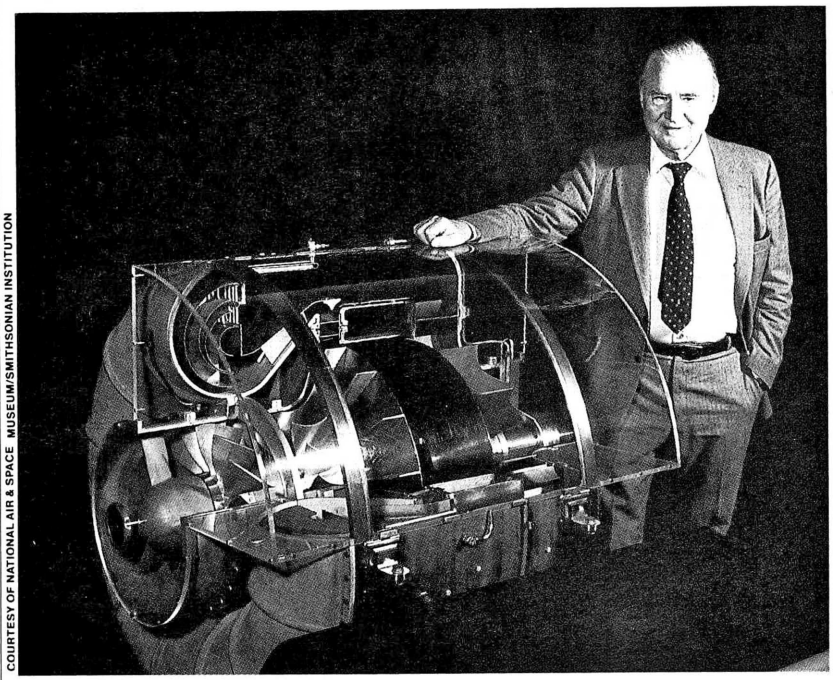
"In those days the top speed of a fighter was about 150 miles per hour and the world speed record was something over 200 mph. High speeds also meant problems with the propeller. The speed of the blade at and near the tips and the aircraft forward speed caused compressibility troubles and much reduced propeller efficiency."

What Whittle was talking about is easily understood by anyone who has ever been to an airport and heard a vintage fighter plane snarling loudly as it accelerated for takeoff. That nostalgic roar was actually the sound of air being compressed around the propeller blades as they rapidly whirled in a vain attempt to fight their way through highly compressed air toward the speed of sound—just so the fighter could lift off at 90 mph.

Whittle's thesis ventured a tantalizing theory, but did not provide any answers. The young pilot officer would not let go, however, and after a year of contemplating and calculating, he suddenly hit upon the answer. "Why not increase the compression ratio and substitute a turbine for the piston engine?" he thought. It was the first practical vision of the turbojet engine.

Parallel Development in England and Germany

No one, except Whittle, got very excited about the idea. His fellow flying officers called the jet-engine concept "Whittle's flaming touchhole." And, even if it



COURTESY OF NATIONAL AIR & SPACE MUSEUM/SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Hans von Ohain with a cutaway replica of his HeS 3B turbojet. In a remarkable instance of simultaneous discovery, von Ohain in Germany and Whittle in England, completely unaware of the work of the other, both tested the original versions of their jet engines in the same year, 1937.

proved to be a workable idea, who needed to fly higher than 20,000 feet and faster than 200 miles an hour anyway? It wasn't until the rattling of distant sabers was heard again in the mid-1930s that anyone in authority could begin to see the need for an aircraft that could outclimb and outrun an enemy airplane.

In spite of this resistance, Whittle never abandoned the turbojet concept and together with a small group of supporters formed a company called Power Jets, Ltd. So when the British Air Ministry began to see the potential usefulness of such an apparently unlimited power plant concept, Power Jets had already conducted dozens of successful static tests, and was very close to being ready to build a centrifugal flow turbojet for an experimental airplane test.

Meanwhile an amazingly similar sequence of events was taking place in Germany, prompted in part by the Fifth Volta Conference held in Rome in 1935. At that conference, which was chaired by Guglielmo Marconi, inventor of the telegraph, a young German physicist, Dr. Adolf Busemann, submitted what came to be regarded as the most significant paper at the conference. It analyzed the benefits of the swept-back wing in aerodynamic design and discussed how its properties might help solve the staggering drag problems airplanes were certain to encounter if they flew closer to the speed of sound.

Years after the conference Dr. Theodore von Karmann, the foremost aeronautical scientist of his time, wrote, "This meeting was historic because it marked the beginning of the supersonic age. It was the beginning in the sense that the conference opened the door to supersonics as a meaningful study in connection with supersonic flight, and secondly because most developments in supersonics occured rapidly from then on, culminating—a mere twelve years later (in 1947)—in U.S. Air Force Captain [now Brigadier General (Ret.)] Charles E. Yeager's piercing the sound barrier with the X-1 plane in level flight."

A young German named Hans von Ohain, who was to become the father of the axial-flow turbojet engine, was quite impressed by Dr. Busemann's scholarly report. Von Ohain had already conducted some preliminary studies into the feasibility of a turbojet engine while working on his doctorate at the Institute of Physics in Goettingen in 1934. When he read Busemann's paper he realized that there would be a real need for a radically improved propulsion system for high speed aircraft. At the end of 1934 Von Ohain had contracted the services of an auto mechanic and machinist named Max Han to build a working model of his turbojet concept. Bolstered by the Busemann paper, von Ohain pressed on with his work in spite of the expense involved.

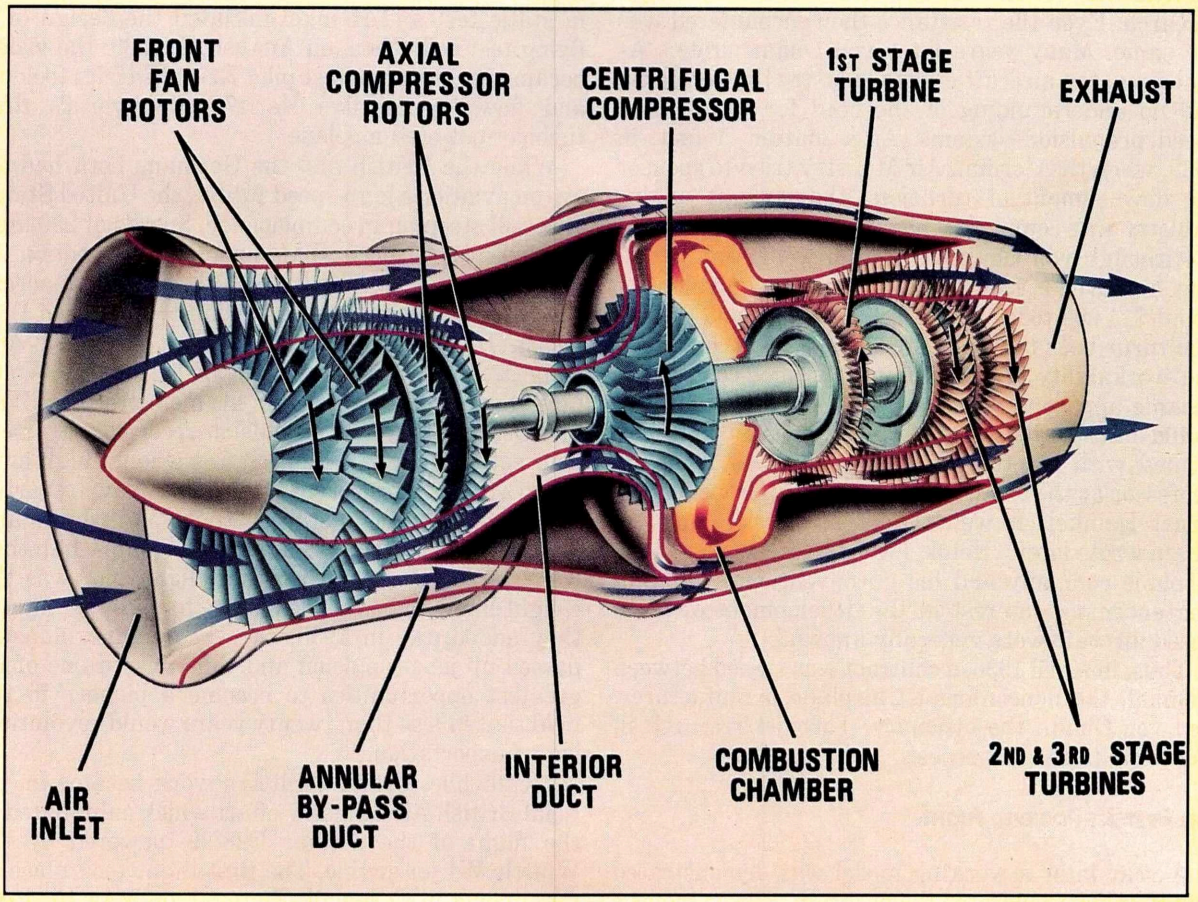
Remarkably, von Ohain had no idea that Frank

HOW A JET ENGINE WORKS

The piston engine that powers a car and the turbojet engines that power jet airplanes work on the principle that air must be induced into a chamber, mixed with vaporized fuel, compressed, and ignited. This causes the resulting gas to expand rapidly under pressure before it is discharged.

In a piston engine this sequence of events is repeated in quick succession by the pistons housed in one or more cylinders. The action of the pistons turns a crank, and the crank is coupled to a drive shaft or a propeller.

In turbojets, the same action is smooth and continuous. Outside air enters from the atmosphere through the inlet at the front, is compressed by the axial compressors, and mixed with fuel that ignites in a combustion chamber. This causes an enormous expansion of the gas mixture that is exhausted through one or more turbines. These rotate the axle that drives the compressors. The push on the surrounding air caused by the turbines generates "thrust." When a turbojet engine is attached to an airplane, it provides the airplane with the thrust needed to overcome gravity and fly.



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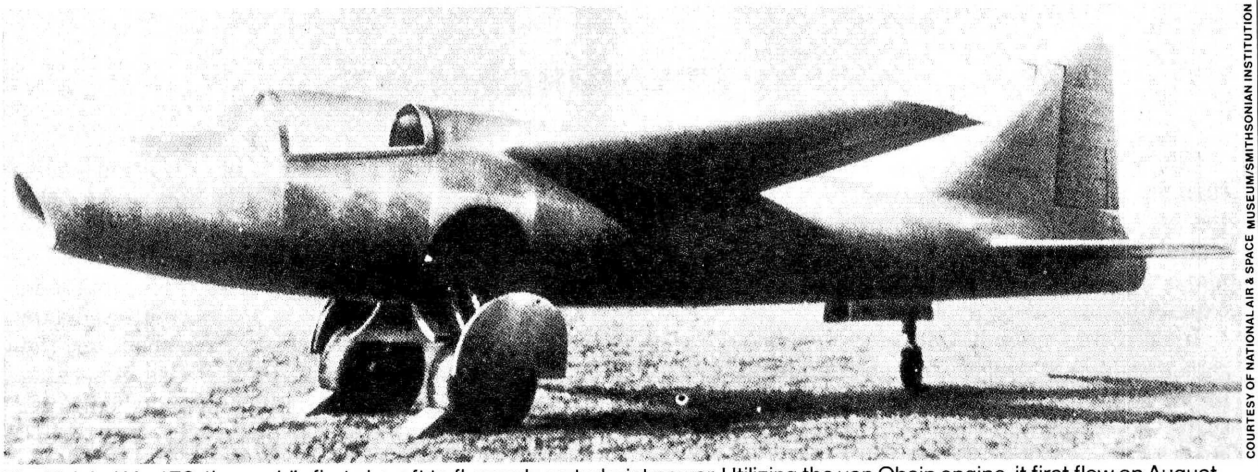


COURTESY OF NATIONAL AIR & SPACE MUSEUM/SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

The Heinkel He 178, the world's first aircraft to fly purely on turbojet power. Utilizing the von Ohain engine, it first flew on August 27, 1939.

Whittle was conducting amazingly similar turbojet research. Even the resistance they encountered was the same. Many years later von Ohain wrote: "At that time, the aircraft engine industry [in Germany] had no understanding of the need for future high speed propulsion systems. As a matter of fact, in 1938, when the German Air Ministry tried to sponsor the development of turbojets, the aircraft engine industry was completely negative to such a project."

Although von Ohain's research went slowly, and cost him over a thousand marks, (the equivalent of about $15,000 today), Max Hahn's talent and dedication turned out to be extraordinary. Tests confirmed the workability of von Ohain's turbojet concept. It became apparent, however, that industrial support would have to be found if testing was to continue. Armed with a letter of recommendation from his professor at the Institute, von Ohain approached Dr. Ernst Heinkel. It was the right decision. As von Ohain wrote later, "Heinkel was the sole owner of his airplane company and his unconventional thinking and enormous interest in the development of high-speed aircraft were generally known."

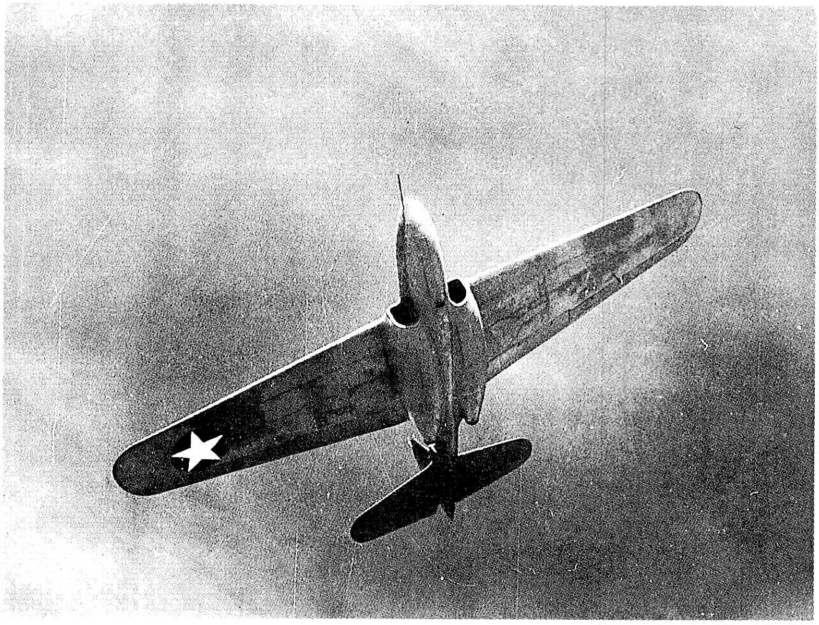
Thus, in April 1936, a contract was signed between Heinkel, the nonconformist airplane manufacturer, and von Ohain, the visionary. Turbojet research in Germany began in earnest.

The First Jet-Powered Flight

A year later a working model was demonstrated and Heinkel accelerated the program. Eleven months after that, a practical engine was racking up hours in static test and Heinkel initiated the design of a flying test-bed. Then, on August 27, 1939, the vision became reality when test pilot Erich Warsitz took off and flew the Heinkel He 178, the world's first turbojet-powered airplane.

While the British and the Germans both had an eye on aviation's high-speed future, the United States was still steeping in complacency. Speeds of 250 mph seemed to be more than enough. The notion of nonstop, high-speed air travel back and forth across the Atlantic Ocean was not within the realm of U.S. vision. Dr. von Karmann, who left Germany and emigrated to America not long after the Volta Conference in Rome, noted in his memoirs, *The Wind and Beyond,* that "jet propulsion received a tremendous setback in the United States when a high level board of engineers set up by the U.S. Navy reported in 1938, after official studies, that gas turbines and compressors might be all right for ships but they were too big and ponderous for flight. Nor was the weight likely to be reduced in the foreseeable future, they added. So, in 1938, the U.S. engine industry passed up jet propulsion and thus missed one of its greatest opportunities to become a pioneer in the field that in less than twenty years would revolutionize transportation."

Meanwhile, Frank Whittle's work became an official British Air Ministry effort which culminated in the flight of the Gloster E28/39, powered by the Whittle W1 jet engine. The first flight took place at the airfield in Cornwall, England, on May 15, 1941.



COURTESY OF NATIONAL AIR & SPACE MUSEUM/SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Under the urgency of World War II, the United States developed its jet capabilities rapidly once it accorded priority to jet aircraft development. The first U.S. jet aircraft was the Bell XP-59A, whose maiden flight was in 1942.

The little jet performed quite well and, to the delight of its design team, demonstrated during the months that followed that it could fly faster than the piston-engine fighters which were the backbone of the tactical British air defense.

The United States Enters The Jet Age

British turbojet research accelerated and plans were drawn up for a jet fighter to be built by the Gloster Company. However, production efforts in the United Kingdom were being hampered by German air raids, and a secret arrangement was worked out between Sir Henry Tizard of the British Air Ministry and Gen. Harold H. "Hap" Arnold, commanding general of the U.S. Army Air Force, to "back up" turbojet production in the United States. Therefore, on October 1, 1941, nine weeks before the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, an American Liberator bomber secretly flew home from England with a Whittle jet engine and a four-man team from Power Jets, Ltd. The United States was quietly about to enter the jet age.

There was no hoopla over the event. No one was even supposed to know that it was happening. There was also no competition between American companies over contracts for building jet engines or jet planes. The General Electric Company had been involved in turbo-supercharger production for American piston-engined aircraft, so it was decided by Gen. Arnold and his advisors that they should produce jet engines. The airframe contract was given to the Bell Aircraft Company.

The decisions were good ones. Whittle, who spent four months advising the Americans in 1942, later wrote, "The G.E. Company worked so fast that they had their version . . . on the test bench by April 1942. And Bell was rapidly building the XP-59A, a twin engine fighter to be powered by two G.E. I-14s (née W2Bs).

"Not long after my return to the U.K., the Bell XP-59A started its test flights at Muroc Lake (now Edwards Air Force Base) in California on October 2, 1942, almost exactly one year after we had sent over the W.1X [jet engine]. An astonishing achievement!"

As the war in Europe advanced, both the Germans and the British began to field squadrons of jet fighter planes. The British Gloster *Meteor* and the Messerschmitt Me 262 *Swallow* both were operational by the summer of 1944. The only significant difference between the two was that the Me 262 incorporated swept wings in its design.

Although about sixty XP-59s were built in the United States, none were actually destined for combat. Instead the first jet fighter to enter squadron service with the U.S. Air Force (USAF) was the

COURTESY OF PAN AM

The growth of the commercial jet airliner is dramatized by comparing the first commercially successful jetliner, the Boeing 707 *(front)* with its descendant, the Boeing 747 *(rear)*. Still in service around the world, the 707, which carries approximately 150 passengers, entered service in 1957. The 747 "Jumbo Jet" with a maximum capacity of nearly 500 passengers entered service in 1969.

Lockheed P-80 *Shooting Star*. Designed around an imported de Havilland H-1B Goblin turbojet (a derivative of Whittle's engine), the P-80 went from drawing board to first test flight in January of 1944 in only 143 days—another astonishing achievement.

In 1941 a secret meeting that was to have great significance to the U.S. aerospace industry took place in England. The meeting, between U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, dealt with contingency plans for North America in the event the British Isles were occupied by Hitler's armies. It was agreed that if Britain fell, strategic bombing of Germany would have to be staged from bases in North America, and that an intercontinental heavy bomber would be needed for the job. The agreement resulted in the manufacture of the Convair B-36, a straight-winged aircraft powered by six piston engines. The first B-36 flew in August of 1946. It had a 10,000 mile range.

In 1943 the Bombardment Branch of the USAF issued study contracts to the Boeing Aircraft, Convair, Martin, North American Aviation, and Northrop corporations for medium-range jet bomber designs. At about the same time a competition was announced for the development of a second-generation intercontinental bomber. Unfortunately, though, neither the Americans nor the British seemed to be aware of Dr. Busemann's brilliant report on wing sweep at the 1935 Volta Conference. But it was becoming apparent, at least to Boeing Aircraft, that jet bombers needed more study. John E. Steiner, an aerodynamicist with Boeing wrote: "The problem, as we saw it, was that none of the [competing] airframes being examined had speed [Mach number] characteristics that fully exploited the jet engine performance potential. We were thus in the midst of a deeply frustrating development process when, in early 1945, the wing sweepback phenomenon came to light."

Wing Sweep Back

It is interesting to note that even though Busemann's paper had been published in the United States years before, and the Germans had been using Me 262 jet fighters against Allied planes for a year, sweepback was apparently still unknown to American aerodynamicists. Instead, it had to be invented independently in the United States by Bob Jones who was working for the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NACA which in 1958 became NASA) at the Langley Field Research Center in Hampton, Virginia. Jones made the discovery in early 1945, only a few months before Allied scientists became privy to German sweepback technology after the fall of Hitler's regime.

Boeing's chief aerodynamicist, George Schairer, learned about sweepback from Jones and immediately redirected the Boeing bomber team to incorporate it in their design. The result was an airplane that

was to put both the United States and Boeing in the forefront of long-range jet bombers and transports for many years to come—the swept-wing, jet-powered B-47 bomber.

To understand why sweepback is so important to jet airplanes, it is necessary to know about the forces of *thrust* and *drag*. The energy that propels an airplane forward is called thrust, and the natural forces that resist thrust are called drag. Drag—resistance by the atmosphere—slows an airplane. If you have ever held your hand out the window of a fast moving car you have felt the influence of drag. As an airplane's speed increases, drag increases until the resistance is so great, it is impossible for the plane to fly any faster. Before Yeager flew the X-1 faster than Mach 1.0, the speed of sound, in 1947, the opinion of most aerodynamicists was that Mach 1.0 was where the wall of resistance resided for all airplanes, and that there was no getting beyond it; hence the references to the "sound barrier." Sweeping the wings helped streamline airplanes, reduced high-speed drag, and facilitated better fuel efficiency for jet-powered aircraft.

A lot of streamlining goes into the design of all airplanes. The faster they fly, the more streamlining is required. There are exceptions, but in a general sense, flying a high-powered jet plane with straight wings is akin to driving your car with the parking brake engaged.

The first swept-wing B-47 flew at Boeing's design facility in Seattle on December 17, 1947. It was the forty-forth anniversary of the Wright brothers' first flight. The B-47 is historically significant because, through a series of metamorphoses, its basic design technology was used to produce a whole "covey" of Boeing "birds" which emerged from the Seattle nest during the quarter-century that followed. The most significant examples are the familiar 700 series planes: the 707, 727, 737, 747, 757, and 767; and, on the military side, the indefatigable B-52. The Boeing 717 has never flown commercially, but is used for the in-flight refueling of other military planes by the U.S. Air Force and as such bears the military designation KC-135.

The Challenge of Pressurization

The first commercial jet airliner was developed by the British. It was called the Comet and was built by deHavilland Aircraft. The Comet was a beautiful 500 mph swept-wing airplane that flew for the first time on July 27, 1949. It was years ahead of its competition. Traditionally the first brand name on the street is the one most likely to succeed and the U.K. had high hopes for the Comet. But it was the U.S. aerospace industry that was to emerge as the post-war leader in the new "jet age" because the Comet had a built-in problem that was never seen during testing: structural fatigue caused by repeated pressurization.

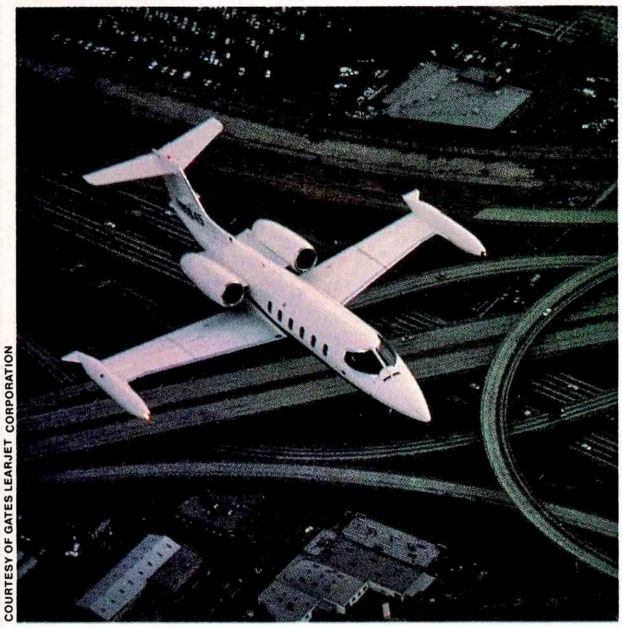
With its great ability to compress the relatively thin air in the upper atmosphere and soar high above piston engine planes, the jet airplane's principal asset, aside from speed, is its ability to fly at high altitudes. Navigating from city to city above the turbulence and weather is one of the features of jet flying that has made it so appealing to travelers. In order to develop a craft that could fly at jet altitudes, however, designers were faced with the option of either requiring that passengers wear oxygen masks, or pressurizing the whole passenger cabin. The latter was the only commercially acceptable alternative.

Pressurization means that when a jet is flying at cruising altitude, where there is very little air, the passenger and crew chambers are supplied with an atmosphere equal to that of an "acceptable" altitude —10,000 feet, for example. But, pressurization exerts considerable stress on the aircraft structure. Two Comets crashed due to structural fatigue. Engineers soon figured out how to correct the problem, and a modified Comet 4 entered trans-Atlantic service in 1958. But many passengers had been frightened by the adverse publicity, and the way was clear for the Americans to compete in commercial jet travel.

Boeing Bets on the Jet

Boeing, of course, with its expertise in building jet bombers, had the edge on the American competition. The first Boeing 707, designated the 367-80, flew in July 1954. The Boeing Company had gambled about a quarter of its net worth on the theory that "jet was right" and won. The first 707 entered service in 1957 and it soon became clear that the Boeing Company was going to dominate the aerospace manufacturers competing for commercial sales. Douglas, the company that had provided most of the transport planes used by the Americans and British during World

War II, came out with the DC-8 in 1958 and a few hundred copies of that airplane are still in service around the world. In 1959 Convair introduced the fastest four-engine jetliner, but never got a firm grip on the marketplace. A total of only 125 Convair 880s and 990s were built. By comparison, more than 900 of the Boeing 707s remain in airline service today, along with hundreds of other examples of 700 series aircraft ranging from 727s through the new, super-quiet fanjet-powered 767s.



COURTESY OF GATES LEARJET CORPORATION

The Learjet 35A is representative of the many types of executive jet aircraft that are used for business rather than commercial airline purposes.

Not long after the introduction of large jet transports, jet planes for general aviation began to appear. Bill Lear gambled a fortune on his Lear jet model 23 and won. The first customer delivery was made in October of 1964. Since then, hundreds of Lear jets have been sold and more than two dozen competitors have also entered the marketplace.

Supersonic Tranport Race

With jet travel firmly established, the next logical step appeared to be the supersonic transport, or SST. There was another scramble to be first. Four nations entered the SST race during the 1960s: the United States, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union. The cost of SST research and development was so staggering, however, that the U.K. and France entered into a joint venture to develop the Concorde, while Boeing developed plans for the B-2707, and the Soviets worked on the TU 144.

The much publicized development of the British-French Concorde began in 1962. Development of the Soviet TU 144 was not known in the West until 1965. Even though there was little likelihood that any major airline would ever buy a Soviet SST, the Soviets saw it as another kind of space race. It would help their prestige if they beat the Americans to the marketplace. And they did. But it was one race the United States wisely decided to sit out. The TU 144

DOUGLAS WETZSTEIN/THE WORLD & I

The supersonic Concorde began offering regular service between Europe and the United States in 1976. Crossing the Atlantic at twice the speed of sound, it has found its clientele among businessmen for whom time is more valuable than the cost of the flight.

SAFETY IN THE AIR

In spite of several air disasters in the last two years, passengers still seem to have a high degree of confidence in airline safety. Statistics indicate that for each person mile traveled, scheduled air travel is by far the safest form of travel available today.

In 1985 scheduled U.S. air carriers flew a total of more than 335 billion revenue-passenger miles, and more than 3 billion actual aircraft miles, in their combined domestic and international routes. According to statistics compiled by the Department of Transportation, airline passengers on these carriers suffered only 174 fatalities or .052 fatalities for each 100 million passenger miles flown in 1985. This is equal to an average of about one death for each two billion miles. Meanwhile, motor vehicles operating in the United States, which includes trucks, buses, and passenger cars, traveled an estimated 1,765 billion vehicle miles, or 3,000 billion person miles, and experienced 43,000 deaths. This corresponds to 1.46 deaths for each 100 million person miles driven, or one death for each 68 million miles.

These preliminary U.S. government figures for 1985 indicate that, mile-for-mile, scheduled U.S. air carrier travel is more than 28 times safer than traveling on American roads. This comparison adds validity to the old adage that the drive to the airport may be the most dangerous part of an airplane flight.

was the first SST to fly. The prototype flew for the first time on the last day of 1968.

When the Soviet aircraft was introduced to the world, it was remarkably similar to the Concorde even though the British-French entry didn't fly until the following year. Any hopes the Soviets had of selling their airplane, however, were dashed when the pilot demonstrating it at the world class Paris Air Show overmaneuvered his aircraft and caused it to crash a short distance from the airport in full view of thousands of Air Show spectators.

The American SST program began in earnest in 1967 when the Federal Aviation Administration awarded Boeing the development contract. Boeing had already been doing SST research for ten years. Unfortunately, and through no fault of Boeing, the contract was cancelled in 1971, long before the prototype was ready to fly. Cancellation was primarily political, although the high cost of the project justified the decision. The oil crunch in the 1970s drove fuel prices so high that the cost of operating any SST for profit became impossible. There is little chance that Britain and France will ever recoup the cost of their research and development, even though their beautiful Concordes have been operating at near-capacity for more than ten years. But the valuable technology that the British, French, and American SST programs generated has become a precious legacy. They have given new insights into structural and propulsion technology, as well as digital flight deck technology. Much of the information has been absorbed and employed in military and commercial aircraft designs.

Aside from the sphere of supersonic transport with its quite limited portion of the jet market, the accomplishments of Boeing, McDonnell Douglas, and the rest of the American airframe and components manufacturers, have permitted the United States to dominate the jet industry for nearly forty years.

English has become the principal language of travel and commerce throughout the world, in large part due to American dominance of jet markets.

When a Korean jetliner lands in Germany, English is spoken between the pilot and the tower; when the pilot of a Brazilian Airlines 707 talks to an air traffic controller, English is the language again. It is the language spoken in cockpit simulators, pilot classrooms, and passenger lounges. It is even the language most often used by hijackers.

Jet aviation has been partly responsible for the proliferation of American styles, trends, attitudes, and even fast-food restaurants around the world. And there are those ultrafashionable souls who reputably spend much of their leisure time using the speedy transportation of jetliners to travel intercontinentally from resort to resort. They have become known, not inappropriately, as the "jet set."■

Ron David is a commercial pilot, and a free-lance writer and filmmaker in the areas of aviation, safety, and history who resides in Arlington, Virginia.

THUNDERSTORMS

BARBARA TUFTY

In late afternoon on a hot summer day, a wind breaks the oppressive heat, bends the grasses and shivers the leaves. A shadow skims across the ground, and the sky swiftly becomes overcast. From the dark underside of a cloud a sudden flash of lightning shoots forth, then a clap of thunder, and a downpour of rain. Another thunderstorm is lashing the earth.

At any moment, some 2,000 to 3,000 thunderstorms may be occurring in the world. They release enormous amounts of energy in the form of rain, hail, wind, thunder, lightning, and often tornadoes. Forming constantly in the tropics, thunderstorms occur most frequently in the warm spring and summer months in the temperate zones.

The frequency of these storms, and their violence and variety, make them one of nature's most consistently destructive forces. In the United States, lightning alone kills and injures some 600 people each year. Pelting hailstorms cause millions of dollars of damage by destroying crops and smashing windows, roofs of buildings, and vehicles. Flash floods from cloudbursts wash away houses and sections of highways, and sudden gusty downdrafts and squalls have capsized boats, flattened trees, and knocked over buildings.

Yet, these destructive storms are also beneficial. They help keep a balance of electrical discharge between the earth and the sky and bring essential rains to parched fields and forests. Even lightning, the great destroyer, sustains life by freeing nitrogen from the air which is washed by rain into the soil, and there becomes a vital element in the food chain for plants, animals, and humans.

A thunderstorm is a towering cloud system with storm "cells" of violent upward and downward air currents, powered by some of the most basic and wondrous dynamics of our planet. Thunderstorms are formed under unstable atmospheric conditions when warm moist air is lifted into cooler air by two kinds of convection: thermal, when the sun has been beating down on relatively flat locations, such as fields or forests, and warming the air over the ground; and mechanical, when a cold weather front moves in and pushes the warm air up.

As warm, moist air rises into higher, colder altitudes, the moisture begins to condense into tiny water droplets, and a cloud begins to become visible. This process of condensation releases latent heat energy into the cloud system, which further stokes the vigorous ascent of the updraft. As the updraft reaches higher into the atmosphere, billows of clouds begin to develop in shapes of cauliflower heads, castle turrets, domes, and visions of fantastic imaginative abodes.

At first the water droplets are too small and light to respond to the pull of gravity. But as they grow, they become heavy enough to fall as rain drops through the rising updraft. They start dragging down with them a heavy draft of cold wind that spreads out as it hits the earth's surface. This rush of cold air then moves under the surrounding warm,

MYRON WOOD/PHOTO RESEARCHERS

moist air, lifting it up, and starting the growth of another storm cell.

Each mature storm cell is a separate wind system containing a strong updraft and downdraft couplet that follows a special pattern of growth, maturity, and dissipation. It lasts for some twenty to forty-five minutes and then dies out. Severe thunderstorms form with three or four of these cells at various stages of development, which grow, replace those that die, and collapse in succession—a dynamic progression that can keep a storm going for several hours. Some huge storms generate an extraordinarily strong supercell—one of the remaining mysteries that meteorologists are now probing with doppler radar, three-dimension computer modeling, and other equipment.

A powerful cumulonimbus storm may tower as high as 40,000 to 50,000 feet, with its broad flat base extending over hundreds of miles. Such awesome, lonely giants can be seen for miles around, majestic with sunset colors of mauve, pink, rose, and yellow, bounded by deep purple or black shadows. The upper regions, often containing snow and ice crystals, may spread out in the characteristic shape of a blacksmith's anvil.

Once the downdrafts have become strong enough, they strangle the upward air currents that made the stormcloud cells rise like inflated balloons. The updrafts lose their strength, the rain diminishes, and the cold downdraft ceases. The weakened cells collapse, spread out, and die.

Now the air feels cool and refreshing. The sun shines through, perhaps lighting up raindrops like diamonds dripping from bushes and trees, and creating a rainbow. The storm has passed.

Barbara Tufty is a free-lance natural science writer residing in Washington, D.C. Her latest book is 1001 Questions Answered About Storms.

RELIGION AND NATURAL SCIENCE

The father of quantum theory attempts to cast some light on the question of whether a person trained in natural science can be truly religious at the same time.

MAX PLANCK

In former days, when a natural scientist had to address a general audience of laymen on a subject taken from his own special field of activity, in order to awaken a certain interest in the minds of his listeners, he would be forced to link his discourse to certain palpable experiences and views of daily life, in the fields of technology, meteorology, or biology, and to use these as his starting points to explain the methods applied by science in order to push forward from concrete individual problems to a knowledge of universal laws. Not so today. The exact methodology now employed by natural science has proved to be so extraordinarily productive in the course of centuries that natural-scientific research nowadays dares approach also problems intuitively less obvious than those lying within the fields just mentioned, and is able to tackle successfully also problems in psychology, in epistemology, indeed even in general attitudes toward life, thereby subjecting these problems to a treatment that is thorough from its own point of view. We may justly say that in these days no question, be it ever so abstract, can arise in our civilization without being related, in one way or another, to a problem that can be handled by the methods of natural science.

Accordingly, I will not appear to be too bold as a student of nature in discussing religious problems. This is a subject the significance of which for our entire civilization is becoming progressively more manifest and which will undoubtedly be of a decisive importance for the question as to the fate that awaits us.

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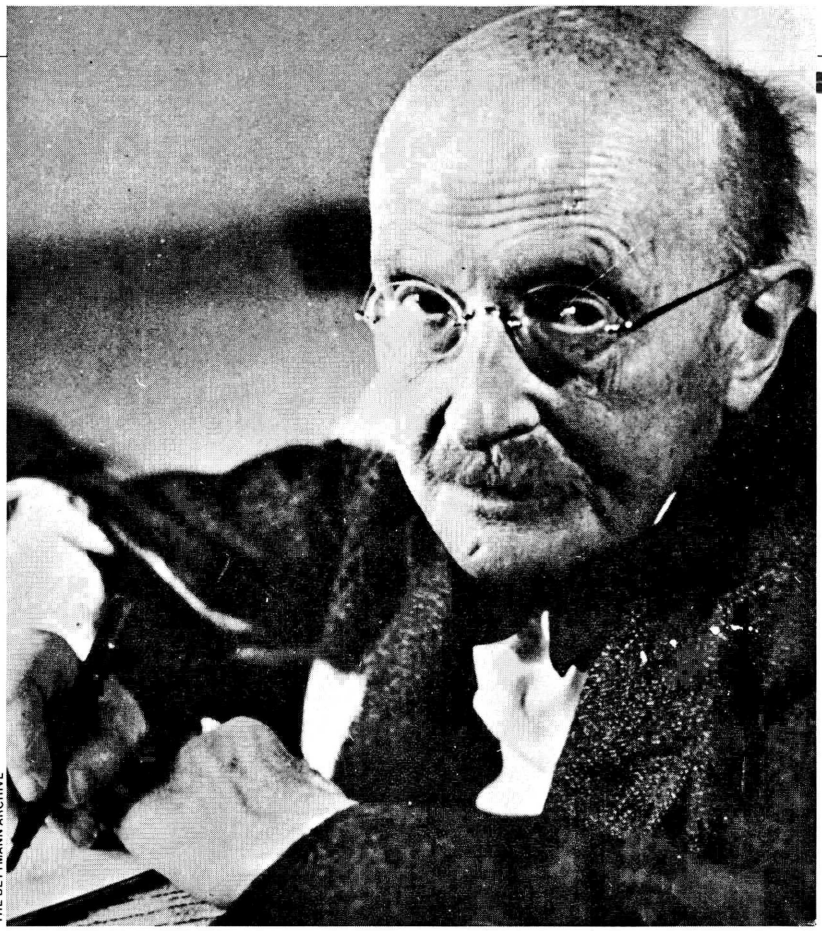
SCIENCE CHALLENGES CANDID FAITH

"Tell me—how do you stand to religion?"—If Goethe's *Faust* contains at all a simple phrase that captivates even a sophisticated listener and arouses a hidden tension within him, it must be this worried question of an innocent girl, in fear for her newly found happiness, to her lover whom she recognizes as a higher authority. For this very same question is the one which from time immemorial has innerly moved and worried countless human beings in search of peace of mind and knowledge at the same time.

But Faust, slightly embarrassed by this candid question, can think offhand only of this mildly defensive reply: *"I want to deprive nobody of his sentiments and his church."*

I could choose no better phrase to introduce our subject. I have not the slightest intention to loosen the foundation under the feet of those among you who have made peace with their conscience and have gained that firm foothold which is a prime requisite of one's conduct in life. To do so would be a reprehensible undertaking, unfair both to those who feel so



THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

Max Planck (1858-1947), German physicist and father of the quantum theory.

secure in their religious faith that they do not permit a natural-scientific knowledge to influence it in any manner whatever, as well as to those who feel no need for any particular religious activity and are fully contented with an intuitive ethics. But these latter are likely to represent a small minority only. For the history of all eras and races teaches us only all too impressively that the candid faith which nothing can confuse, such as that which religion instills in its followers who are busy in active life, is the very fountainhead of the mightiest incentives to significant creative achievements, in the field of politics no less than in the realms of art and science.

This candid faith—and let us not delude ourselves about this—no longer exists today, even among the great masses of the nation, nor can it be revived any longer by considerations and measures oriented toward the past. For "to believe" means "to recognize as a truth," and the knowledge of nature, continually advancing on incontestably safe tracks, has made it utterly impossible for a person possessing some training in natural science to recognize as founded on truth the many reports of extraordinary occurrences contradicting the laws of nature, of miracles which are still commonly regarded as essential supports and confirmations of religious doctrines, and which formerly used to be accepted as facts pure and simple, without doubt or criticism.

Therefore, he who is in earnest about his faith and cannot bear to see it conflict with his scientific learning, must decide in his conscience whether in all honesty, he may still consider himself a member of a religious community whose creed incorporates a belief in miracles.

For a while many could still find a certain temporary reassurance by trying to steer a middle course and limiting themselves to accepting as true a few miracles of especial importance. But such an attitude is untenable in the long run. The faith in miracles must yield ground, step by step, before the steady and firm advance of the forces of science, and its total defeat is indubitably a mere matter of time. The young generation of our own era, which in any case is sharply critical toward traditional views, no longer permits itself to be bound innerly by doctrines which it regards as contradictory to the laws of nature. And the spiritually most gifted members of the young generation in particular, those destined to be the future leaders of their nation and who not seldom harbor a burning desire for religious satisfaction, are

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the ones most painfully hit by such incongruities. They are the ones who must suffer most heavily if they are sincere in seeking a compromise between their religious and their scientific beliefs.

Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that the atheist movement which calls religion an arbitrary delusion invented by power-hungry priests and which has nothing but words of derision for the pious faith in a supreme power above man, is eagerly taking advantage of the progress of scientific knowledge; allegedly in alliance with natural science, the movement continues to spread at an ever-quickening pace its disruptive influence over all nations and classes of mankind. I need not go here into a more detailed discussion of the fact that the victory of atheism would not only destroy the most valuable treasures of our civilization, but—what is even worse—would annihilate the very hope for a better future.

Thus, Marguerite's question to the man to whom she gave her love and trust gains a most profound significance also for those who anxiously endeavor to find out whether the progress of natural sciences is actually bringing about a destruction of true religion.

If we study Faust's concise reply, spoken with all care and tenderness of feeling, we find that we cannot give it here as our own, for a double reason: First, we must remember that this reply, both in form and content, is designed for the power of comprehension of a simple uneducated girl, and is therefore not meant to impress the intellect as well as the emotions and the imagination. But then—and this consideration is of a more decisive importance —we must bear in mind that these words are spoken by a Faust ruled by sensual desire, a confederate of Mephistopheles. I am sure that the redeemed Faust, whom we meet at the end of the second part, would give a somewhat different answer to Marguerite's question. But I do not presume to conjecture on the secrets which the poet chose to keep permanently as his own. I prefer to attempt to cast some light, from the perspective of one trained in the spirit of exact scientific research, on the question of whether and to what extent a truly religious attitude is compatible with the facts of knowledge gained through natural science, or, to express it more concisely, whether a person trained in natural science can be truly religious at the same time.

For this purpose, first of all let us discuss two special questions quite separately from each other. The first one is: What demands does religion make on the beliefs of its followers, and what are the

characteristics of a genuine religious attitude? The second question is: What is the nature of the laws natural science teaches us, and what truths does it regard as indubitable?

Once we shall have answered these two questions, we shall be in the position to decide whether and to what extent the demands of religion are compatible with those of natural science, and therefore, whether religion and natural science can exist side by side without clashing with each other.

Religion Seeks A Universal Alliance

Religion is the link that binds man to his God. It is founded on a respectful humility before a supernatural power, to which all human life is subject, and which controls our weal and woe. To be in harmony with this power and to enjoy its good graces is the incessant endeavor and supreme goal of the religious person. Only in this way can he feel protected from the foreseen and unforeseen dangers which threaten him in this earthly life, and can he enjoy that purest of all happiness, the inner peace of mind and soul that is secured only by a firm link to God and by an unconditionally trusting faith in His omnipotence and benevolence. In this sense, religion is rooted in the consciousness of the individual.

But its significance transcends the individual. Instead of each individual possessing his own distinctive religion, religion seeks to become valid and meaningful for a larger community, for a nation, for a race, and ultimately for all of mankind. For God is the sovereign of every country on this earth; the whole world with all its treasures and all its horrors is subject to Him, and there is no portion either of the realm of nature or of the mind without His omnipresence.

Therefore, the spirit of religion unites its adherents in a universal alliance, and sets before them the task of mutually acquainting each other with their articles of faith and giving them a common manifestation. But this can be accomplished only by clothing the substance of religion in a definite external form, suitable because of its intuitive clarity for the creation of a mutual understanding. In view of the great diversity of the races of man and of their ways of life, it is only natural that this external form is quite different in different parts of the world, so that a large variety of religions have come into existence in the course of the ages. A common feature of all of them consists in the rather natural assumption of a personified or at least an anthropomorphic deity. This leaves room for the most diverse concepts of the attributes of God. Each religion has its own distinct mythology and also its own distinct rituals, elaborate to the most minute details in the more highly developed religions. These are the source of certain interpretive symbols of religious worship which are capable of acting directly on the imagination of the great masses, arousing their interest in religious matters and giving them a certain understanding of the deity.

The faith in miracles must yield ground, step by step, before the steady and firm advance of the forces of science.

Thus, a systematic unification of mythological traditions and a strict observance of solemn ritualistic customs invest the worship of God with an external symbolical form, and centuries of incessant observance and systematic education of generation after generation increase the significance of such religious symbols. The holiness of an unfathomable deity is translated into the holiness of intelligible symbols. They are a source of strong stimulation for the arts as well. In fact, the mightiest benefits ever enjoyed by art were the result of its becoming a servant to religion.

Yet, a careful distinction must be made here between art and religion. A work of art carries its significance essentially within itself. Even though, as a rule, it owes its origin to external circumstances and in consequence often awakens trains of thought moving at a tangent, still it is basically self-sufficient and requires no specific interpretation in order to be appreciated. This fact becomes most clearly evident in music, most abstract of all arts.

Religious Symbols

On the other hand, a religious symbol always points beyond itself. Its significance is never exhausted by its own features, however much venera-

tion it may enjoy because of its own age and the operation of a pious tradition. It is important to emphasize this because the development of civilization makes the high esteem enjoyed by certain religious symbols subject to certain inevitable changes in the course of the centuries, and it is in the interest of a genuine spirit of religion to establish the fact that what stands behind and above these symbols is unaffected by such changes.

To cite here just one of a great many specific examples: A winged angel has been regarded from time immemorial as the most beautiful symbol for a servant and messenger of God. But there can be found among persons trained in anatomy, some whose scientifically conditioned imagination does not permit them, despite their best intentions, to see any beauty in such a physiological impossibility. Nevertheless, this circumstance need have not the slightest adverse effect on their religious convictions. They ought, however, to be on their guard not to impair or destroy the pious attitudes of those who still find solace and edification in the sight of a winged angel.

But the overrating of the significance of religious symbols opens the gates to another, far more serious danger of an onslaught by the atheistic movement. It is one of the favorite techniques of the atheists, whose aim is the undermining of every true religious feeling, to direct their attacks against old-established religious rites and customs and to hold them up to ridicule or contempt as outmoded anachronisms. Through such attacks against symbols, they expect to hurt religion itself, and the more strange and conspicuous those views and customs are, the easier it is for the atheists to score a success. Many a religious soul has succumbed to these tactics.

The victory of atheism would not only destroy the most valuable treasures of our civilization, but—what is even worse—would annihilate the very hope for a better future.

Against this peril there is no better defense than to understand clearly and thoroughly that a religious symbol, be it ever so venerable, never represents an absolute value but is always only a more or less imperfect sign of something higher and not directly accessible to human senses.

Under these circumstances, it is quite understandable that the history of religions records the frequent recurrence of the idea to restrict or even to eliminate completely the use of religious symbols and to treat religion more as a matter of abstract reasoning. But even a brief reflection shows such an idea to be entirely inadequate. Without symbols, human beings could not communicate with each other at all. This applies not only to religious communication, but to all human transactions in secular daily life as well. Language itself is actually nothing else than a symbol for something higher—for thought. To be sure, individual words also arouse a typical interest in themselves, but viewed more closely a word is just a series of letters; its meaning lies fundamentally in the concept which it expresses. And it is basically of a secondary importance whether the concept is represented by one word rather than by another, in one particular language rather than another. If the word is translated into another langauge, the concept itself remains unaffected.

Another example: A flag is the symbol of the glory and honor of a regiment of soldiers. The older the flag, the higher its value. In the heat of the battle, the bearer of the flag considers it to be his supreme duty not to desert the honored emblem at any cost, to protect it with his own body if need be, even to give his life for it if he must. Yet, a flag is just a symbol, a piece of a bright-colored cloth. The enemy can capture it, soil it, mutilate it, but it can never destroy the higher concept of which it is the symbol. The regiment will still retain its honor, get a new flag, and, perhaps, exact suitable retribution for the insult to its emblem.

Just as in an army—and more generally in every community of men facing great tasks together—religion also finds symbols and their corresponding ecclesiastical rituals absolutely indispensable. They signify the highest and most venerated of all the products of human imagination directed heavenward. But we must never forget that even the most sacred symbol is of human origin.

Had mankind taken this truth to heart at all times, it would have been spared an infinity of woe and suffering. For the terrible religious wars, the horrible persecutions of heretics and their attendant

tragic consequences, are, in the last analysis, the outcome of conflicts between opposing propositions, each possessing a certain validity and each originating in the circumstances that a common abstract idea, such as the belief in an omnipotent God, was confused with its visible but distinct media of expression, such as ecclesiastic articles of faith. Certainly there is nothing more distressing than the bitter fight of two adversaries, each of whom is fully convinced of the rightness of his cause and is filled with honest enthusiasm for it, feeling that he must devote all his energy to the battle, even sacrifice his life in it. How much productive work could have been accomplished if in the domain of religious activity such valuable energies had been united instead of employed for mutual extermination.

The deeply religious individual who gives expression to his belief in God through a veneration of his beloved sacred symbols does not insist on them blindly, but has an understanding for the fact that there can be other persons as deeply religious as himself to whom other symbols are no less beloved and sacred—just as a definite concept remains unaltered whether it is expressed by one word or another, in one language or another.

Features of True Religious Conviction

But a comprehension of this state of affairs still does not explain the nature of the characteristic features of true religious conviction. For now another question, the one of the truly fundamental significance, must be answered: Does that higher power which stands behind the religious symbols and lends them their essential significance, dwell solely in the human mind, and is it obliterated also in the moment when that mind ceases to exist, or does it stand for something more? In other words: Does God live in the soul of the believer only, or does He rule the world independently of whether or not one believes in Him? This is the point at which minds part company basically and decisively. This question can never be cleared up scientifically, by logical conclusions based on facts. The answer is solely and exclusively a matter of faith—religious faith.

The answer of the religious person is that God exists, that He existed before there were human beings on the earth, that He holds the whole world, believers as well as disbelievers, in His omnipotent hands since the beginning of eternity, and that He will continue to rule from His heights inaccessible to human imagination long after the earth and everything on it will have crumbled to dust. All those who profess this belief and, filled by it with humility and unquestioning trust and devotion, feel protected by the Almighty from every danger in life, all those —but only those—may consider themselves truly religious.

This is the essential content of creed which religion requires its followers to profess. Let us now see whether and how these requirements are compatible with those of science, natural science in particular.

> The existence of these constants is a palpable proof of the existence in nature of something real and independent of every human measurement.

What Laws Does Science Teach Us?

In proceeding to examine what laws science teaches us and what truths it considers to be inviolable, our task will be simplified and our purpose fully served by keeping to the most exact of all natural sciences, physics. For this is the branch of science which, by every logic, could be expected to be the most likely to conflict with the demands of religion. Therefore, we are to inquire what kinds of discoveries physical science has made up to our most recent days, and what limits these might set for religious faith.

I hardly need to point out that, viewed historically and on the whole, the findings of physical research and the conclusions resulting from them do not exhibit a purposeless change, but have been steadily improving in precision and completeness until the most recent days, sometimes at a faster, at other times at a slower rate; and we, therefore, have every reason to regard the knowledge thus far accumulated by physical science as being of a lasting character.

What then is the substance of these findings? First of all, it must be noted that all data of physical knowledge are founded on measurements, and that

every measurement takes place in space and time with the orders of magnitudes varying from the inconceivably vast to the infinitesimally small. We can get an approximate idea of the distance of the cosmic regions from which a message can still reach us if we consider that light, which traverses the distance from the Moon to the Earth in a second or so, requires many millions of years to arrive from those regions to our planet. On the other side of the picture, physical science must calculate with spatial and temporal magnitudes the infinite smallness of which can be realized by the comparison of a head of a pin with our entire planet.

Measurements of the most varied kinds have been consistent in leading to the conclusions that all physical occurrences, without exception, can be reduced to mechanical or electrical processes, produced by the movements of certain elementary particles, such as electrons, positrons, protons, and neutrons; and both the mass and the charge of all of the particles are each expressed by an extremely small but quite definite number. The precision of this number increases with improvements in the accuracy of methods of measurement. These minute numbers, the so-called universal constants, are in a sense the immutable building blocks of the edifice of theoretic physics.

The Meaning of Universal Constants

So now we must continue with the question: What is the real meaning of these constants? Are they, in the last analysis, inventions of the inquiring mind of man, or do they possess a real meaning independent of human intelligence?

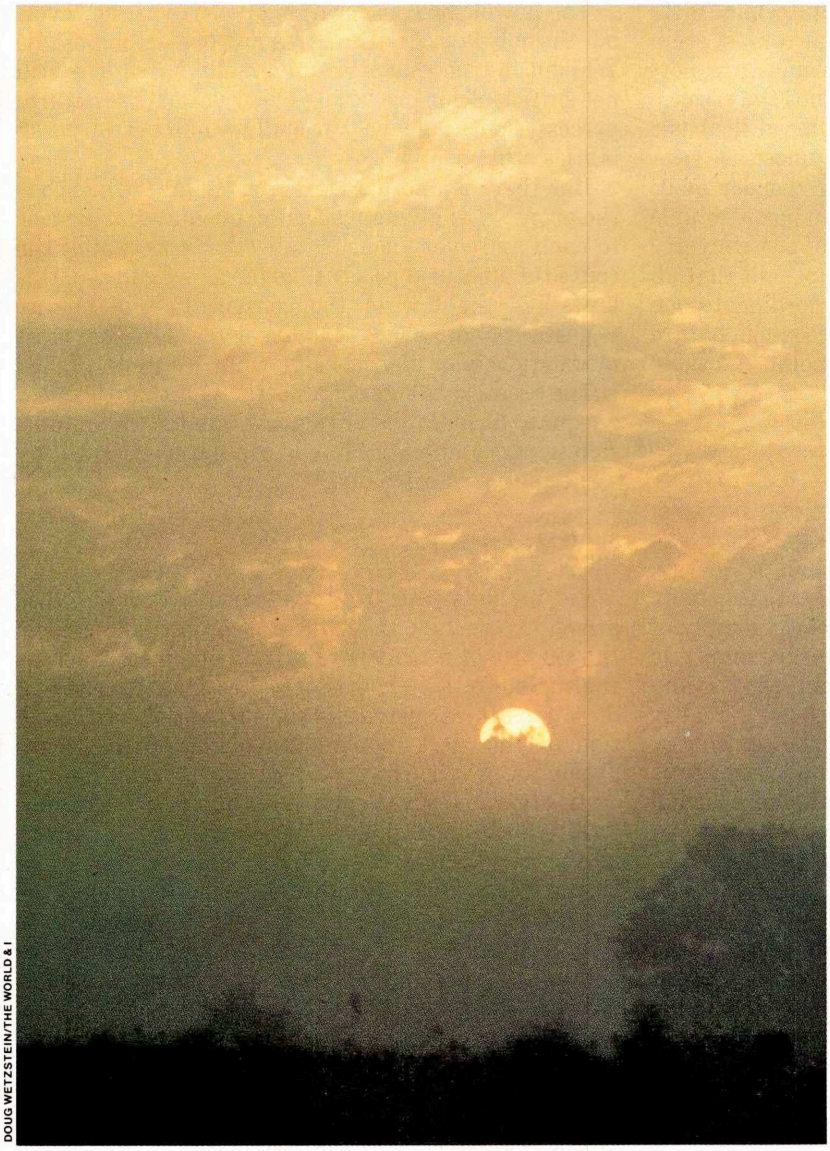
The first of these two views is professed by the followers of Positivism, or at least by its most extreme partisans. Their theory is that physical science has no other foundation than the measurements on which its structure is erected, and that a proposition in physics makes any sense only insofar as it can be supported by measurements. But since every measurement presupposes an observer, from the positivistic viewpoint the real substance of a law of physics can never be detached from the observer, and it loses its meaning as soon as one attempts mentally to eliminate the observer and to see something more, something real, behind him and his measurement.

This outlook cannot be challenged from the purely logical viewpoint. And yet, a closer examination must brand this version of it as inadequate and unproductive. For it disregards a circumstance which is of a decisive importance in the extension and progress of scientific knowledge. However much Positivism may regard itself as proceeding without presuppositions, it is nonetheless committed to a fundamental premise if it is not to degenerate into an unintelligible solipsism. This premise is that every physical measurement can be reproduced, so that its outcome depends neither on the personality of the individual performing the experiment, nor on the place and time of the measurement, nor on any other attendant circumstance. But this simply means that the factor which is decisive for the result of the measurement lies beyond the observer, and that one is therefore necessarily led to questions concerning real causal connections operating independently of the observer.

To be sure, it must be agreed that the positivistic outlook possesses a distinctive value; for it is instrumental to a conceptual clarification of the significance of physical laws, to a separation of that which is empirically proven from that which is not, to an elimination of emotional prejudices nurtured solely by customary views, and it thus helps to clear the road for the onward drive of research. But Positivism lacks the driving force for serving as a leader on this road. True, it is able to eliminate obstacles, but it cannot turn them into productive factors. For its activity is essentially critical, its glance is directed backward. But progress, advancement, requires new associations of ideas and new queries, not based on the results of measurements alone, but going beyond them; and toward such things the fundamental attitude of Positivism is one of aloofness.

Therefore, up to quite recently, positivists of all hues have also put up the strongest resistance to the introduction of atomic hypotheses and thereby also to the acceptance of the above-mentioned universal constants. This is quite understandable, for the existence of these constants is a palpable proof of the existence in nature of something real and independent of every human measurement.

Of course, even today a consistent positivist could call the universal constants mere inventions which have proved to be uncommonly useful in making possible an accurate and complete description of the most diversified results of measurements. But hardly any real physicist would take such an assertion



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seriously. The universal constants were not invented for reasons of practical convenience, but have forced themselves upon us irresistibly because of the agreement between the results of all relevant measurements, and—this is the essential thing—we know quite well in advance that all future measurements will lead to these selfsame constants.

To sum it all up, we can say that physical science demands that we admit the existence of a real world independent from us, a world which we can however never recognize directly but can apprehend only through the medium of our sense experiences and of the measurements mediated by them.

If we pursue this principle further, our outlook on the world takes a different form. The subject of the observation, the observing Ego, loses its position at the focus of thought and is relegated to a quite modest place. In fact, how pitifully small, how powerless we human beings must appear to ourselves if we stop to think that the planet Earth on which

we live our lives is just a minute, infinitesimal mote of dust; on the other hand, how peculiar it must seem that we, tiny creatures on a tiny planet, are nevertheless capable of knowing though not the essence at least the existence and the dimensions of the basic building blocks of the entire great Cosmos!

But this is still not the end of the wonder of it. Physical research has established as an incontestable fact that these basic building blocks of the Universe do not exist unrelated in isolated groups, but that all of them are mutually interlinked according to one uniform plan. In other words, every process in nature is subject to a universal and up to a point knowable law.

The Law of the Conservation of Energy

I want to mention at this place just one example: The law of the conservation of energy. There are various forms of energy in nature—kinetic energy, the energy of gravity, heat, electricity, magnetism. All the energies together form the energy supply of the world. The quantity of this energy supply is constant; it cannot be increased or diminished by any process in nature. All changes in nature are in reality simply the transformations of one form of energy into another. For instance, when kinetic energy is lost by friction, an equivalent quantity of thermal energy results.

The law of the conservation of energy is valid in every branch and field of physics, both according to the classical theory and to quantum mechanics. To be sure, there have often been attempts to challenge its precise validity in connection with the processes taking place within a single atom, and to assign to it a mere statistical significance for such processes. But every single experiment thus far undertaken has shown that such attempts are futile, and there is no reason to deny that the law of the conservation of energy is an absolutely and universally valid law of nature.

> Every process in nature is subject to a universal and up to a point knowable law.

The law of the conservation of energy is, however, not the only law of nature; it is just one among many. While it is true that it is universally valid, it is still not sufficient for predicting every detail of a natural process, since it leaves an endless number of possibilities still open.

But there is another, far broader law, which has the property of giving a specific, unequivocal answer to each and every sensible question concerning the course of a natural process; as far as we can see, this law—like the law of the conservation of energy—possesses an exact validity even for the most modern parts of physics. But what we must regard as the greatest wonder of all is the fact that the most adequate formulation of this law creates the impression in every unbiased mind that nature is ruled by a rational, purposive will.

The Least-Action Principle

Let me illustrate this by a specific example. It is a well-known fact that when a ray of light strikes the surface of a transparent body obliquely, such as the surface of water, it is deflected from its original direction after penetrating the surface. The explanation of this deflection is that light travels more slowly in water than in air. Such deflection, or "refraction," occurs also in the atmosphere, because light travels more slowly in the lower, denser strata of the atmosphere than in its higher layers. Now then, when a light ray emitted by a star reaches the eyes of an observer, its path will show a more or less complicated curve, due to the different degrees of refraction in the various atmospheric layers (unless the star happens to be exactly in the zenith). This curve is fully determined by the following simple law: Out of all the possible paths leading from the star to the eye of the observer, light will always follow the one which it can cover in the shortest time, allowance being made for the differences in its velocity in different atmospheric layers. Thus, the photons which constitute a ray of light behave like intelligent beings: Out of all the possible curves they always select the one which will take them most quickly to their goal.

This principle permits a large-scale generalization. According to all that we know about the laws relating to the processes taking place in any physical structure, we can characterize in all its details the course of each process by the principle that among

all the conceivable processes which can change the state of a given physical structure into another state during a certain time interval, the process which actually takes place is always one for which the integral over that time interval of a certain magnitude, the so-called *Lagrange function,* has the smallest value. Therefore, if we know the value of the Lagrange function, we can fully specify the course of the process actually taking place.

It is certainly no wonder that the discovery of this law—the so-called *least-action* principle, after which the elementary quantum of action was later also named—made its discoverer, Leibniz, and soon after him also his follower, Maupertuis, so boundlessly enthusiastic; for these scientists believed themselves to have found in it a tangible evidence for a ubiquitous higher reason ruling all nature.

In fact, the least-action principle introduces a completely new idea into the concept of causality: The *causa efficiens,* which operates from the present into the future and makes future situations appear as determined by earlier ones, is joined by the *causa finalis* for which, inversely, the future—namely, a definite goal—serves as the premise from which there can be deduced the development of the processes which lead to this goal.

So long as we confine ourselves to the realm of physics, these alternative points of view are merely different mathematical expressions for one and the same fact, and it would be futile to ask which of the two came nearer to the truth. The choice between them depends solely on practical considerations. The chief advantage of the least-action principle is that it requires no definite frame of reference for its formulation. This principle is therefore excellently adapted for carrying through transformation of coordinates.

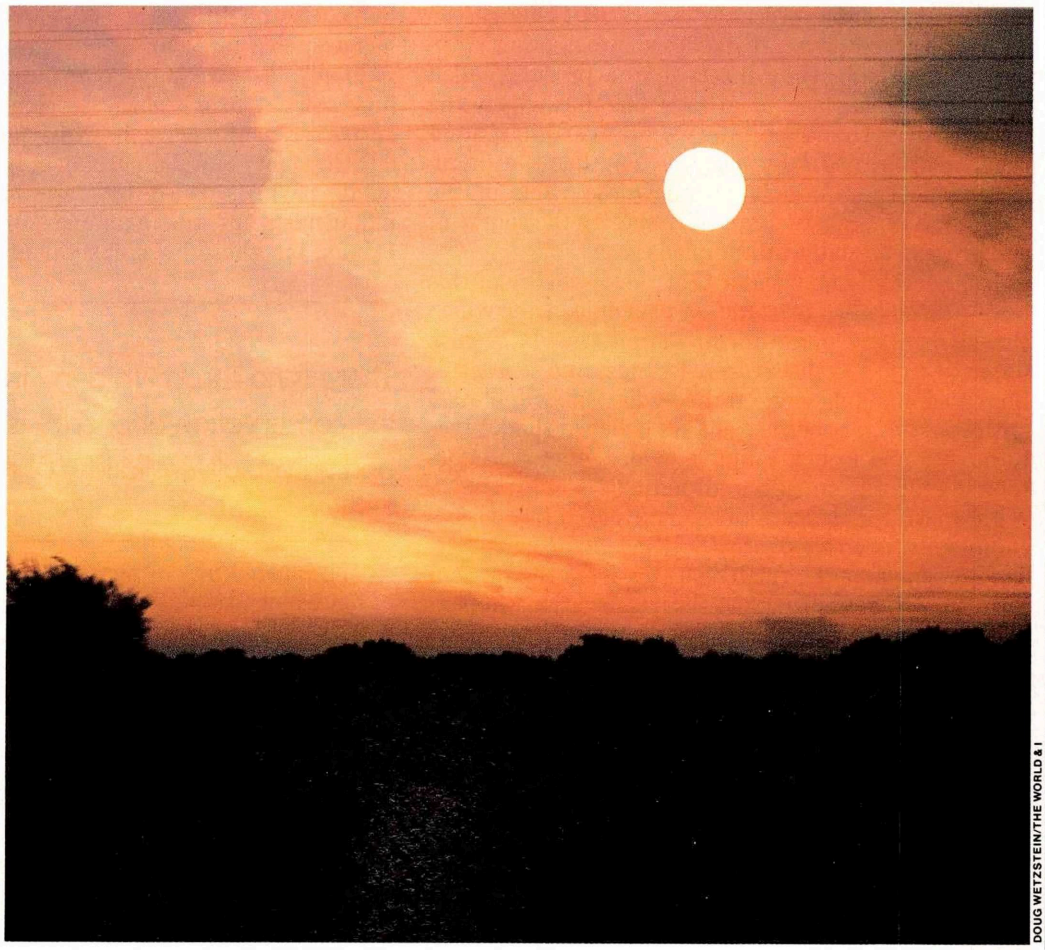
But we are now interested in questions of a more general character. It will suffice at this point to note only that the historical development of theoretic research in physics has led in a remarkable way to a formulation of the principle of physical causality which possesses an explicitly teleological character; but at the same time this formulation introduces nothing substantially new or even contradictory into the character of the laws of nature. The issue is simply one of different perspectives of interpretation, both of which are equally well justified by the actual facts. The situation in biology should be no different than we have found it in physics, although in biology the difference between the two viewpoints has assumed far sharper outlines.

In any case, we may say in summary that, according to what exact natural science teaches us, the entire realm of nature, in which we human beings on our tiny mote of a planet play only an infinitesimally small part, is ruled by definite laws which are independent of the existence of thinking human beings; but these laws, insofar as they can be at all comprehended by our senses, can be given a formulation which is adapted for purposeful activity. Thus, natural science exhibits a rational world order to which nature and mankind are subject, but a world order the inner essence of which is, and remains, unknowable to us, since only our sense-data (which can never be completely excluded) supply evidence for it. Nevertheless, the truly prolific results of natural-scientific research justify the conclusion that continuing efforts will at least keep bringing us progressively nearer to the inattainable goal, and they strengthen our inner hope for a constant advancement of our insight into the ways of the omnipotent Reason which rules over Nature.

There is no reason to deny that the law of the conservation of energy is an absolutely and universally valid law of nature.

Reconciling Science and Religion

Having now learned to know the demands which religion on one hand and science on the other hand place on our attitude to the most sublime problems of a generalized world outlook, let us now examine whether and to what extent these different demands can be mutually reconciled. First of all, it is self-evident that this examination may extend only to those laws in which religion and natural science conflict with each other. For these are wide spheres where they have absolutely nothing to do with each other. Thus, all the problems of ethics are outside of the field of natural science, whereas the dimensions of the universal constants are without relevance for religion.



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On the other hand, religion and natural science do have a point of contact in the issue concerning the existence and nature of a supreme power ruling the world, and here the answers given by them are to a certain degree at least comparable. As we have seen, they are by no means mutually contradictory, but are in agreement, first of all, on the point that there exists a rational world order independent from man, and secondly, on the view that the character of this world order can never be directly known but can only be indirectly recognized or suspected. Religion employs in this connection its own characteristic symbols, while natural science uses measurements founded on sense experiences. Thus nothing stands in our way—and our instinctive intellectual striving for a unified world picture demands it—from identifying with each other the two everywhere-active and yet mysterious forces: The world order of natural science and the God of religion. Accordingly, the deity which the religious person seeks to bring closer to himself by his palpable symbols is consubstantial with the power acting in accordance with natural laws for which the sense-data of the scientist provide a certain degree of evidence.

However, in spite of this unanimity a fundamental difference must also be observed. To the religious person, God is directly and immediately given. He and His omnipotent Will are the fountainhead of all life and all happenings, both in the mundane world and in the world of the spirit. Even though He cannot be grasped by reason, the religious symbols give a direct view of Him, and He plants His holy message in the souls of those who faithfully entrust themselves to Him. In contrast to this, the natural

scientist recognizes as immediately given nothing but the content of his sense experiences and of the measurements based on them. He starts out from this point, on a road of inductive research, to approach as best he can the supreme and eternally unattainable goal of his quest—God and His world order. Therefore, while both religion and natural science require a belief in God for their activities, to the former He is the starting point, to the latter the goal of every thought process. To the former He is the foundation, to the latter the crown of the edifice of every generalized worldview.

This difference corresponds to the different roles of religion and natural science in human life. Natural science wants man to learn, religion wants him to act. The only solid foundation for learning is the one supplied by sense perception; the assumption of a regular world order functions here merely as an essential condition for formulating fruitful questions. But this is not the road to be taken for action, for man's volitional decisions cannot wait until cognition has become complete or he has become omniscient. We stand in the midst of life, and its manifold demands and needs often make it imperative that we reach decisions or translate our mental attitudes into immediate action. Long and tedious reflection cannot enable us to shape our decisions and attitudes properly; only that definite and clear instruction can, which we gain from a direct inner link to God. This instruction alone is able to give us the inner firmness and lasting peace of mind which must be regarded as the highest boon in life. And if we ascribe to God, in addition to His omnipotence and omniscience, also the attributes of goodness and love, recourse to Him produces an increased feeling of safety and happiness in the human being thirsting for solace. Against this conception not even the slightest objection can be raised from the point of view of natural science, for as we pointed it out before, questions of ethics are entirely outside of its realm.

No matter where and how far we look, nowhere do we find a contradiction between religion and natural science. On the contrary, we find a complete concordance in the very points of decisive importance. Religion and natural science do not exclude each other, as many contemporaries of ours would believe or fear; they mutually supplement and condition each other. The most immediate proof of the compatibility of religion and natural science, even under the most thorough critical scrutiny, is the historic fact that the very greatest natural scientists of all times—men such as Kepler, Newton, Leibniz—were permeated by a most profound religious attitude. At the dawn of our own era of civilization, the practitioners of natural science were the custodians of religion at the same time. The oldest of all the applied natural sciences, medicine, was in the hands of the priests, and in the Middle Ages scientific research was still carried on principally in monasteries. Later, as civilization continued to advance and to branch out, the parting of the ways became always more pronounced, corresponding to the different nature of the tasks and pursuits of religion and those of natural science.

Religion and natural science do not exclude each other; they mutually supplement and condition each other.

For the proper attitude to questions in ethics can no more be gained from a purely rational cognition than can a general *Weltanschauung* ever replace specific knowledge and ability. But the two roads do not diverge; they run parallel to each other, and they intersect at an endlessly removed common goal.

There is no better way to comprehend this properly than to continue one's efforts to obtain a progressively more profound insight into the nature and problems of the natural sciences, on one hand, and of religious faith on the other. It will then appear with ever-increasing clarity that even though the methods are different—for science operates predominantly with the intellect, religion predominantly with sentiment—the significance of the work and the direction of progress are nonetheless absolutely identical.

Religion and natural science are fighting a joint battle in an incessant, never-relaxing crusade against skepticism and against dogmatism, against disbelief and against superstition, and the rallying cry in this crusade has always been, and always will be: *"On to God!"* ■

Max Planck (1858-1947) was a German physicist who introduced quantum theory in 1900 and played a central role in the development of modern physics. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1918.

SPEAKING OUT IN SCIENCE

Never reticent, Rosalyn S. Yalow, Nobel laureate and expert in nuclear medicine, now addresses public issues while continuing her scientific work.

DENNY TOWNSEND

After the Chernobyl nuclear disaster in April, reporters from around the world were scrambling for quotes from experts who could supplement the sketchy information offered by the Soviets. Speculation ran wild amid the vacuum of facts, with the Western press reporting mostly worst-case scenarios for the Soviet's closest neighbors.

Nobel laureate Rosalyn S. Yalow, who won the prize in 1977 for her work in nuclear medicine, was contacted by a Yugoslavian television station. What she said was decidedly different from what many others were saying.

"I told them that I doubted very much that the amount of radiation exposure outside of the Soviet Union would result in any negative health effects," she says in a matter-of-fact tone.

This remark was just the kind of bluntly stated opinion for which Yalow has been both lauded and disdained since becoming a Nobel laureate. She simply refuses to mince words. Her detractors have called her a "monster," and "reckless." Her friends and many other observers call her "brilliant," a "powerhouse," and "earth mother."

Whatever else she may be, she has become a formidable pro-nuclear spokesman in a nuclear-phobic society. Few can argue with her credentials. These encompass over thirty years of intimate acquaintance with radiation, not as destroyer but as healer, and her storehouse of scientific knowledge.

NUCLEAR MEDICINE

Until a few years ago she had been content to carry on with her work in nuclear medicine in a relatively quiet fashion at the Bronx Veterans Administration Hospital, where she is the senior medical investigator. It was there that she and her collaborator and friend of twenty-two years, the late Dr. Solomon A. Berson, developed the technique of *radioimmunoassay* (RIA), one of the most important medical innovations in this century. For this discovery she won the Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine.

RIA is a technique for measuring pharmacological and biologic substances in body fluids with radioisotopic tracers. Since Berson and Yalow first used RIA to measure insulin levels of diabetics, it has been adapted to hundreds of other applications, including the detection of the hepatitus virus, mass screening for hypothyroidism, and the detection and treatment of tumors. It may soon be used to assay for the AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome) virus.

Winning the Nobel Prize motivated Yalow to reexamine her life, she says, and to set for herself three major goals.

First, she decided to keep her laboratory going. "My strength is back there where everything is reasonable," she says. "I have to be able to go back there to recoup."

Second, she reaffirmed her commitment to clinical investigation. "I want to find a few very good people who will carry on in the way I feel it ought to be done," she says. Many of those people have been from developing countries. Presently she trains scientists from Taiwan, the People's Republic of China, and Japan.

"I have a strong conviction that they should go back home and do their work," she said. "For instance, twelve or thirteen years ago, one of the first people chosen for the Berson fellowship [named for

COURTESY OF ROSALYN YALOW

Rosalyn S. Yalow receiving the 1977 Nobel Prize in Medicine or Physiology.

her former research partner] was a doctor from the All-India Institute in New Delhi, because I believed the incidence of hypothyroidism of the newborn would be more prominent in the 'goiter belt' in India than it is in the United States.

"While he was in our lab he set up assays for thyroid hormones so he could take those techniques back. He went back, in fact, did screening in the goiter belt, and found that 10 percent of the babies were born with an underactive thyroid.

"You can't afford to treat all these babies, so you must prevent it [the disease]. As a result, the Indian government is now pouring money into iodized oil injections in women of childbearing age. I think this is very important."

Finally, winning the Nobel Prize gave Yalow a prominent platform from which she could discuss public issues. The public's fear of radiation exposure, moreover, has given her such an issue. "I work in the radiation field," she says, "which gives me expertise with respect to the biological effects of low-level radiation."

Dispelling Fear of Radiation

One of the first issues to bring her out fighting was nuclear waste. In November 1979 standard disposal sites were closed to radioactive materials, an idea Yalow found ridiculous. "The stuff we were sending out wasn't radioactive by any stretch of the imagination," she says. "About twenty-five years ago the old U.S. Atomic Energy Commission had given Sol Berson problems when he wanted to dispose of a rabbit that had had a few microcuries of radioactive carbon. I made a calculation of the amount of the carbon 14 in a year's garbage of the hospital. It was 100-fold more than a year's worth of those rabbits." The idea that any level of radiation exposure is harmful "was so unscientific," she says, "that I really had to take that one on."

Again, when it was proposed after the Three Mile Island nuclear accident in Pennsylvania in 1979 that potassium iodide (KI) be mass distributed to nearby residents, Yalow testified before a congressional subcommittee about the inadvisability of such a move. KI saturates the thyroid gland and blocks its uptake of most radioactive iodine. But Yalow contended that while this can give some protection from radiation consequences, the side effects and allergic reactions to KI could result in a repeat of the swine flu vaccine fiasco of 1976. In that episode, although the predicted swine flu epidemic did not occur, some recipients of the innoculation suffered harmful sequelae. In the Three Mile Island accident, no significant quantities of radiation escaped, and no one was injured.

Nonetheless, the public's deep-seated fear of radiation continues to exert an effect on public policy. During the Chernobyl incident, American businesses donated 9,000 pounds of potassium iodide (the equivalent of 600,000 doses) which was airlifted to Eastern Europe. Information about its administration or side effects has not been made public.

Nuclear power is a subject about which Yalow is particularly concerned. "Scientists have chickened out on the nuclear power issue," she says. "Probably 90 percent of knowlegeable scientists appreciate that nuclear power is the way to go [for generating needed electric power supplies]. But how many are going out speaking to their churches, their PTAs, their synagogues, and the League of Women Voters? Someone has to stand up and tell it like it is."

She anticipates that because of public fears generated by the Chernobyl disaster in the Soviet Union, in which several persons died and many thousands had to be evacuated because of hazardous radiation, the American nuclear power industry will probably be unable to expand for the next decade. "But then we'll have to turn right around and buy the technology from France and Japan. They're not going to stop using and developing it. Somewhere between 50 and 60 percent of the power in France is nuclear-generated. What else can they do? They don't have coal, gas, or oil, and they are not stupid.

"The estimated world population growth will result in about ten billion people in fifty years. We can't feed ten billion people unless we have abundant power. To me this is the heart of the issue. Either we have a good source of power, or we're going to doom the Third World and much of our own. With power we can desalinate the sea, we can make fertilizer, everything we need to keep people alive."

Becoming a Woman Scientist

Though Yalow says that she never felt as though she were fighting, from the beginning of her career she faced challenges that would probably have seemed insurmountable to many others. Though she was Phi Beta Kappa and graduated magna cum

laude from Hunter College in New York in 1941, she expected that she would have trouble finding a graduate school subsidy. When one of her professors wrote to Purdue University regarding an assistantship, the reply was "She is Jewish, she is a woman. If you can guarantee her a job afterward, we'll give her an assistantship."

"I had some very good professors at Hunter, though," she says, "who pushed and encouraged me at that time. One of them got me a job as a medical secretary to Dr. Rudolph Schoenheimer at the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia Medical School. He told me, 'In case you don't get a graduate assistantship, you can take graduate courses for free.' Nowadays if you tell a woman she should take a job as a secretary to get graduate courses for free you'd hear plenty about it. But I thought it was a great idea.

"For a woman to succeed in physics when I succeeded," she says, "I had to be willing to stand up for myself and not be afraid to take positions. At the Veterans Administration, I was a Ph.D. in an M.D. environment and I hadn't served in the armed forces. I could easily have been an unimportant person and I recognized this very quickly. In order to get ahead I couldn't afford to be reticent when I knew something."

When Berson died in 1972, some were doubtful that Yalow would be awarded the Nobel Prize because no survivor of a scientific team ever had received the prize. A voting member of the Nobel Prize Committee once said her chances were finished.

However, instead of retiring, she began a period of intense work at her laboratory—eighty to one hundred hours per week—and she published numerous research papers and received a dozen medical awards, including the Albert Lasker Basic Medical Research Award, the first given to a woman.

Then, finally, eighteen years after she and Berson had published their first paper on RIA, the Nobel Prize came.

One might expect Yalow to be involved in the feminist movement. She is not. "I am not a feminist," she says. "I believe in equal opportunity, but I don't like reverse discrimination. Fifty percent of every field doesn't have to be filled by women. Fifty percent of mothers aren't men."

For many years she was spending full days at work while continuing to keep a traditional kosher Jewish home for her husband and their two children, a son, Benjamin, and a daughter, Elenna. Nonetheless, she refuses the "supermom" label.

"But when I go out to a university and sit next to the president at the luncheon they give in my honor, and he tells me about the woman they made professor, I want to know what he's done about day-care centers," she says. "I was fighting for that in 1961."

In her Reply to students of Stockholm at the Nobel Prize awards dinner, she offered these words of encouragement to women: "We still live in a world in which a significant fraction of people, including women, believe that a woman belongs and wants to belong exclusively in the home; that a woman should not aspire to achieve more than her male counterparts and particularly not more than her husband. We cannot expect in the immediate future that all women who will seek it will achieve equality of opportunity. But if women are to start moving toward that goal, we must believe in ourselves or no one else will believe in us, we must match our aspirations with the competence, courage, and determination to succeed, and we must feel a personal responsibility to ease the path for those who come after us. The world cannot afford the loss of half its people if we're to solve the many problems that beset us."

"I had to be willing to stand up for myself and not be afraid to take positions."

Preventive Medicine for Amputees

A conversation with Yalow reveals that there are many issues about which she cares strongly, and the cause of veterans is near the top of her list. "I feel that out of all the veterans, the ones to whom we owe the most are the amputees," she says. She recently proposed that the Veterans Administration begin a clinical research program focusing on preventive medicine for amputees.

"In 1979, the National Academy of Sciences did a study that demonstrated that double amputees [of two limbs] were three and a half times more likely to die of heart disease than other amputees [of one

COURTESY OF ROSALYN YALOW

Yalow in the laboratory where she and her colleague, the late Dr. Solomon A. Berson, developed radioimmunoassay (RIA), a technique for measuring substances in the body fluids with radioisotopic tracers.

arm or one leg]. In our research, we compared the double amputees with single arm amputees and looked at various risk factors. Of the double amputees we studied, half of them became obese and hypertensive shortly after injury. Our preconception was that this was because they were going to be sitting around in wheelchairs with little physical activity so that they had a reduced responsiveness to insulin that would lead to increased incidence of diabetes.

"But, in fact, all of them had been marines, which meant that they passed high physical requirements to get in. Even after the injury they were remarkably active people.

"It turns out that those who have acute onset of obesity in fact are hypertensive. They have marked hyperinsulemia [significantly elevated levels of insulin in the blood], higher than any other group we've seen.

"We would now like to identify the mechanisms and attempt to interfere with the progress of this disease. These men are Vietnam veterans, in their mid-thirties, not old men. Something can and should be done.

"But publicity isn't given to this, it is given to the so-called atomic veterans [those who were exposed to

nuclear explosion] who received relatively small doses of radioactivity," she says.

"What bothers me is the way in which public law 9672 is written. It provides certain advantages in terms of medical care to those who received radiation exposure as a result of atom bombs...not that you had a shrapnel wound and they took an X ray of you. Not that you were a radiology technician in World War II where as part of their training they were taking pictures of each other. My claim is that you should set the level of radiation exposure that you want irrespective of the source of radiation and then compensate all vets equivalently."

Yalow occasionally speaks to science teachers.

"One of my things nowadays is, in order for science to be acceptable it is important that the public be educated," she says. "Science for the citizen. I try to encourage the science teachers. I point out to them that they should be designing programs for high schools and elementary schools. Who is teaching these students to compare nuclear power with coal and solar power? These things have to get into the schools at a very early age."

Childhood Attraction to Science

Her own attraction to science started in childhood. Even when she was too young to go to school she liked to browse in her neighborhood library in the Bronx in New York where she lived with her parents, Clara and Simon Sussman, and her brother, Alexander. Though her parents had not gone to school beyond the elementary level, they instilled in her a love for learning and were proud of her excellent grades. She was particularly good at mathematics, and her parents encouraged her to enter college even though they could not afford to send her. Finally, she was accepted at Hunter College, then an all-women's college, which was tuition-free.

The draft of young men into the armed forces during World War II opened a university position for her at the University of Illinois in 1941. When she arrived she found out that she was the only woman among 400 men on the junior faculty of the College of Engineering. On her first day there she met Aaron Yalow, another graduate student, whom she married two years later. He is now a professor at Cooper Union School of Engineering in New York.

When Yalow and her collaborator, Berson, first sent a paper about their history-making discovery of radioimmunoassay to two prestigious professional scientific journals, *Science* and *The Journal of Clinical Investigation,* the editors did not believe their research and refused to publish the paper. The *Journal* eventually published it, but only after the elimination of some key phrases which later turned out to be among the most important aspects of their discovery.

The scientific community was slow to accept the concept of radioimmunoassay even though the technique makes possible measurements of incredibly small concentrations of materials. For example, one expert explained that measuring the quantity of insulin in a test tube of blood with a radioimmunoassay is like detecting a teaspoon of sugar in a lake sixty-two miles wide and long and thirty feet deep. Once these capabilities were recognized, they caused a virtual revolution in aspects of biological research.

"We made a scientific discovery and gave it to anyone who wanted to use it."

Yalow and Berson did not want to apply for a patent. The method was a priceless gift to the world. "We made a scientific discovery and gave it to anyone who wanted to use it," says Yalow.

In spite of her commitments to her cadre of causes, Yalow insists that she did not become a scientist in order to help the world. "Oh no. You do science for the sake of doing science. You have to do it because you love the excitement and hope of discovery. Having been so successful, I look at myself and say 'the world has given me everything. Now what can I do?'

"One might say what I did for the world was to be a good scientist. On the other hand, I'm over sixty and not going to win another Nobel, so I am now taking up some of these issues.

"I understand the position I'm in," she concludes. "I have achieved my place in history. I don't have to do anything unless I want to do it, and I've discovered that there are many things that I want to do." ■

Denny Townsend is a writer and editor at The Washington Times, *Washington, D.C.*

ART

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COLORFUL MARGARET PUTNAM
Marian H. Tatu
Although paralyzed from the waist down and stricken with an incurable disease, Texas artist Margaret Putnum continues to produce paintings filled with joy and mystery.

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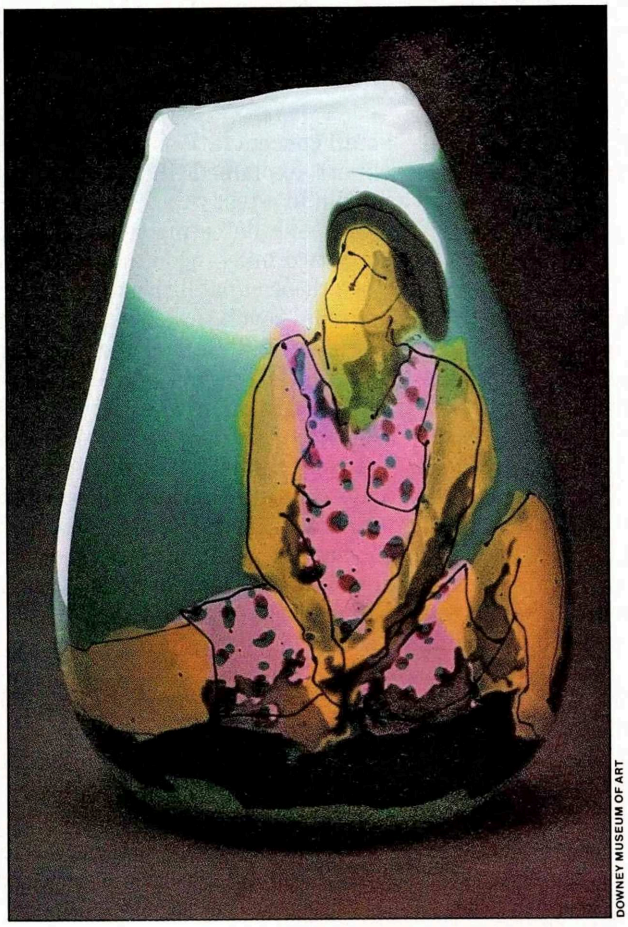
MONTREAL HOSTS SHOW OF 7,000 YEARS OF CHINESE ART
Christopher Hume
Billed as the largest collection of art and artifacts ever to leave the Orient, *China: Treasures and Splendors* is drawing droves of visitors to Montreal's Palais de la Civilisation.



DOWNEY MUSEUM OF ART

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THE NETHERLANDS OPERA *FIDELIO*
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Tom Skerritt is an actor who is bound to become more familiar to moviegoers this summer with the release of two new films.

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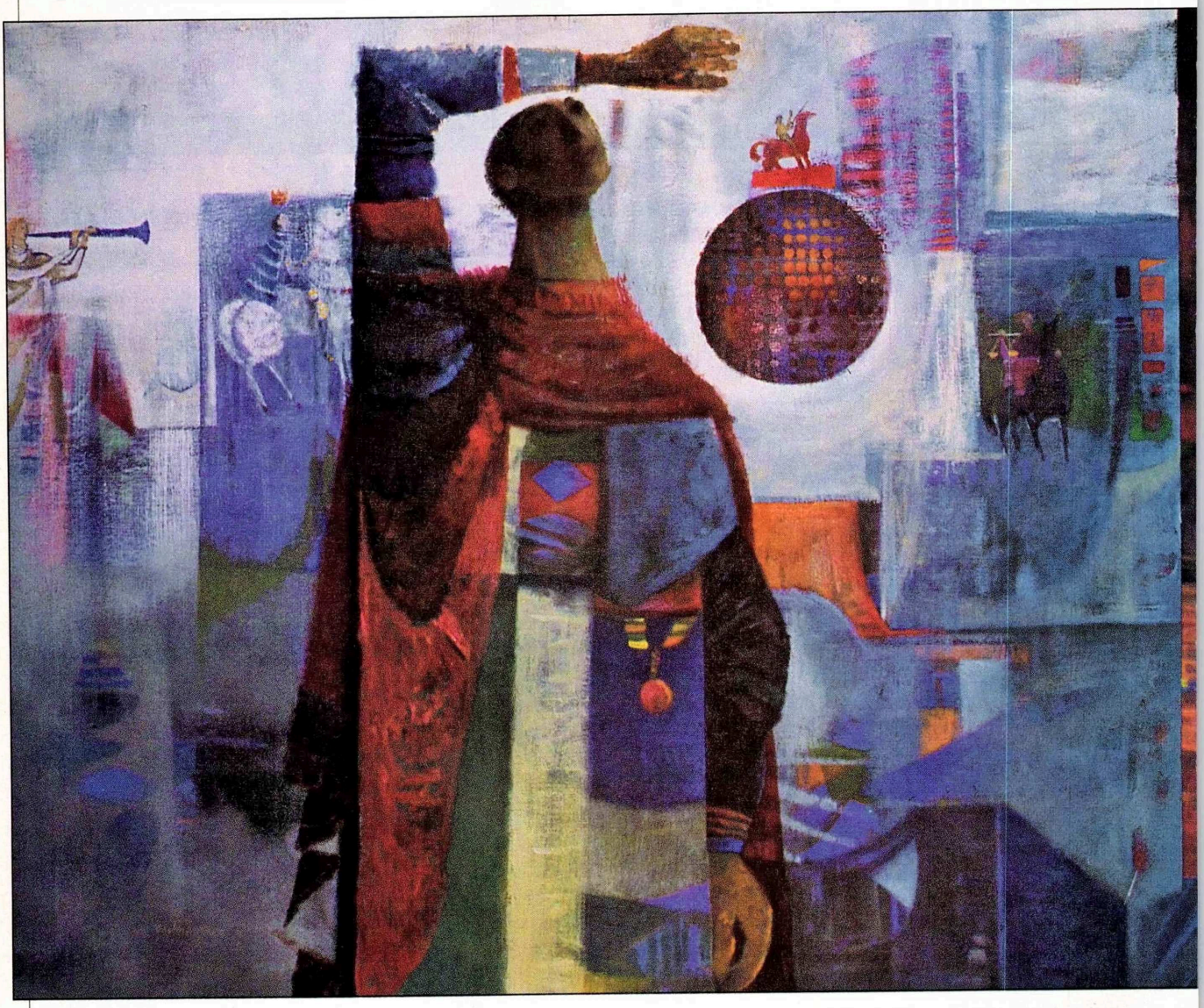
The works of an American contemporary classical artist are featured.

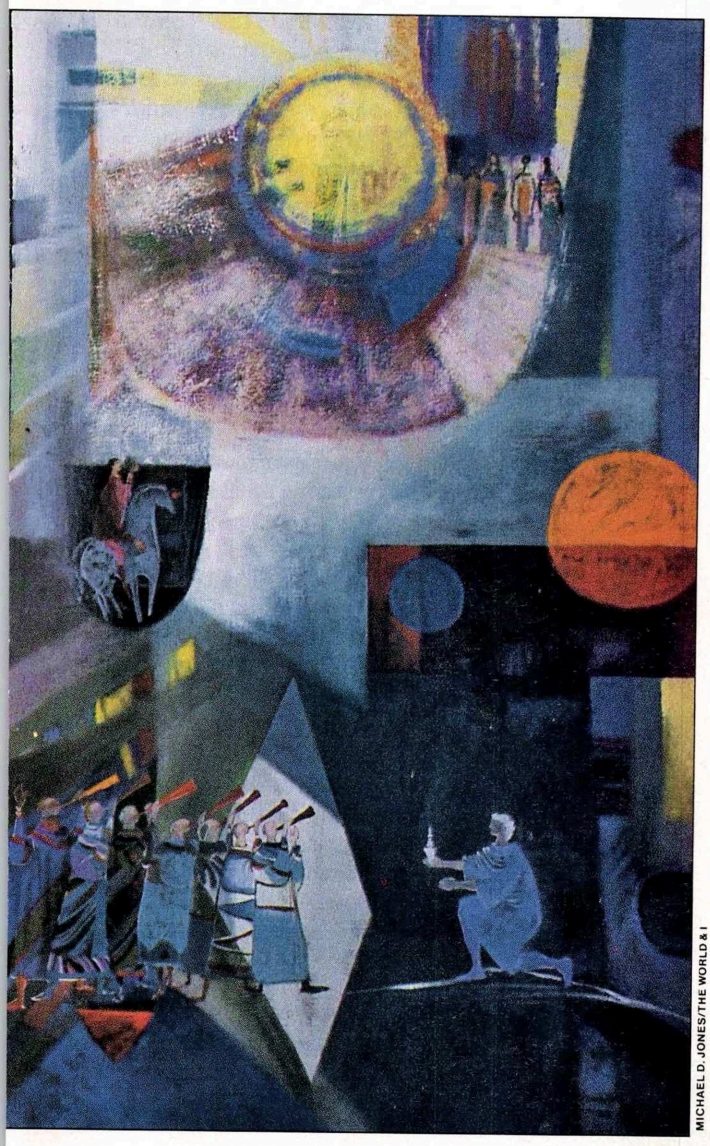


Colorful Margaret Putnam

BY MARION H. TATU

Deep in the heart of Texas, drowsing placidly in the prairie sun, is that famous symbol of last-stand courage—the Alamo. Nearby, a few blocks up the street, in the little arts and crafts community of La Villita, artist Margaret Putnam paints every day.

Although paralyzed from the waist down and stricken with an incurable disease, she continues to produce exquisite, expressive pictures filled with radiant colors and undefined joy, pictures which must be viewed as the triumph of art over life.



MICHAEL D. JONES/THE WORLD & I

The Seven Symbols, *an oil painting commissioned by the Four Seasons Hotel in San Antonio, Texas, and hanging in the Hidalgo Room.*

I paint seven days a week because there is nothing I'd rather do.

"I paint seven days a week because there is nothing I'd rather do. It's such a delight. Sometimes, I feel like I'm still a child, playing with colors," she says happily.

But at seventy-two, and confined to a wheelchair, Margaret Putnam is neither playing with colors, nor is she a child. She is a remarkable woman, a talented artist, and, in the real spirit of the Alamo, she represents true Texas grit.

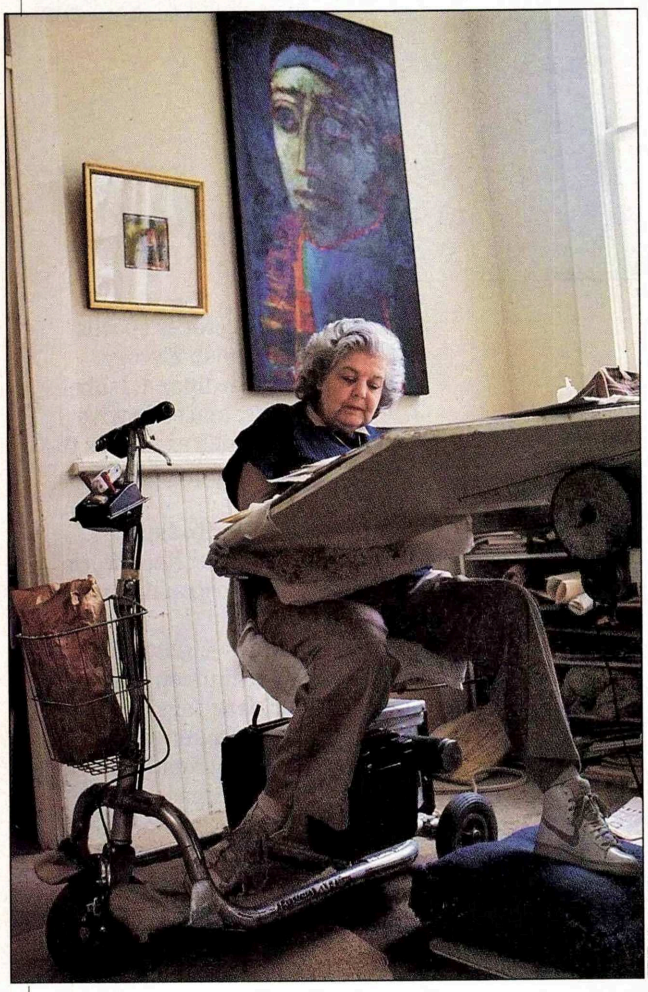
Margaret had always liked painting a big picture. Her strokes were broad, her colors bold, her paintings powerful and expressive. Her 18-by-7-1/2 foot mural at the top of the San Antonio Hilton Hotel is an example of the size she was comfortable with. An ambitious project, the mural traces epochs and events in Spanish history; then centers on Ferdinand, Isabella, and Columbus; and ends with the launch of Spanish explorers to our continent in search of the Seven Cities of Gold.

"It took me a year to finish it," she remembers. "But I liked working on something so grand in scope and big in size."

That was twenty-eight years ago. Today, she paints on narrow strips of paper, fractions of the canvases she once managed. Stricken with amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), a disease often compared with polio, and one that kills through slow paralysis, Margaret may have been forced to modify the size and style of her paintings, but not her creative enthusiasm. She remains undaunted, and the strength of her artistic vision propels her forward.

Some years ago, when Margaret worked on large canvases and painted mainly in oils, she also experimented with combining watercolors and a wax-resist technique usually associated with the creation of batik. She has refined this combination process and employs it today to create her unusual pictures. "We call it the Putnam Technique," says Nicola Bushmill, one of the artist's devoted art students and helpers at her studio and shop, Artworks Pallisado.

Margaret paints figures and



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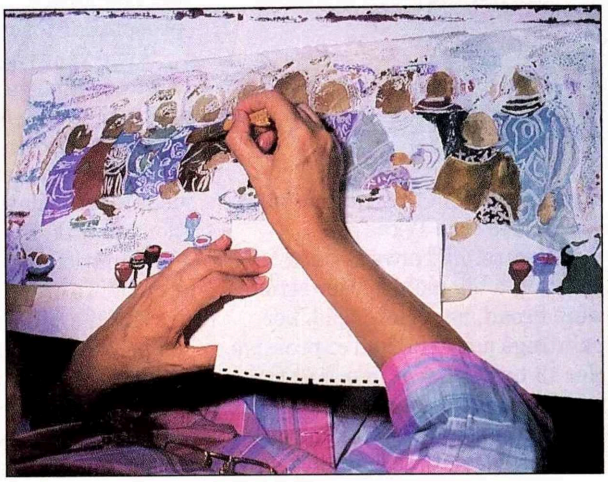
Margaret Putnam at work in her studio, the Artworks Pallisado.



MICHAEL D. JONES/THE WORLD & I

Renee Amitai, a student of Mrs. Putnam's, applies melted beeswax as part of the Putnam Technique.

scenes on narrow strips of handmade paper which are then treated with wax. These waxed watercolors are partially scored, cut with a knife, and rubbed with dye or more paint. The wax is hand-removed with heat, and in the process colors meld and change, and the paper wears thin and appears to age. The pieces become brittle and sometimes fragment. Margaret then meticulously assembles a picture of the pieces of people, places, and things, working—as one reviewer noted—with the intensity of a watchmaker. The fragments are shifted, aligned, overlapped, layered, and repainted until she feels she has captured the essence of her vision. She may add gold leaf or Japanese tea paper. The result looks delicate, like old parchment or an antique scroll that has worn away in places to reveal glimmers of gold beneath.

"It's an exciting process," she says. "The picture keeps changing in my mind and changing in my fingers as I work and worry the paper. I believe the artist's vision changes as you try to capture it. It's not as though you see it all perfectly from the beginning. You add here, subtract there, and keep on adjusting till it's right. There are many decisions along the way."

Her pictures are vibrant with color. The figures are handsome and primitive, the scenes curious and compelling. The longer you look, the more you see. A brooding eye suddenly glints with a tiny flash of silver. Women wearing tribal dresses dance by...or are they running from something? In several paintings, two men stand shoulder to shoulder, overwhelming the scene with their brilliantly colored

clothing. In other paintings there are different levels, and in the background people cluster and whisper, play strange instruments, or sail away in ancient boats. The beauty is decorative, the design pleasing, yet interwoven with a sense of tension and mystery. Who are these people? Where are they? And what is going on?

Titles—*Joseph; Centurion; The Mystery*—give clues, but as in the most provocative and evocative art, no definitive answers. Enigmatic about the who and where of her pictures, Margaret says she is inspired by legend and poetry.

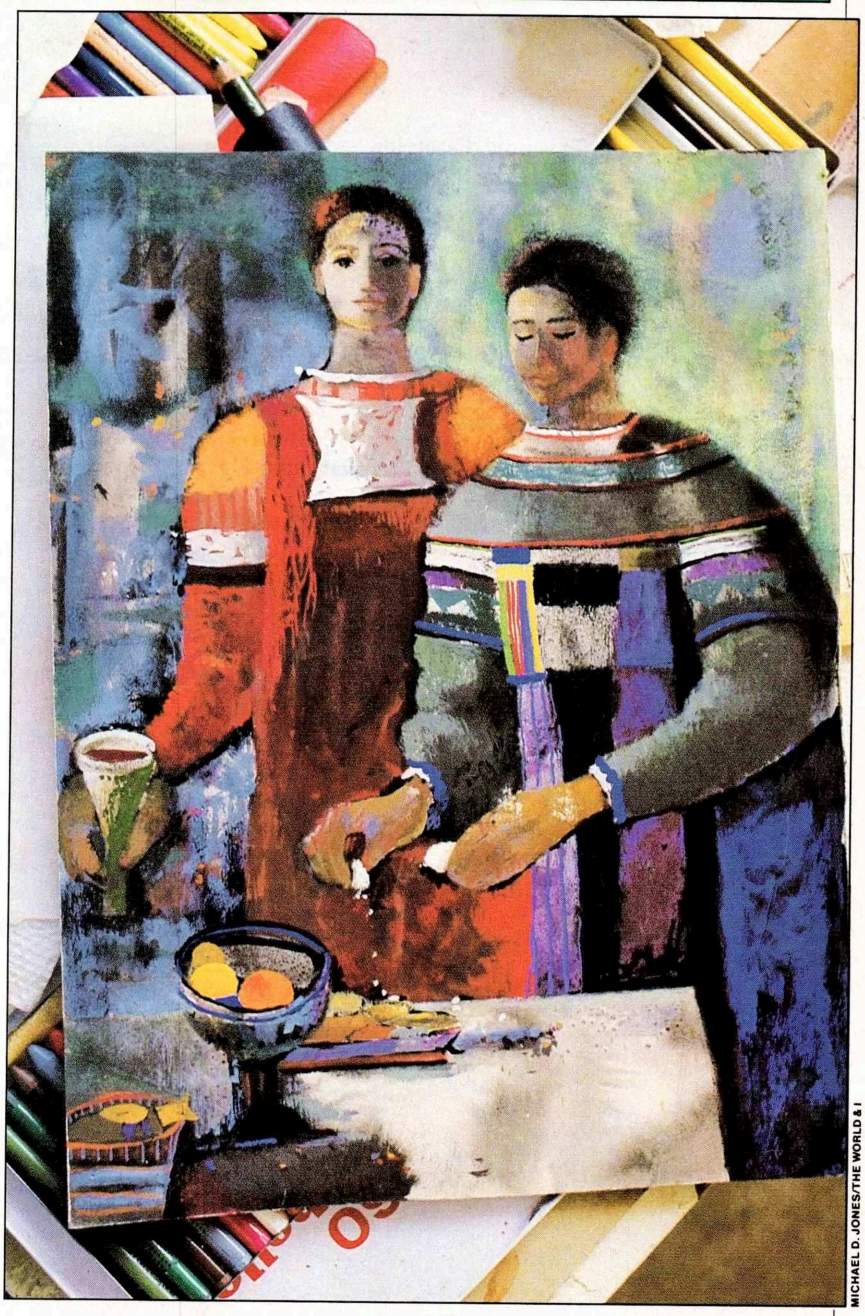
"Something triggers imagery within me, nonspecific, but emotional, and I try to communicate that feeling without being specifically illustrative. Also, I don't like single channels; I like opposites coming together, good and bad, strong and weak. We live in a complex world. We, each one of us, are so many people wrapped up in one. I try to show some of that complexity, that mystery, in my art."

Many of her themes have biblical references, though the interpretation is very personal. "When I was a little girl, I was entranced by the wonderful stories my Bible teacher, Miss Daisy B. Ward, would tell our class. She was a gifted storyteller, and she made the stories of the Bible come alive."

One story in particular has lingered in Margaret's memory. It is that of the two disciples returning to Emmaus after the crucifixion. They meet a stranger whom they do not recognize as Christ until after they have shared the evening meal, and he disappears.

Margaret likes the mystery and the marvel of such a meeting. These disciples are the two men who dominate many of her paintings. They wear dramatic colors, their strong shoulders outlined in gold. The hands are large, the heads small, and the eyes shadowed, pensive.

"People ask me why the heads are smaller than normal. I can't say, except it looks right that way to me," she says thoughtfully.



MICHAEL D. JONES/THE WORLD & I

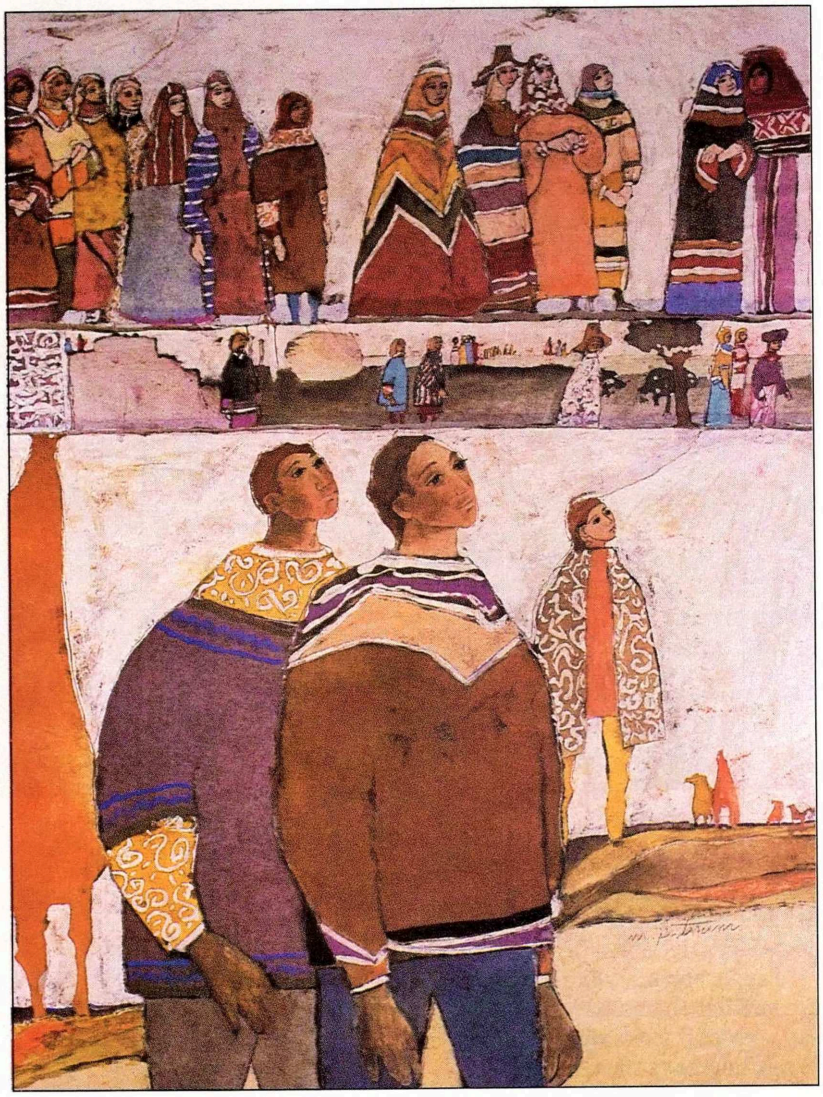
Emmaus Theme, *a watercolor near completion in Margaret Putnam's studio.*

This mild distortion adds to the power of the figures. It's as though a camera is shooting from the ground up. The figures seem to soar upwards with mighty torsos and big, strong hands.

Many of her pictures send out currents of strength and intensity, partly through the dominant figures, and partly through the force of color. Splendid color is Margaret Putnam's trademark. Her paintings stimulate the eye and stir the imagination with the rich interplay of color. Some subjects showcase this love of color; she's done a series of biblical Josephs with multihued coats, and her next series will be of Harlequins.

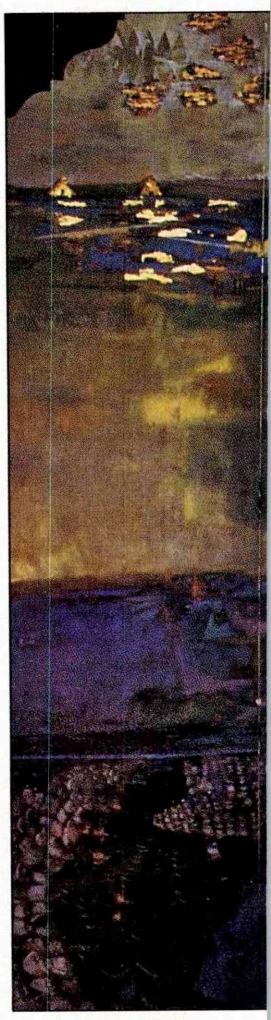
"I like the color possibilities of the Harlequin, of course, but also, there is a mystical quality about the Harlequin. He's such a strange personage, isn't he? His costuming is curious, bizarre. Then, there's his mask and the pull between good and evil; it's a quotient I like."

> I have learned one must treasure each day and enjoy doing whatever gives you the most pleasure.

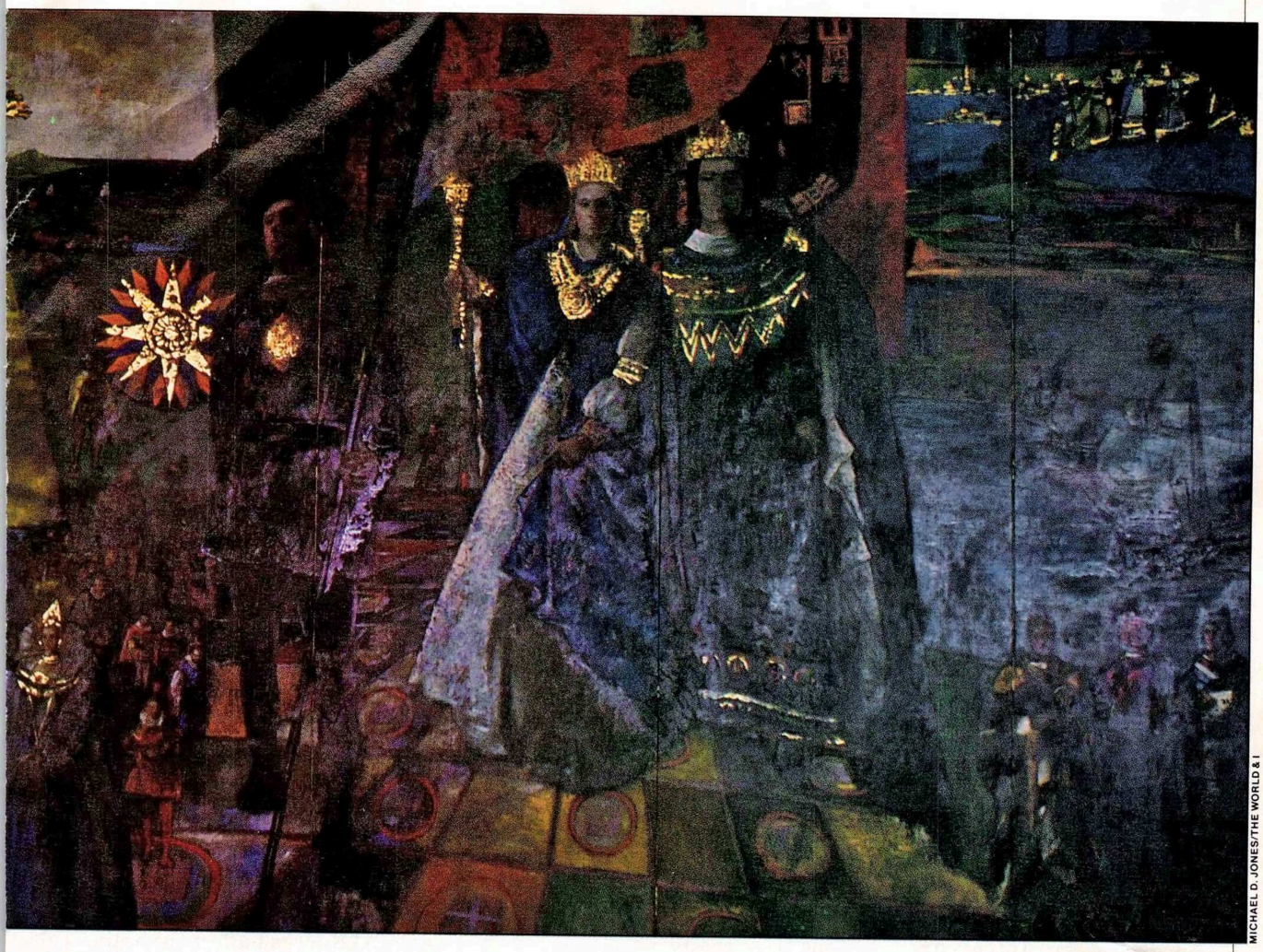


MICHAEL D. JONES/THE WORLD & I

A painting from Minstrel Series*—an example of the finished Putnam Technique.*



Mural commissioned by the Palacio Del Rio Hilton in San Antonio.



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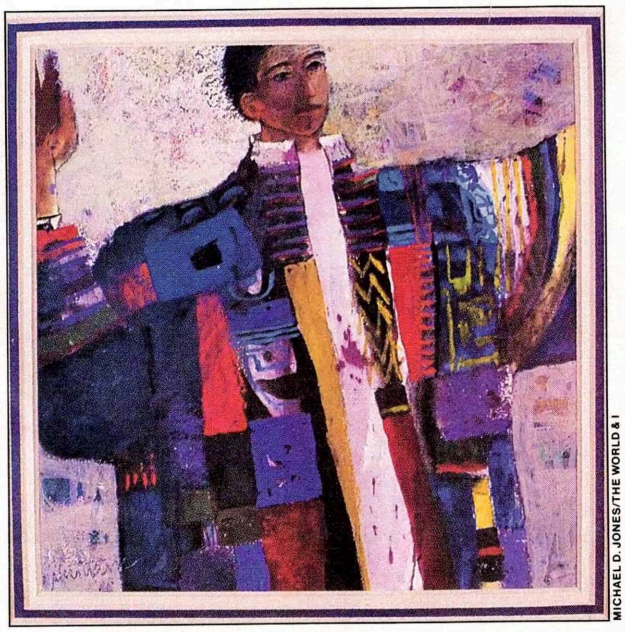
As she speaks of Harlequins and other future projects, Margaret is vivacious and pretty, looking much younger than her seventy-two years. She talks hopefully of finishing the large unfinished oil paintings that hang on the walls of her studio, lean in the corners, or wait patiently on easels. They are poignant reminders of earlier days when she painted eighteen hours at a stretch with bold strokes, strong thrusts of color, and much gusto.

"With oils, I put in everything in the beginning. Then I subtract. I go from complex to simple, but the complex is there underneath, and it gives a life and a force you can feel and sense."

She has politely declined all offers to buy the oils in their current unfinished states. "They aren't done; the colors and the transitions are not finished. The large areas of color contrast too greatly. They must come together with much more elegance," she says firmly.

Margaret dreams of finishing the large oils, but as the disease has long since prohibited such use of her arms, it seems unlikely. However, the creative fire burns brightly in Margaret, and the spirit is ever willing. She is a determined artist, a woman of courage and vision, and she is aided and abetted by Dutch, her totally supportive engineer-husband. He designed the special easel that she works on every day with her small strips of paper. And he is currently grappling with the concept of pulleys and supports that would hold Margaret's arms and enable her to make those elegant transitions from what she



Joseph, *a watercolor by Margaret Putnam.*

MICHAEL D. JONES/THE WORLD & I

sees in her mind's eye, to the oil paintings.

Margaret Putnam has both oils and watercolors—a dozen pieces that she knows of—in museums and art galleries throughout the Southwest. Once upon a time she submitted regularly to juried local, state, and national art exhibitions, and she won numerous awards. For example, she was named "Artist of the Year" in 1964 by the Witte Museum and the San Antonio Art League. Later she was "Woman of the Year in Art." She last exhibited in 1981, in the 32nd Annual Exhibition of the Texas Watercolor Society, when she was named Best of Show for her picture, *Guardian.* That was the same year she was diagnosed as an ALS victim. She had just finished preliminary drawings for another eighteen-foot mural, this time for the St. George Maronite Church, when she learned of her disease.

"I had been stumbling a lot. It was as if my big toes were growing or something. When my doctor told me I had ALS, I couldn't comprehend it. Then he said there was nothing he, or anyone, could do. There was no cause or cure. I was stunned. Doctors just abandon you with this disease. I went to the bookstore and read about it. There wasn't much, but I remember reading, 'The disease is always fatal.'" She pauses. "Always fatal. I will never forget how I felt upon reading those words.

"I went for a second and then a third diagnosis. I was frantic and rushed out to try any and all cures. There was Chinese acupuncture. And then Swiss injections of live sheep cells. Finally, I accepted the fact that I had ALS and realized I had to conserve my energies to accomplish what is really important to me.

"I help a support group for other victims and their families. I urge them to continue, or to develop interests, not to give into despair. I haven't been able to walk for two years now, but it is amazing what you can accommodate.

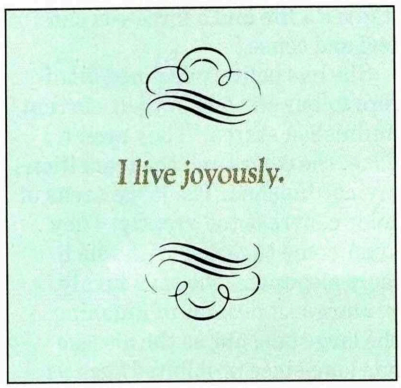
"I think I have pretty much come to terms with the big problem of ALS, but still, once in a while, a small, insignificant inability will devastate me." She adds calmly, "But you go on.

"I have learned one must treasure each day and enjoy doing whatever gives you the most pleasure. I truly take one day at a time. I think to myself, maybe today I can create something I didn't create yesterday.

"If I didn't have my art, I know it would be much harder. But the thought of finishing one more painting drives me on. That urge is much more powerful than the disease. ALS doesn't affect the brain. In fact, I like to think I use my mind more, to outwit the physical limitations. I do believe energy is a cerebral thing, and I have lots of it. My mind is energetic, and it continues to create. I don't feel ill, and I have a vigorous daily life."

She looks up, and her smile, like the colors in one of her paintings, is radiant.

"I live joyously. So you see, this is not a sad tale, not at all." □



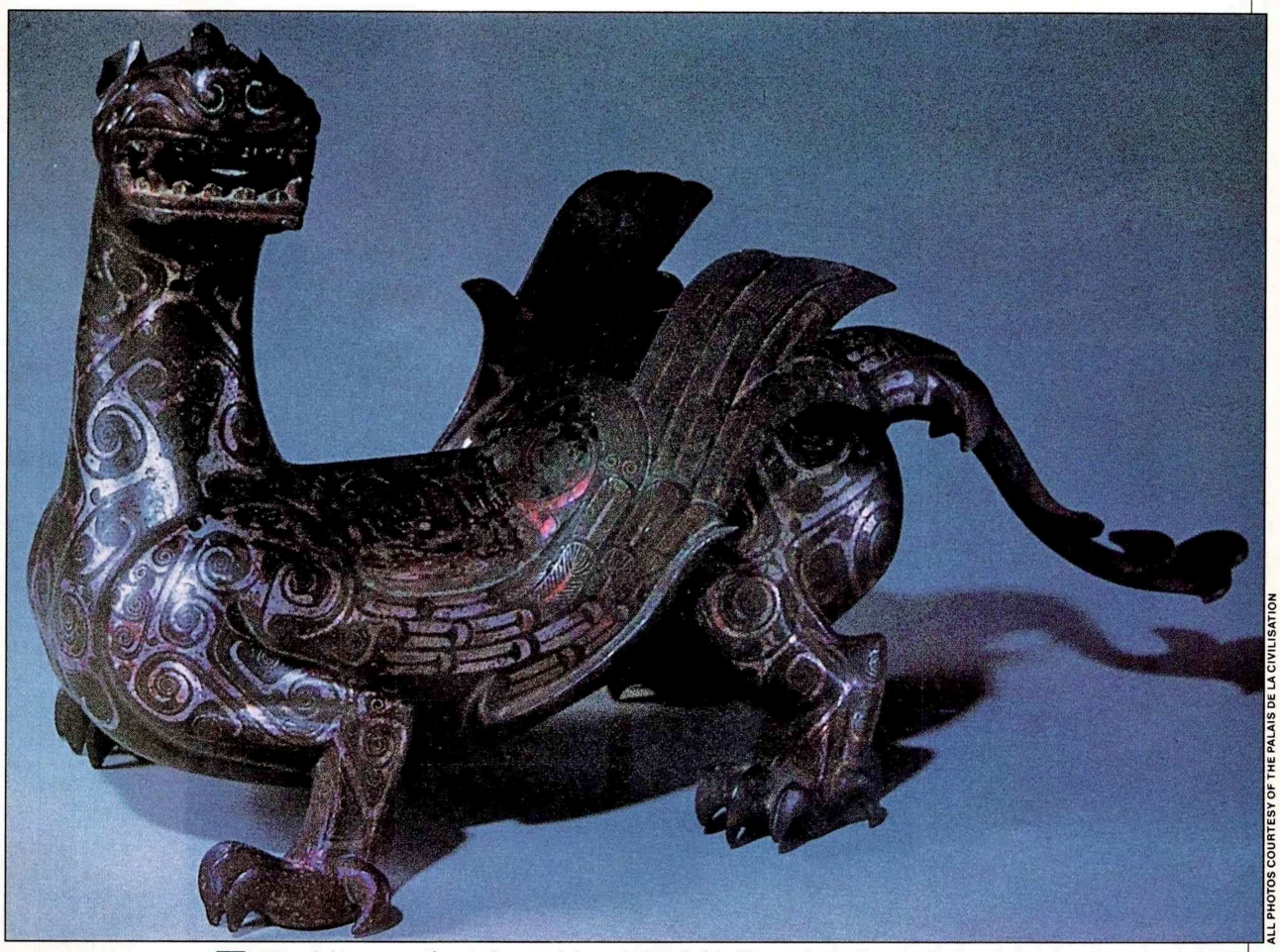
Marian H. Tatu is a free-lance writer currently based in Washington, D.C.

ART REVIEW

Montreal Hosts Show of 7,000 Years of Chinese Art

China: Treasures and Splendors, on exhibit at the Palais de la Civilisation on Montreal's Ile Notre-Dame until October 19, is being billed as the greatest collection of historical art and artifacts ever to leave the Orient. For once it looks as though the publicity mongerers were justified in pulling out the superlatives. With about 200 objects, a good many of them of the spectacular variety, this show spans 7,000 years of Chinese history. Beginning with the Neolithic period, it goes through to the Ming and Qing [also known as Ching] dynasties that ruled from the mid-1300s to the early twentieth century, when this ancient civilization finally collapsed.

Designed to give "a panoramic view of the ancient arts of China," the exhibition will appeal to scholar and layperson alike. Indeed, it is ex-



ALL PHOTOS COURTESY OF THE PALAIS DE LA CIVILISATION

Winged chimera, one of a pair that guarded a tomb. Period of the Warring States. Bronze with silver inlay, height: 24.6 cm.; length: 40.5 cm. Discovered in 1977 in the tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan, at Pingshan, Hebei. Cultural Relics Research Institute, Hebei.

pected to attract 600,000 visitors. Roughly half the objects on display have never left the People's Republic of China. Few have been shown in North America before.

The man credited with making it happen is Montreal's long-time mayor, Jean Drapeau. Well aware of the drawing power of the blockbuster exhibition, Drapeau led his city into an ambitious five-year program of major shows, each devoted to a different civilization. The series kicked off last summer with the exhibition Ramses II and His Time. Before leaving Montreal for Vancouver and Expo '86, it was seen by nearly 750,000 people. Even more amazing, perhaps, was the fact that Ramses made a profit of over $2 million (Canadian).

Tetrapod to cook food (fangding), *with animal heads and geometric designs in studs. Shang dynasty, ca. 1500 B.C. Bronze, height: 100 cm.; length: 62.5 cm.; width: 61 cm. Discovered in 1974 in Zhengzhou, Henan. Henan Provincial Museum.*

Lampstand: lamp bearer with silver head. Period of the Warring States. Bronze and silver, height: 66.4 cm. Discovered in 1977 in the tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan, at Ping-shan, Hebei. Cultural Relics Research Institute, Hebei. Bronze workers of the era were very fond of this kind of object, which challenged their technique, but they usually protrayed acrobats or jugglers, rather than the court gentleman here depicted. His carrying the serpents symbolizes his dominion over nature.

If quality has anything to do with popularity, the Chinese show should attract an even larger number of visitors. Most of the works were unearthed during the past decade from the magnificent tombs of the emperors. On loan from twenty-six museums and institutions throughout China, the objects are insured for $90 million (Canadian).

Displayed throughout the entire three floors of the Palais, the show is arranged to take the visitor on a tour of ancient China. The main level of the building, the former French pavilion at Expo '67, is devoted to the Bronze Age. Extending from the seventeenth to the third centuries B.C., the Bronze Age was a highly important period for Chinese art. It was at this time that the philosophical and material foundations of Chinese society were established.

The first of three Bronze-Age sections documents life in the Shang dynasty. Among the chief splendors of this exhibition area are the marvelous bronze receptacles and jade pieces discovered in 1976 in the tomb of Princess Fu Hao at Anyang, Henan, the capital of China during the Shang period. The tomb, which contained more than 1,900 items, 468 of them bronzes, indicates that Fu Hao was a woman of extremely high rank. Interestingly, all mention of her in the official histories of the dynasties had been meticulously removed after her death.

The opulence of her burial chamber is proof that women occupied positions of power in ancient China. The wife, or concubine, of a Shang king who lived about 1200 B.C., Fu Hao was also a shaman-priestess and a general of an army of 130,000 troops.

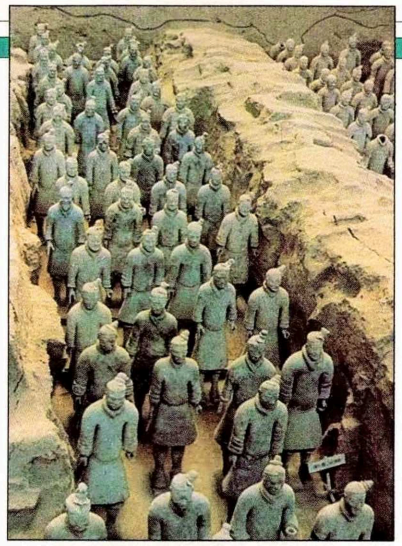
The Shang dynasty was an age of remarkable metalwork and ceramics. The work from the period is technically sophisticated and highly decorated. Yet Shang society's greatest contribution to Chinese civilization was that of writing. It de-

Designed to give "a panoramic view of the ancient arts of China," the exhibition will appeal to scholar and layperson alike.

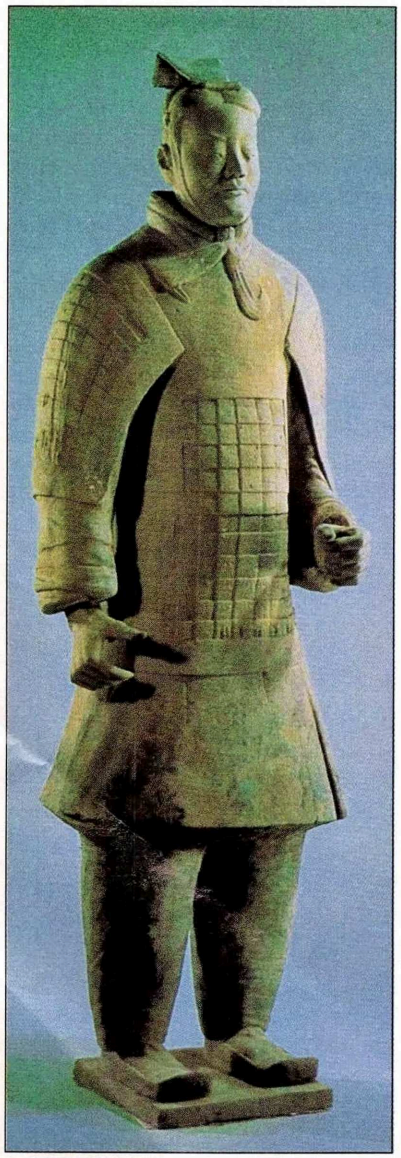
veloped out of the need to record the replies of the gods to questions posed by soothsayers. By the end of the dynasty, a lexicon of several hundred words had been developed.

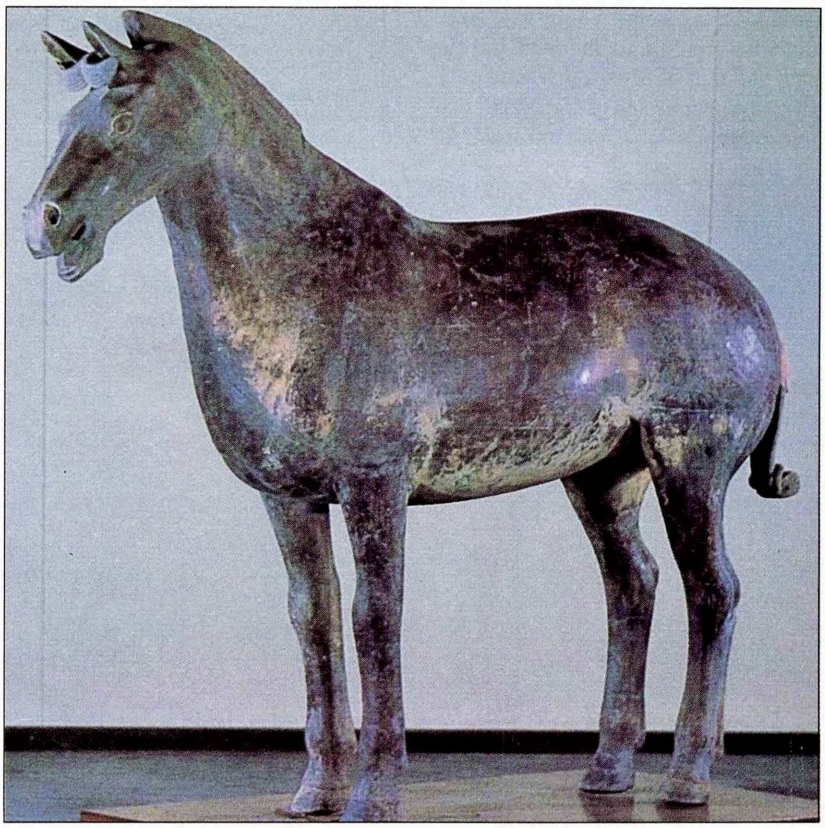
Section two of the main level contains different gold-, silver-, and turquoise-encrusted bronzes of (as identified in the exhibition catalogue) the Western Zhou dynasty (1100 to 771 B.C.), the periods of Springs and Autumns (770 to 476 B.C.), and the Warring States period (475 to 221 B.C.). Two of the most notable pieces from this gallery are a lamp and a bronze chimera with silver inlay. Both objects were found in the tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan in 1977. The lampstand, which borders on the humorous, consists of a figure of a court gentleman holding serpents who in turn support two lamps. The elaborate and sumptuous robe worn by the court dandy was once decorated with incrustations of lacquer, which have since disappeared. The face, exquisitely hammered out of silver, is highlighted by eyes made of jet, which, the catalogue informs us, "flash when the light falls upon them."

The chimera, one of a pair, was intended to guard the ruler's grave. It is an excellent example of the skills achieved by the bronze work-



Warrior: an officer, one of 7,000 life-sized terra-cotta men and horses lined up in battle formation as part of the tomb of the first emperor, Qin Shihuangdi, who in 221 B.C. created the Chinese empire and died in 210 B.C. Height: 192 cm. Discovered in 1977 in ditch no. 1 near the tomb of Qin Shihuangdi, Lintong, Shaanxi. Shaanxi Museum of Qin Statues.



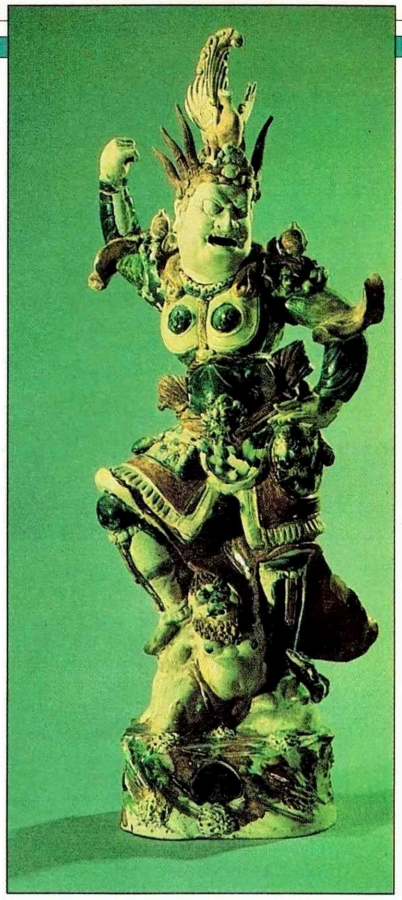


Horse (originally harnessed to a war chariot). Qin dynasty. Terra-cotta, height 172 cm.; length: 205 cm. Discovered in 1979 in ditch no. 1, near the tomb of Qin Shihuangdi, Lintong, Shaanxi. Shaanxi Museum of Qin Statues.

ers in the kingdom of Zhongshan. Decorated with an ornate geometric pattern applied in silver inlay, it is part cat, part dragon.

However, the most spectacular display on the ground floor is in section three. It includes terra-cotta warriors and horses from the absolutely astonishing tomb of the first emperor. Discovered in 1974, the mausoleum contained an incredible array of 7,000 life-sized men and horses lined up in battle formation. In fact, the emperor, Qin Shihuangdi, committed more than 700,000 workers to the construction of his tomb, which was begun during his lifetime. Qin Shihuangdi, who ruled from 246 to 210 B.C., founded the Chinese empire that lasted until 1911.

As the tomb figures included in the exhibition make clear, each detail was treated with the utmost care and accuracy. The officers placed at the head of each regiment are based on actual soldiers. Even more astonishing is the fact that the find of 7,000 figures represents only the eastern portion of the guard prepared for the emperor's mausoleum.

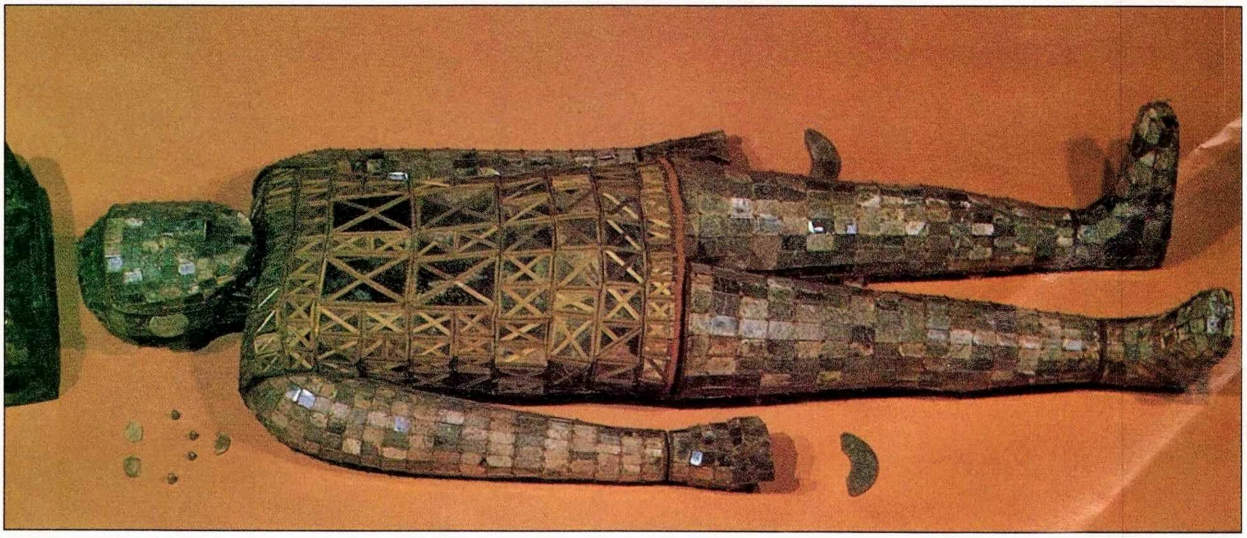


Guardian king (lokapala). *Tang dynasty. Ceramic in tricolor glaze* (sancai), *height: 65 cm. Discovered in 1959 at Zhongpucun, Xian, Shaanxi. Shaanxi Provincial Museum. A creature of the Buddhist pantheon, this celestial guardian king wards off evil spirits, and here is represented in the guise of a general. Few* lokapala *are as splendid as this one.*

Archaeologists have not completed excavating the tomb and expect to find many more objects. Qin's terra-cotta army was discovered in huge ditches. They were part of a grandiose underground city built in the same proportions as his walled city in Xiayang.

Like most peoples, the ancient Chinese believed in some form of afterlife. As the exhibition catalogue describes it, death was believed to result when the "most ethereal spirits" left the body. However, they also thought that as long as a body existed it retained some spirits. These allowed the dead person to lead an underground existence that paralleled his earthly life. Emperors were buried with great care and were provided with everything they would need, including armies, friends, women, furniture, utensils, and, of course, symbols of their power.

The lengths to which the ancient Chinese went to ensure the well-being of the entombed body grew increasingly elaborate. By the time of the Han dynasty (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.), royal and aristocratic personages were often buried wrapped in



Jade shroud, pillow, and accompanying pieces. Period of the Western Han, 113 B.C. Jade and gold, shroud length: 172 cm. Discovered in 1968 in the tomb of Princess Douwan, Mancheng, Hebei. Cultural Relics Research Institute, Hebei.

jade shrouds. The example in this exhibition is quite possibly the most spectacular piece of the whole show. Discovered in 1968 in the tomb of Princess Douwan, sister-in-law to Emperor Wu (140 to 87 B.C.), this shroud consists of 2,160 small plates of jade joined with gold links. Strangely futuristic with its simplified features and robot-like appearance, the shroud was made of jade because, the Chinese believed, it would keep the body from decomposing. Depending on whether the deceased was princely, of the high nobility, or merely aristocratic, the jade pieces were joined by wire of gold, silver, or bronze.

Leaving the shroud, the visitor travels to the second floor and a different period of Chinese history. Detailing the colorful years between the seventh and fourteenth centuries A.D., the principal focus of this level is the impressive Tang dynasty tombs from the beginning of the eighth century. A series of terracotta horsemen, painted in rich, bright colors, is a testament to the vitality of Chinese craftsmen. One memorable ceramic sculpture of a fashionably dressed woman of the eighth century is as fresh and engaging as the day it was made.

The focus of the third floor is the China of the Ming (A. D. 1368 to 1644) and Ch'in (A. D. 1644 to 1911) dynasties. Objects illustrating all aspects of life are displayed. Highlights include a series of illustrated scrolls. These huge undertakings depict imperial processions, silk production, the tea harvest, and life at the royal court. One especially notable scroll depicts the capital city of Pienliang and its environs during the spring festival when the living paid tribute to the dead. City dwellers would travel to the countryside to visit the graves of their ancestors. This sixteenth-century scroll, painted by the celebrated artist Qiu Ying, was based on an original done four centuries earlier by Zhang Deduan, a court painter who specialized in portraying bridges and boats. Qui Ying's copy, itself a work of art, measures 30.5 by 987.5 centimeters.

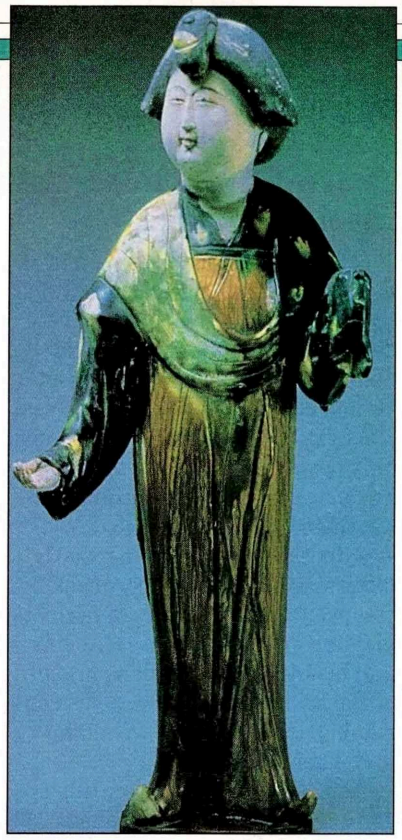
China: Treasures and Splendors was assembled largely by a husband-and-wife team of Far Eastern art experts, Dr. Vadime Elisseeff and his wife, Dr. Danielle Poisle. The inspector general and chief curator of the Musées de France, Elisseeff is the author of many books about Asian history and art. Until recently, Poisle taught Chinese Art at the Ecole du Louvre in Paris, France.

The exhibition they helped to curate cannot fail to impress those who see it,with the richness and endless variety of its contents. Like the civilization portrayed, this collection reaches back to the dawn of recorded history and spans millennia. There is a sense of continuity to the objects on display that belies their disparate origins and makers. This truly is one of the most venerable, intriguing, and accomplished civilizations the world has seen. □

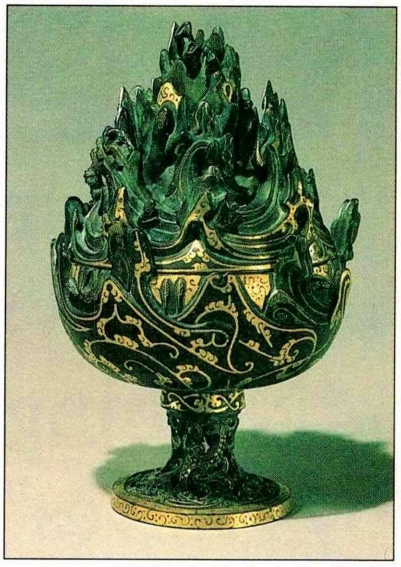
—*Christopher Hume*

Christopher Hume is the art critic of The Toronto Star, *and frequently contributes articles on cultural subjects in American and Canadian publications.*

Emperors were buried with great care and were provided with everything they would need, including armies, friends, women, furniture, utensils, and, of course, symbols of their power.



Female figurine. Tang dynasty. Ceramic in tricolor glaze (sancai), *height: 44.5 cm. Discovered in 1959 at Zhongpucun, Xian, Shaanxi. Provincial Museum of Shaanxi, Xian.*



Incense burner (boshanlu). *Period of the Western Han, 113 B.C. Bronze inlaid with gold, height: 26 cm. Discovered in 1968 in the tomb of Liu Sheng, King Jin of Zhongshan, Mancheng, Hebei. Cultural Relics Research Institute, Hebei.*

MUSIC

DECCA

Vladimir Ashkenazy: "Nothing by Halves"

BY PAULINE LONGFELLOW AND DANIEL BURGART

Vladimir Ashkenazy is one of the finest pianists this century has produced, and he has in the past decade become a formidable conductor as well. Born in the Soviet Union, but having lived in the West since 1963, he is a man who has not only devoted his life to music, but has also searched for absolute values upon which to base his life —values distinct from the vastly different but nonetheless often compromised standards of both Soviet and Western society. His life and his insights, as well as his superlative music-making, are a continuing source of soul-searching and inspiration.

Ashkenazy was born on July 6, 1937, in the city of Gorki, about 250 miles east of Moscow on the river Volga. His father David was of Jewish lineage, but did not retain his forefathers' faith or traditions. Ashkenazy's mother, Evstolia, was of pure Russian descent. The infant Vladimir was baptized into the Russian Orthodox Church, and he says he still feels close to Orthodox Christian ideas, at least in principle.

Ashkenazy's father was a variety-show pianist of astonishing improvisational ability and versatility. Because he was almost constantly away on tour, it was Ashkenazy's mother who brought him up and oversaw his education. The family moved to Moscow, where at the age of six Ashkenazy began studying the piano. He showed extraordinary talent, and when he was eight, after a rigorous examination before a panel of professors, he was accepted into the Central Music School, which acts as a kind of junior school for the Moscow Conservatoire.

Ashkenazy's teacher at the Central Music School was Anaida Sumbatian, and she had a profound influence on his musical development. In the biography/autobiography *Beyond Frontiers,* co-authored by Ashkenazy and his long-time agent and friend Jasper Parrott, (New York: Atheneum, 1985), Ashkenazy remembers that Sumbatian "inspired the imagination of her pupils with all sorts of associative ideas." She encouraged young Ashkenazy to attend orchestral concerts so that he would learn to think orchestrally at the piano —something he does to this day. This avid concert-going, he speculates, may have formed the subliminal basis for his conducting later on.

Sumbatian made sure that when Ashkenazy moved on to the Moscow Conservatoire his teacher was Boris Zemlyansky. "It was Zemlyansky, I suppose, who really made music my life," Ashkenazy reflects in *Beyond Frontiers.* Zemlyansky's lessons were "infused with the certainty that what one did, or at least tried to do, had a fundamental importance in an absolute sense." It was from Zemlyansky, and from his mother as well, that Ashkenazy learned the habit of rigorous self-discipline and hard work that has sustained him throughout his career.

In an interview Mr. Ashkenazy granted THE WORLD & I in Strasbourg, France, he was asked if the reason why so many great interpreters come from the Soviet Union is because the regime trains performers to win international competitions. "No," he replied."It's a very good musical tradition which goes back more than a hundred

years. It's a big nation, so it has a lot of talent . . . . [It's] a very talented nation, a very clever nation, so there are many people to choose from. And education is very well established . . . . All this goes to produce very good players. As for great players—great talents are few. Few and far between. So in Russia there are also very few of great talent. The discipline is very strong, the education is very, very good. The Russian musical establishment prepares musicians for international competitions because they want to have prestige for the country. Very much pressure is applied to have that, so the result is a lot of good players."

But he does not perceive a distinctly Russian school of interpretation. "With a great talent, that belongs to an individual, and with a great player it's difficult to identify to which school he belongs . . . . A great individual has his own view of the world. But when there is a certain uniformity, then one can identify to which country it belongs. But there it becomes unnecessary to identify it, because it is no longer interesting—it's uniform, you see . . . . And in Russia there is a lot of uniformity. A lot of the time it's difficult to tell which player is playing, because they play without much face. They play very well, uniformly well."

Despite the emphasis on producing players of immaculate technical prowess and little personality, some teachers in the Soviet Union do manage to instill in their most sensitive students a consciousness of a deeper dimension at work in the creative process. Ashkenazy comments in *Beyond Frontiers* that Zemlyansky "very much encouraged a high idealism in the thinking of his best pupils and tried to nurture the loftiest aspirations as part of the basic psychological equipment of the artist."

ICM ARTISTS

Such idealism, however, is inimical to the Soviet system, where, in Ashkenazy's words,"the most unprincipled and self-seeking amongst the community [are the ones] who succeed the best." In a society where the average person must habitually lie, deceive others, and compromise with the dictates of the Party in every aspect of life merely in order to survive—a lifestyle revealed with chilling detail in *Beyond Frontiers*—the search for true values becomes by necessity a highly personal, silent one.

Ashkenazy entered his first foreign piano competition in 1955, at the age of sixteen, when the regime selected him among others to represent the Soviet Union in the International Chopin Competition in Warsaw. There Ashkenazy just barely missed winning the first prize, and he came home with the second prize instead.

One year later he won the first prize at the Queen Elizabeth of the Belgians Piano Competition in Brussels. It was the first time he had gone to a noncommunist country, and he found the experience of doing as he wanted without permission from anyone an eye-opener.

His victory in Brussels encouraged impresario Sol Hurok to engage him for a tour of the United States in 1958. During the tour Ashkenazy was closely scrutinized by a "companion" assigned by the Ministry of Culture to travel with him. Upon his return, this KGB agent—for such he was—handed in a negative report on Ashkenazy's attitudes. A mock trial before the ministry resulted in Ashkenazy's being banned from touring abroad.

This ban was lifted, however, when Ashkenazy won the coveted first prize at the second International Tchaikovsky Competition in Moscow in 1962.

In the meantime, Ashkenazy had

met and in 1961 married a gifted Icelandic pianist who had come to study at the Moscow Conservatoire, Thorunn Johannsdottir (affectionately known as Dody). It was a dangerous thing to marry a foreigner, and Ashkenazy was many times warned against it, but the couple remained steadfast in their love. Although Mrs. Ashkenazy gave up the piano when she married, her constant companionship on future tours provided her husband not only with valuable support, but also with a critical objectivity and truthfulness he finds essential. He can always count on her for a frank appraisal of a performance. In *Beyond Frontiers,* Parrott observes: "Over the years Dody's constant presence at concerts, rehearsals and recordings, and her unfailing and unfussy smoothing of the path for Ashkenazy both at home and on tour, has made it possible for him to build his life and career on the surest of foundations." She also greatly helped him to adjust to life in the free world.

The Ashkenazys had to endure a prolonged cat-and-mouse game with the Soviet government in order to be able to live in the West. In 1962 Ashkenazy made a second tour of the United States while his wife and newborn son were allowed to visit her parents, who had lived for many years in London. At that time the couple were not seriously considering living in the West. In 1963, when Ashkenazy went on a tour of Britain, he insisted that his wife and son go with him, but in fact he had to go on alone. Mrs. Ashkenazy had been tricked into relinquishing her Icelandic citizenship upon marriage, when the Soviets threatened that Ashkenazy's career would be thwarted if she did not. When the Ministry of Culture would not produce her tickets to Britain, she threatened to go to the Icelandic Embassy and cause a public scandal. The same day she and her son were issued passports and tickets. In London, the Ashkenazys contacted the British Home Office about acquiring residency permits. Moscow then decided to give the Ashkenazys an unprecedented re-entry visa valid for six months, which would supposedly allow them in and out of the Soviet Union at will. Still undecided, the Ashkenazys returned to Moscow in May 1963, but took the precaution of leaving their infant son with Mrs. Ashkenazy's parents.

In Moscow, the couple had to confront Ashkenazy's parents and friends, who were aghast at their inclination to live in the West. His mother had always been what is called "a good Soviet"—her attitude had been, in Ashkenazy's words, "this is the way our country is run, so just conform, don't think too much, life is hard enough." Having enjoyed for a few years a position of real standing in the Soviet system, his family did not savor the consequences of falling into political disfavor.

Meanwhile the Soviet authorities tried to make as much capital as possible out of the Ashkenazys' return and "asked" Ashkenazy to play concerts to prove to people in Russia and abroad that they had chosen of their own free will to live in the Soviet Union after having seen the West. The Ashkenazys pretended that this was indeed the case, and told authorities that they wanted to return to London only to

RICHARD HOLT/DECCA

Vladimir Ashkenazy

pick up their son Vovka and to show that they had decided to stay in the Soviet Union of their own accord. "I felt we had to lie like that in order to get out; it was certainly the greatest lie of my life," Ashkenazy records in his autobiography.

The Ashkenazys departed for London in July 1963, with luggage only for a short visit. They never returned. Ashkenazy did not ask for political asylum in the West, however, and for many years he did not publicly criticize the Soviet Union because he feared repercussions for his parents and his younger sister, Elena, who was an aspiring pianist in Russia. (Even so, she was not allowed to attend the Conservatoire or to enter competitions because of her brother.) Also to prevent further suffering by his family Ashkenazy maintained his Soviet passport until 1972, when the Soviets injudiciously cited him as an example of a Soviet citizen who was free to go between the Soviet Union and the West. Ashkenazy then let the truth be publicly known, and became a citizen of Iceland.

Until 1968 the Ashkenazys lived in London, then a thriving artistic center where young performers enjoyed a unique, if transitory, feeling of fraternity and mutual support. But constant interruptions interfered with family life, so the Ashkenazys moved to Iceland, where they lived until 1978.

In Iceland Ashkenazy became artistic adviser to the Reykjavik Festival, helping to bring top musical talents to the biennial event. During this time he also decided, after much pondering, that he should take up conducting. This was partly justified by the fact that he could be of use to the Iceland Symphony Orchestra. But the symphony also presented him with the opportunity to hone his conducting skills on a semi-professional but competent ensemble. Ashkenazy refused to be paid for these orchestral concerts so that money could be available to attract interesting soloists.

In 1978 the Ashkenazys reluctantly decided that they would have to move their principle place of residence, because it was difficult to return to isolated Iceland between engagements. The Ashkenazy family has resided in Lucerne, Switzerland, ever since.

During Ashkenazy's performances, listeners can sense a vibrant connection with his wife and family that is rare in a performing artist; this adds a dimension of depth, solidity, and warmth to his concerts. One reason for this feeling is that not only does his wife go with him on his concert tours, but when they were small enough, all of his five children did, too. Parrott observes in *Beyond Frontiers* that for Ashkenazy "family life has certainly been a great bulwark against the loneliness and insecurity from which many sucessful artists suffer all their lives. His marriage, built on complete trust and loyalty, has blossomed in a manner increasingly rare in the volatile world of music." The Ashkenazys' five children are Vovka (Vladimir) born in 1961, Nadia (1963), Dimitri or Dimka (1969), Sonia (1974), and Sasha, born in 1979. Vovka, the eldest, has already begun his own career as a pianist.

Ashkenazy is by nature shy and retiring, and puts a high premium on honesty. Parrott says that relations between him and Ashkenazy were rather formal until the young agent made a dreadful mistake, and with much trepidation immediately confessed. This disarmed Ashkenazy, and they have shared an unusual rapport ever since.

Of Ashkenazy's character, Parrott observes in the biography: "If at first impression Ashkenazy's reserve, intensity, attention to detail and occasional sharpness are most striking, those who get to know him better soon discover with pleasure how much more there is to be found in him. His shyness can give way to the most winning warmth and charm; the intensity of his concentration can be redirected from its normal fixation on music to a generous and unstinting interest in his friends, not to mention his family. His kindness, loyalty and generosity, not only to close friends, but even to passing acquaintances are remarkable."

Ashkenazy is extremely well-read in world literature, and his knowledge of music—both pianistic and orchestral—is enormous.

In his musical interpretations, critics have often found a kind of transparency characteristic of Ashkenazy's piano playing, as if he were but a veil through which one could perceive the composer. In Strasbourg he told THE WORLD & I, "I feel, naturally, humble before the great composers, and so it's humbleness for the composer, but not for the score. The score is only the product of the composer. Naturally I want to be faithful to what the composer wanted to say."

Ashkenazy prefers not to attempt to draw the audience to him or the score, but to give out to them. "If you try to bring the audience to the score, it means you're not projecting. But you have to project, always. When you project, then they participate in the music-making process. If you hope that by playing something they will listen

and involve themselves in the score, something is wrong with you."

He admits it is more challenging in the studio. "It's not that simple when you record. During the recording I'm thinking about projecting. I don't do it just for the silence of the studio. For the public, in any case, music has to be projected in order to be appreciated; otherwise it's dead."

Although Ashkenazy has made over a hundred recordings, and has been called a "studio artist" by some critics, he has great consideration for the public he serves and maintains a grueling concert schedule. In fact, over the last twenty years he has canceled only three or four concerts, and then only when strictly confined to bed. Most performers can't make it through three months of work without a cancellation or two. It's not that Ashkenazy is less prone to ailments than other artists, although he does keep a careful watch on his health—he doesn't smoke, rarely drinks and then only wine, and conserves his strength—but for him the inability to meet commitments is not only a failure in duty to the public, which he takes quite seriously, but in the artist's duty to himself.

On tours, says Parrott in *Beyond Frontiers,* "day after day, in addition to full rehearsals and concerts, he will practice for several hours, even using up the breaks in orchestral rehearsals to work at the piano, as though not a second can be lost."

Ashkenazy does not take students, because they require a special commitment. In Strasbourg he commented, "I have very little time [for students] and I'm not interested. I think that if you teach, you have to devote all your life to it. If you give attention to a pupil only sometimes, I don't think it's productive. It's a little dishonest, I think. So if you really want to teach, you really have to do it continuously; for that I really have no time."

If he had time and the opportunity, he knows what the spirit behind his teaching would be. "It would simply be to give everything I had to a promising student and do everything possible for his or her development. That means give all my life and energy. I don't believe in doing things by halves. You do it, or you don't do it. I would be giving everything I had and hoping for the

Vladimir Ashkenazy in Strasbourg

The Strasbourg Music Festival, now in its forty-eighth year, attracts the very best performers. Two years ago, Vladimir Ashkenazy conducted the Philharmonia Orchestra in works by Weber and Mozart. The performance was a triumph. On June 7 of this year he was back at the piano, in a solo recital of works by Beethoven and Schumann.

Vladimir Ashkenazy does not interpret music; he exudes it—*breathes* it. His creative process is not guided by absolute or personal theories. What motivates him is simply a profound love for composers. He serves them reverently and zealously. The most diverse, subtle forms of music are to him a part of everyday life; yet, he plays them with a constant sense of wonder. His gestures are generous, yet come from a genuine humility.... It is modesty that makes Ashkenazy great, sheer modesty.

In his customary dark suit and turtleneck, he emerges onto the stage. *Applause!* He does not flourish his arms dramatically, but his face lights up. Already he is communicating.

The program commences with Beethoven's Piano Sonata No. 21, Opus 51, in C Major—the *Waldstein.* This entire composition is a work of gratitude. Beethoven was able to benefit from the teachings of the greatest music authorities of his remarkable era, and he assimilated these perfectly. During the time when he was freeing himself from the influences of Haydn and Mozart and was at last finding his own path, his thoughts turned toward Count Ferdinand Gabriel von Waldstein, the patron who had made everything possible for him. The sonata was dedicated to him.

Ashkenazy takes the first movement, the *Allegro con brio,* quite briskly. The very simple beginning theme is developed in a cascade of ingenuity. He is utterly at ease—the audience is conquered. The osmosis between performer and listener has occurred.

Beethoven had originally included a long slow movement in the piece, but later deleted it for reasons of balance. (It became the famous *Andante favori* in F.) The *Waldstein* therefore has two movements. In the final movement, the *Molto adagio* is concise, concentrated. We already perceive in it the sublime and powerful Beethoven of the major works. A subtle *rondo* follows the *adagio,* and the sonata ends with a flamboyant *prestissimo,* punctuated with invading trills.

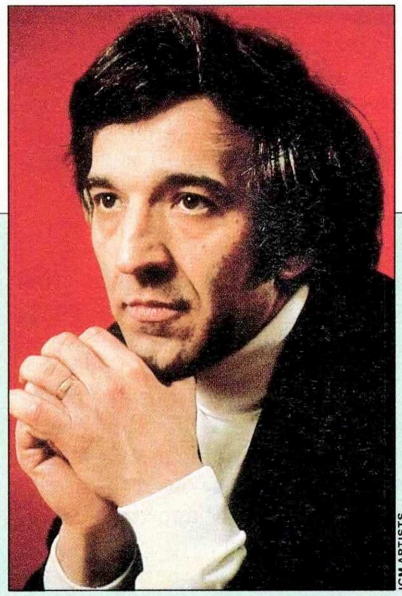
Ashkenazy gives forth the whole of his tonal palette. Anyone can recognize this legendary touch, which projected him from international competitions

best. Great talents are very few, you see; so if I [were to] begin to teach the not-very-talented, I feel that would be a waste of time."

Since he took up conducting in Iceland, Ashkenazy has led some of the foremost ensembles of the world in concerts, including the English Chamber Orchestra, the Philharmonia, the Concertgebouw Orchestra, and the Cleveland Orchestra. When asked about communication techniques in orchestral conducting he replies, "As long as the musicians see that you are devoted to the music, and that that is the principle reason you are conducting, and that your musical ideas are valid, there is no problem about rapport. They feel straight away what you want. The musicians understand me very soon and usually like what I want to do. I'm very lucky. I have no problems."

In the winter of 1981 and the spring of 1982 he made a new orchestration of Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition.* The textual errors that Ravel had carried over from an inaccurate piano edition had always bothered him, as had the general tone color of Ravel's version. "The Ravel is fantastic, incredible, but it's removed from the spirit of Mussorgsky; there's more the spirit of Ravel—which is great—but I'd prefer to hear it in *Rhapsodie española* and *Daphnis et Chloé* . . . . In Mussorgsky's case, it's a little bit more heavy and dirty in the use of the orchestra. This is what I tried to do . . . . I thought I'd like to make it more muddy." He cites *Boris Godonov* as an example of how Mussorgsky would have orchestrated *Pictures at an Exhibition.* Parrott observes in *Beyond Frontiers,* "The almost Asiatic, old-Russian flavour of the work in Ashkenazy's conception contrasts dramatically with the brilliantly urbane, but perhaps over-cultivated images created by Ravel."

The fact that he grew up in the Soviet Union and has lived for nearly a quarter of a century in the West has given Ashkenazy an unusual vantage point to see the good and bad points of both worlds. The devastating effect of the communist system on the human spirit he elucidates clearly in *Beyond Fron-*



ICM ARTISTS

to the greatest concert halls.

The program continues with the Beethoven Sonata No. 23, Opus 57, in F Minor, the famous *Appassionata.* The theme, first uttered as a sigh of foreboding, bursts into an unexpected torrent of anguish and violence. Ashkenazy knows how to be violent, and shows it; one receives blow after blow, delivered without hesitation, yet balanced with benevolence. It awakens the mind.

The lengthy chords of the *Andante con moto* reach our ears with perfect limpidity. The interpreter yields himself entirely to the composer; transparence is absolute—it is as if the piano were playing itself.

The *Allegro ma non troppo* and then the *presto* follow naturally, like the torrent of fire that Romain Rolland spoke of in relation to the *Appassionata.*

Here we savor genius in its purest state, and as a bonus, a staggering demonstration of pianistic virtuosity. It is a lesson.

After the intermission, the second half of the program commences with Schumann's delightful *Arabeske,* Opus 18. Here there is no overstated eloquence, no disproportionate deluge of notes; the pianistic gesture is supple, easy, and the harmonic development is a wonder of astuteness and invention. Behind the restraint, the apparent simplicity, one can sense the maturity of Schumann. And one can also sense that of Ashkenazy, because here, Ashkenazy *is* Schumann.

The *Carnival,* Opus 9, is the last of the programmed works. It is evident that the twenty-four-year-old Schumann was having fun in this composition. The different scenes of this carnival are cleverly tinted with poetry, pranks, and love. Yet the work is far from insignificant. There is always a tear on Pierrot's cheek. And if this tear is indelible, it is because it is a jewel. One glimpses the real Schumann behind the mask, and Ashkenazy as well.

A thunderous ovation erupts in the hall. Ashkenazy stands up, simply, and thanks us with a mischievous, child-like smile; he tries to feign astonishment, he is happy. He will come back one more time, to offer the subtle *Reverie* by Schumann, and thanks to him, how many members of the audience will have beautiful dreams! □

—Daniel Burgart

Daniel Burgart is a free-lance writer living in Strasbourg, France.

tiers—the book is in fact quite an education in the reality of everyday life in the Soviet Union.

His primary criticism of the communist system is that "it has effectively suppressed, perhaps even eradicated, an objective moral sense in the mass of the people and replaced it with a view of life based on how to get by, how to jump the queue, how to avoid trouble," he says in the autobiography. Any thinking person knows that what is happening in Russia is a disaster, and must make the desperate decision about whether he or she will go along with it or try to change it. Trying to change things will only result in terrible consequences for that person, his family, and those closest to him. "But if you decide for these reasons you really can't do anything, you are already making a big compromise with your conscience, and that can destroy a person," he says. "Of course, one should avoid ascribing to the Soviet system those negative properties in human nature which you find in mankind throughout history regardless of political regime —things like greed, pride, ambition, hypocrisy. The only difference is that in the Soviet Union they have become institutionalized."

Music training and specialized education in other fields for children of primary and secondary school age is highly developed in the Soviet Union, and he feels that the West should likewise offer widespread specialized education for children who show extraordinary talent. But he is quick to point out that in the Soviet Union such talents are cultivated only for the good of the state, and if music were at any time thought to be no longer of value as a propaganda tool it would be neglected or entirely suppressed. Education in the Soviet Union emphasizes training a person to fulfill a function well—to become an excellent sportsman or pianist or the like—but there is little room left for the inner development of the individual. In the Soviet Union, he says,"You cannot find any way of being yourself except secretly."

The essential difference he perceives between communist countries and the West is the respect and concern for the development of the individual evident in free societies. In America, however, where immigrants came basically to make good, he sees that the emphasis on individual achievement has also had its negative side. "The most important element in American society became fame," he reflects in *Beyond Frontiers*. "Many things in the musical world in America are dominated by hyperbole, sensationalism, and the desire for effect . . . . Marketing often seems to be more important than what is being sold . . . . Artists, performances, emotions tend to be assessed according to easily identifiable categories. All of this, in my view, leads to a dangerously sterile type of uniformity, even though it may on first sight appear to be quite the reverse."

Yet he sees that there is also a reaction against materialism in American society, though it often takes confused or unproductive forms. "American materialism is the very antithesis of a spiritual life, but all sorts of incredible sects and religions mushroom all over the States. I don't think the nation has found a real scale of values, and yet there is a constant but totally chaotic search for some solid under-pinning for people's lives," he says in the autobiography. He notes moreover that involvement in the arts, humanities, or in the human rights movement, which in the Soviet Union provokes in certain people an intense and relentless search for fundamental values, in the West often dissipates in an unfocused search for questions rather than for answers.

From a political viewpoint, however, Ashkenazy looks to the United States, in Parrott's words, "as the last safe retreat in the face of the inexorable process of Soviet subversion." He is distressed to see in Europe a fatal willingness to appease the Soviet Union in the interests of short-term economic advantages. As Parrott describes it, Ashkenazy "favors a policy of confrontation for the West, since he is convinced that it is only through strength, both military and moral, that the West can preserve its liberties."

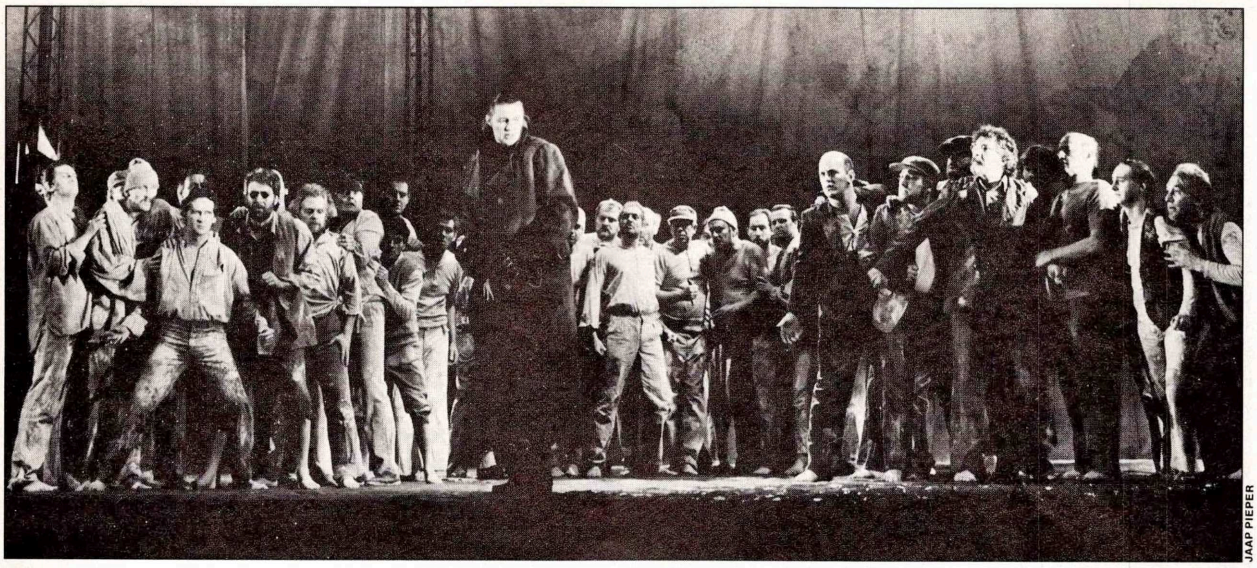
As for his personal future, as he said in Strasbourg, Ashkenazy does not follow a grand design or strategy. "If I enjoy doing something, I just do it." But he does not simply mark time. He constantly strives to improve his art, and each performance for him is a challenge to try to achieve what he has in mind. The end of *Beyond Frontiers* is philosophical about his future: "I shall continue to try to seek out the truth in music . . . . There must be, after all, a connection between truth in music, on the most exalted plane of experience, and truth in everyday things, a true relationship to oneself in one's normal environment. I don't anticipate any dramatic changes in my way of life —I'll just see how it works. If things go well, maybe I'll change even more, who knows?" □

JAAP PIEPER

At the finale of Beethoven's opera Fidelio, *the minister, Don Fernando, liberates all the prisoners, including Florestan, the husband of Leonore/Fidelio, in this production by the Netherlands Opera.*

The Netherlands Opera FIDELIO

The Netherlands Opera does not have a reputation as one of the great opera companies of the world, but there is a hope, an expectation, and a determination that this will change beginning in the autumn of this year. Until now the company, based in Amsterdam, has never had a theater of its own; indeed, it has not had its own permanent orchestra. Plans were put forward a hundred years ago for a national opera house but nothing happened, and the



JAAP PIEPER

Leonore (Luana DeVol), disguised as the assistant prison warden, Fidelio, is confronted by the prisoners when they are first released into the light of day at the end of scene one of Beethoven's Fidelio.

Netherlands Opera itself was not formed until 1964.

This September, however, will see the Opera performing in its own permanent home, Het Muziektheater, at Amsterdam's Waterlooplein. The stage capacity of the new theater is twice that of the Stadsschouwburg, where the company normally performs in Amsterdam, and storage and rehearsal facilities will give a new freedom to the creative spirit. The Opera will share the theater, with its 1,600-plus seating capacity, with the Dutch National Ballet. Foreign companies will also present performances there.

At the same time, the Opera will also acquire its own permanent orchestra, to be called the Netherlands Philharmonic Orchestra, drawn from members of the Amsterdam Philharmonic, the Netherlands Chamber Orchestra, and the Utrecht Symphony. Of equal, if not greater significance, is the appointment, for the first time in fifteen years, of a new *intendant,* or general manager. The new appointee, Jan van Vlijmen, is currently head of the Conservatorium in The Hague and is a composer in his own right. He has a great interest in the music of the first thirty years of this century, and his influence should help attract a new generation to the opera.

The opening of the Het Muziektheater and the beginning of the new season will take place on September 23. On that evening the Netherlands Opera will share the stage with the Dutch National Ballet. The Opera will present *Ithaka* by Dutch composer Otto Ketting. The National Ballet will perform a work by Dutch choreographer Toer von Schayk. On September 24, the Netherlands Opera will premier a production of Verdi's *Falstaff* directed by Liviu Ciulei, the Rumanian-American director who has made his mark in theater, film, and opera, and whose great success with the highly innovative Welsh National Opera is well remembered. Another opera to be presented during the 1986–87 season is *The Barber of Seville.* This is to be directed by Dario Fo, the Italian playwright, actor, comedian, expert on commedia del l'arte, and eternal *enfant terrible*—or perhaps one should say *bambino terribile.* This will be Fo's first opera production, and it is certain to be a hilarious smash hit.

The most recent production of the Opera was Beethoven's *Fidelio.* The only opera ever written by Beethoven, *Fidelio* had a checkered history fron its start, its first performance in 1805 being only three weeks after Napoleon's armies had invaded Austria and occupied Salzburg. Many opera devotees had fled, and a number of French officers attended only on instructions from their commander to treat the population with "correctness," so it cannot have been the best atmosphere. The house was half full and the performance a failure, and after two repetitions it was dropped from the repertoire. The opera was staged again during the following two seasons, but even though the composer made changes, under heavy pressure and with great reluctance, *Fidelio* failed to capture an audience. It was not until 1814 that it was finally acclaimed, with the great Schroeder-Devrient in the title role. Beethoven later said, "Of all my children, this is the one that cost me the worst birth pangs and brought me the most sorrow; and for that reason it is the one most dear to me."

It is ironic, or some might have thought apt, that *Fidelio* should have been premiered in the circumstances described above, since it is a story of prisoners being freed from their bondage. Freedom is the most obvious issue, but on a personal level the virtues of true love, fidelity, and the sanctity of marriage are held aloft.

Fidelio tells the story of political prisoners secretly incarcerated at the whim of the prison governor, Don Pizarro. Leonore, the wife of Florestan (one of Pizarro's imprisoned opponents), resolves to free her husband. Disguising herself as a man, Fidelio, she secures a job as assistant to the jailer, Rocco. The first act introduces Leonore/Fidelio's situation, where she is romantically pursued by the jailer's daughter, Marzelline, to the consternation of Marzelline's suitor, Jaquino. The second act takes on an altogether more serious tone as Rocco is ordered to dig a grave for Florestan. When Don Pizarro arrives to kill his opponent, however, he is met by Fidelio, who throws herself in front of her husband and draws a pistol. At that moment Don Fernando, the minister, arrives, frees all the prisoners, and passes judgment on Pizarro.

The staging of the Netherlands Opera production of *Fidelio* was extremely effective, conveying exactly the right atmosphere. But staging cannot carry a whole performance, and there was much to disappoint.

One basic flaw was that the orchestra often drowned out the singers. Duets, trios, and quartets were often blurred, and instead of being intertwining strands of music expressing the different characters, their feelings, and relationships, the result sounded more like general noise. The central character of Leonore/Fidelio, played by Luana DeVol, failed to convey any femininity or beauty, although the early scenes were helped considerably by William Wildermann as the jailer Rocco. He positively exuded humanity and must have been magnificent in the role of Falstaff, which he had earlier in his career. The emergence of the prisoners into the daylight, at the end of the first act, was deeply moving. Indeed, the members of the chorus were the real heroes, each making valuable contributions to the acting and singing. Had there been nothing else of value, the evening would have been worth their entrance and performance.

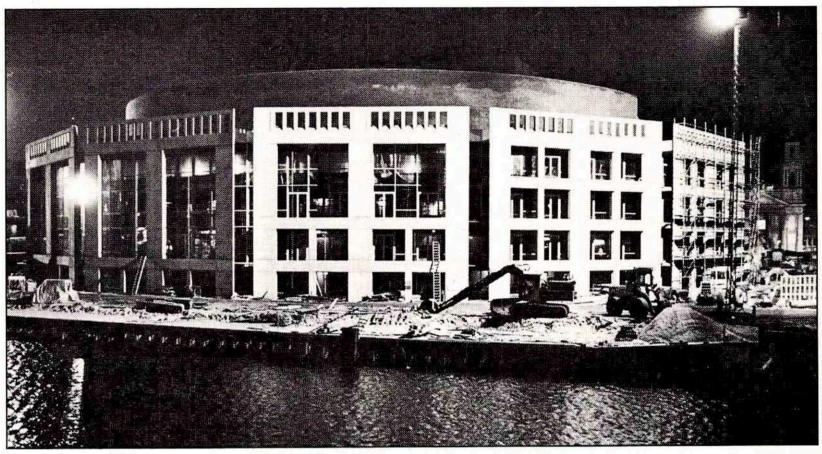
The second act opens with Florestan languishing in the dungeon, and from Gunter Neumann's first cry from this hell we were treated to an agonizing but sublime aria. Beethoven is surely more in character in the prison than in the boudoir. Willard White, as the villain Don Pizarro, sang with an effectively rough and menacing air, but his jerky body movements failed to carry the necessary heaviness.

In the finale the staging was extravagantly elaborate, yet strangely unmoving. It may be because the production was a reprise; it may be that the director, East German Harry Kupfer, finds it difficult to believe in freedom. Bass Jan Alofs sang effectively as Don Fernando—though often in competition with the orchestra—yet the company's performance failed to conclude with exhilaration. Maybe it was because members of the chorus were portrayed as Marxist guerrillas. Admittedly the audience gave the production a standing ovation, but apparently that is quite usual in Holland, and the stage manager's use of the curtain milked the applause to the last drop.

Despite its limitations, this production had its good moments. Of particular value was the strength of the chorus, from which a number of members have already gone on to successful solo careers. With its new home, a new chief, a new orchestra, and a new department of dramaturgy to help tie all these elements together effectively, there is hope that the Netherlands Opera will fulfill its stated ambition "to present opera on a level comparable to that of the foremost opera houses in other parts of the world." □

—Christopher V. Davies

Christopher V. Davies is a free-lance writer based in Amsterdam.



KORS VAN BENNEKOM

The new home of the Netherlands Opera and Ballet, Het Muziek Theater, under construction in Amsterdam's Waterlooplein in December 1985. The building is due to open September 23.

DANCE

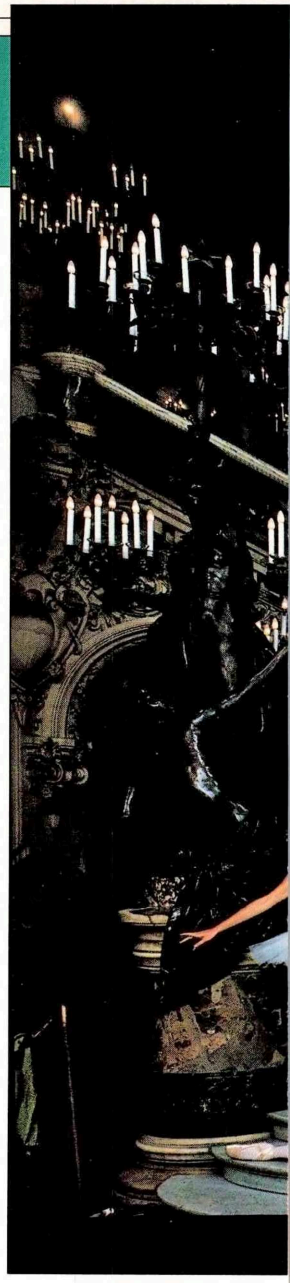
The Paris Opera Ballet Tours the United States

BY SERGE TRIBHOUT

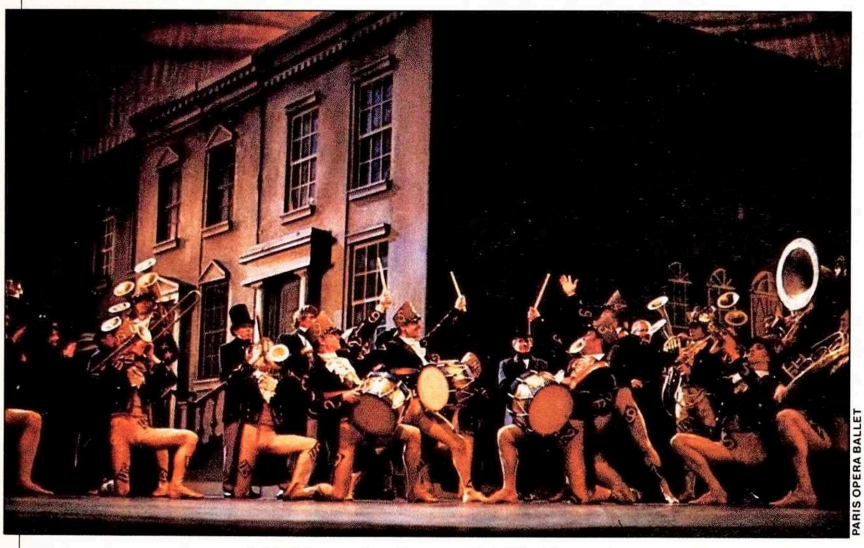
Paris—What a superb billing! Sylvie Guillem, Patrick Dupont, Francine Lancelot, Maurice Bejart, Lifar, Balanchine, Baryshnikov, Nureyev. For the centennial celebration of the Statue of Liberty, the Paris Opera Ballet has outdone itself. From July 8 to July 19 at the Metropolitan Opera in New York and then at the Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C., from July 22 to July 29, the American ballet-going public will be able to enjoy itself, all the more so because the Paris Opera Ballet hasn't made a U.S. tour in nearly forty years. It's quite an artistic and amiable gesture.

Direct heir of the Royal Academy of Dance, created during the reign of Louis XIV in 1661, the Paris Opera Ballet is an institution on a par with the Bolshoi or the Royal Ballet. In numbers, it is the largest company in France and the second-largest in the world. This is a rank and reputation which is always difficult to maintain, especially in a discipline where personality looms large. Perhaps more so than in other arts, sentiments can vacillate radically from season to season, posing serious problems at times.

With its 160 members, the company has had its share of controversies since Rudolf Nureyev was appointed director in 1983. What hopes had been raised by the arrival of this celebrity dancer, but then what criticisms had followed about his dif-



The Paris Opera Ballet company at home.



PARIS OPERA BALLET

Nureyev has choreographed Washington Square.

In reality, no other company can boast of such variety in its repertory.

RODOLPHE TORETTE/PARIS OPERA BALLET

ficult character, about his lack of experience as a director, about the total ineffectiveness, in brief, of this "czarevitch" in ballet slippers! All kinds of remarks were made: that he was a miserable choreographer, that he persisted in giving himself top billing when he was already beyond his prime, that he was at loggerheads with everyone, from Robbins to Neumeier to Petit, and even worse.

Finally the polemicists relented; tempers calmed and humors improved. Certainly problems still exist, but gradually reason has come to prevail, all to the Paris Opera Ballet's best advantage. This was confirmed in its recent tour in Japan last May. If not a triumphal tour, it was definitely an honorable one. Who can ask for more? Nureyev was given standing ovations. There wasn't even one free seat in halls holding up to 3,200 people. Isn't this a good sign, a highly satisfying one?

It can be said that the Paris Opera Ballet has succeeded in affirming its personality in the public eye, especially during the last two seasons. To accomplish this, the company has used both repertory and creative devices. The three programs selected for the American tour provide a sampling of this "made in France" style. They exem-

plify continuity. Tradition is highlighted without neglecting the modern. It is both an ambitious and valuable action, one to be encouraged. In reality, no other company can boast of such variety in its repertory as the refined *Quelques pas graves de Baptiste,* a strictly baroque work choreographed by Francine Lancelot, with music composed by Jean-Baptiste Lully in the seventeenth century; the neoclassicism of Balanchine's *Crystal Palace,* of Lifar's *Mirages* (two works that were part of the 1948 American tour); and the modernity of a Bejart, the choreographer invited to present *Arepo,* one of his most recent creations.

It is true that Nureyev's *Swan Lake*—an overly refined hodgepodge, according to certain competent opinions, leaves one with many reservations, as does his *Washington Square,* perhaps even more so. It is not a question of trying to avoid the issue. However, this is not sufficient reason to unequivocally condemn a creative strategy that is just beginning to bear fruit. This would be suicidal, wouldn't it? Furthermore, as Nureyev approaches the age of fifty he seems to be rectifying his course by accepting secondary parts while not appearing in a bad light. On the contrary! He is giving top billing to some of the young and talented members of the Paris Opera Ballet, placing them in the foreground. Jean Marie Didiere, Manuel Legris, Wilfried Romoli, Eric Vu An, Karin Averty, and Marie Claude Pietragalla should all be mentioned—future stars destined to take the place of their elders in the not-too-distant future. The exquisite Sylvie Guillem, a young dancer hardly twenty-one years of age but already assured of a brilliant career, has recently been elevated to the firmament from this "nursery" of surprising richness—a star to keep an eye on.

Everything bodes well for the Paris Opera Ballet and for the American public. This trip at last to the country of Balanchine and Baryshnikov will serve as a test for our dancers. Our American cousins will have judged both the performances and the works of their eighty or so emissaries, and their pygmalions, of French dance. We wait for the verdict, confidently and optimistically. □

RODOLPHE TORETTE/PARIS OPERA BALLET

A scene from Swan Lake.

Serge Tribhout is a free-lance journalist who freqently writes on the arts. He is based in Paris.

RODOLPHE TORETTE/PARIS OPERA BALLET

Part of the American tour program will include Swan Lake.

THEATER

Compare and Contrast: Theater in London

Drama and Smiles

"Marriage," observed Dr. Johnson, "has many pains, but celibacy has no pleasures," and Western theater has spent much of the past 150 years in trying to decide whether there are any other better alternatives to marriage. In London's forty-one main theaters there are about a dozen marital comedies and dramas currently running, the stage equivalent of television sitcoms, a proportion which has varied little over the decades. There have always been plays like *Run for your Wife* or *No Sex, Please—We're British,* now in its umpteenth year and still attracting coachloads to the august portals of the Garrick Theater.

Well, love, of course, is an inexhaustible topic, as are sex and scandal; and there may seem to be nothing strange about so evident a preoccupation. But marital plays are rarely about love exactly, but

SUE ROLFE & JOAN PLACHTA ASSOCIATES

Cast from When We Are Married. Left to right, back row: *Timothy West, James Brout, Brian Murphy.* Front row: *Prunella Scales, Patricia Routledge, and Elizabeth Spriggs.*

rather about the "dos" and "don'ts" of social conventions, which shift subtly from year to year, transforming the improper into the proper or even fashionable. In 1965, Alan Ayckbourn's *Relatively Speaking* was thought to be a daring play, not one to which a maiden aunt should be invited; but at its recent revival at Greenwich Theater the auditorium was packed with aunts, uncles, and senior citizens, happily enjoying the slightly risqué humor, while the young couples were leaving at the interval.

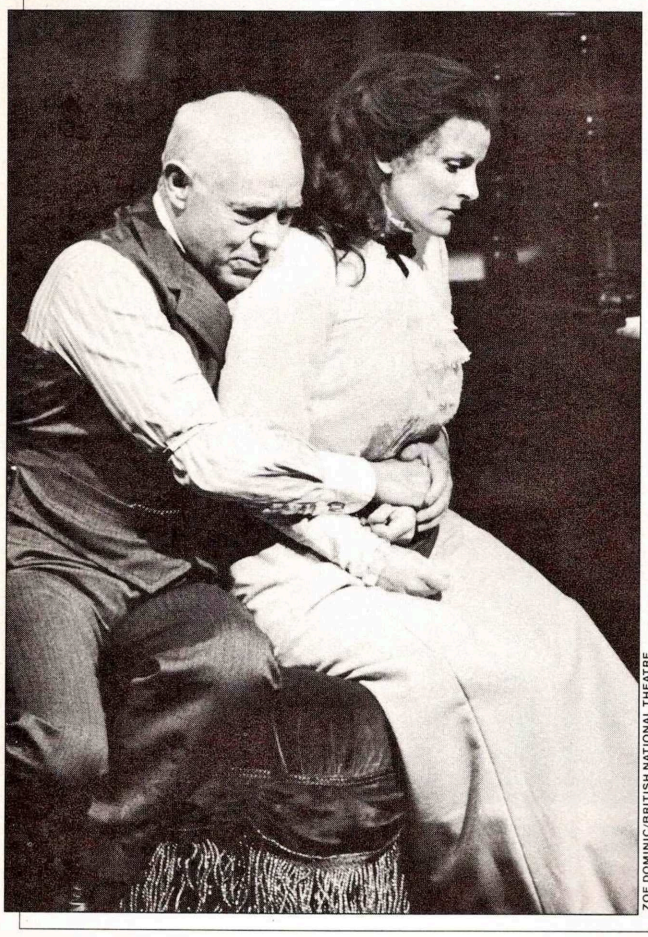
The swinging sixties and the dangling seventies being over, a new mood of puritanism has begun to affect London. The sex shops in Soho are closing down, due partly to government action and partly to a decline in trade; and it is now no longer fashionable to have several sleeping partners. There is very little nudity on the West End stages; and two of the most successful recent revivals have come from the straitlaced thirties, of the musical *Me and My Gal* and of J.B. Priestley's comedy *When We Are Married.*

The fact that *When We Are Married* has become a hit is particularly surprising, for the play is very slight indeed, although it does offer opportunities for the kind of character performances in which British actors excel. Three stuffy and self-important couples from the Yorkshire town of Clecklewyke discover to their horror on their twenty-fifth wedding anniversaries that, strictly speaking, they're not legally married at all, the erstwhile parson not having been properly qualified at the time they were married. The local press is inquisitive, the servants get uppity, and the dignity of the stout parties is saved at the last moment only by an unexpected twist in the plot which reputable critics may not divulge.

It's a nostalgic curiosity, deliberately old-fashioned when it was written in 1938, for it harks back to the golden days at the turn of the century. But it does offer a comforting image of Britain from the time when the North was rich, not poor, when there were lavish high teas with salmon and fruit cake. And the director, Richard Eyre, has assembled a marvelous company of stalwart actors, none of them top-notch stars, to do justice to every nuance of class in Priestley's lines, which emerge fresh and sparkling like Neil Simon gags.

Bill Fraser has the juiciest part as the bemused and pickled photographer, trying to focus his lenses through the mists of alcohol. To watch him opening a door with one leg in the way or maneuvering his tripod around settees and cabinets full of delicate china objects is like being transported back to the Edwardian music halls. But this is a solo turn, not part of the play's main debate, which is about whether the couples really want to be married or whether a bit of freedom might not do them all a power of good.

Reviving an ancient bit of British rubbish is one thing, but England's major subsidized theaters, the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) and the National Theater, have gone a stage further by digging up elderly domestic dramas from other European civilizations. The Austro-Hungarian empire has held a fascination for the National Theater, with



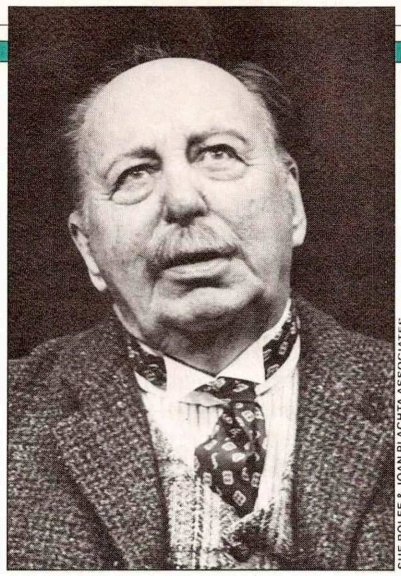
ZOE DOMINIC/BRITISH NATIONAL THEATRE

Michael Bryant (Hans Weiring) and Brenda Blethyn (Christine) in Dalliance.

new versions of plays by Schnitzler, Molnar, Nestroy and Horvath; while the RSC, as befits its left-wing traditions, is particularly attracted to Russian drama from just before and after the revolution. Several of the brightest young dramatists in Britain—Tom Stoppard, Christopher Hampton, and Dusty Hughes among them—have been called in to provide speakable modern versions of these plays; and the results have often differed so strikingly from the originals that they could almost be described as new plays. Michael Frayn's *Wild Honey* was much more than an adaptation of Chekhov's *Platonov,* rather a skilful new farce about a Russian Don Juan; while Stoppard's *On the Razzle,* adapted from a Nestroy original, was so full of his own jokes that Nestroy's slyer, more savage humor barely emerged.

Indeed, one Romanian critic gloomily remarked to me that the trouble with British adaptations was that they would try to teach foreigners how to play cricket, a slight exaggeration perhaps, although he went on to make a more substantial point. Why, he asked, do writers of the caliber of Stoppard and Hampton bother to adapt plays which, in their own countries, are regarded as rather slight boulevard pieces? We were watching *Dalliance* together at the National Theater, Stoppard's version of Arthur Schnitzler's *Liebelei,* which opened in May to mixed reviews.

In 1895, *Liebelei* was a *cause célèbre,* opening at the Burgtheater in Vienna and immediately condemned as immoral. Two young men-about-town, Theodore and Fritz, invite two working-class girls, Mizi and Christine, to their rooms for an idle and—to our eyes—innocent flirtation; but Christine makes the mistake of falling in love with Fritz, a dragoon who has been challenged to a duel by an irate husband. When Fritz is killed, Christine's humble hopes, not of marriage but of a love affair which she can remember when she grows old, are shattered. The burghers of Vienna denounced the play for encouraging wild youthful flings from which no good could come, but it became immensely popular.



SUE ROLFE & JOAN PLACHTA ASSOCIATES

Bill Frasher, the actor.

Schnitzler's defenders (Sigmund Freud among them) spoke of his ability to penetrate the secrets of the heart; and the original play is carefully restrained, hinting at the anguished self-doubts from which the main characters all suffer and steering well clear of sentimentality. The power of the second act lies in the fact that Fritz knows that he is likely to die; he visits Christine in her mean attic apartment as much to say good-bye as to seduce her. The play's final lines, where Christine is dissuaded for fear of scandal even from praying at Fritz's grave, can, as I have seen, still move Austrian audiences to tears.

But Stoppard evidently felt that the British public was too sophisticated for that kind of nonsense and would probably not believe in the innocence and devotion of Christine. He thus totally changes the last act, setting it backstage in a Viennese operetta house, where Christine's father works as a pit violinist. Instead of leaving well enough alone when it came to Christine's last remarks, he writes another couple of speeches for her, in which she denounces male chauvinism and describes Fritz's dashing friend Theodore as a "shitbag." The effect is not just to vulgarize the last scene, but to destroy the delicate, romantic fabric of the play itself.

Was *Leibelei* worth reviving anyway, bearing in mind that the social world which it depicts has changed so fundamentally, both in London and Vienna? There is no longer a sense of moral shock when Christine's father confides to his friend, Frau Binder, that young girls should enjoy themselves while they can. The National Theater, however, is under an obligation to introduce foreign classics to the British theatrical scene, and love stories provide a simple way of discharging that duty. They are less demanding than the works of Goethe, Schiller, and Hebbel.

For dramatists, the opportunity to adapt an old play from somebody else's literal translation offers a means of earning some money without the struggle of writing a new play. There is also something exotic about the Viennese setting. Carl Toms, the designer for *Dalliance,* provided an Austro-Turkish interior for Fritz's pad and had fun with the backcloths, rickety balconies, and hoists of an old-fashioned Viennese stage.

The actors too had their chance to dabble in a style to which they are unaccustomed—the dash and swagger of the Habsburg dragoons, the waltzes around the piano, and those

flamboyant fin-de-siècle gestures, such as scattering roses across a dinner table. The National Theater company is rarely less than accomplished, and the result is not as painfully false as those American accents which one often hears on British stages. A whiff of Old Vienna certainly wafted across the Lyttelton stage. Tim Curry's Theodore and Sally Dexter's Mizi offered the bravado, while Stephen Moore's Fritz and Brenda Blethyn's touching Christine provided the angst; and together they convinced us of a society in which not only Freud but also Richard Tauber might have felt at home.

And yet it was hard to resist the conclusion that Stoppard's intentions (and those of his director, Peter Wood) were fatally at odds with Arthur Schnitzler's; for Schnitzler was trying to strip the glamor from Viennese society to show the harsher realities beneath, which is why he ended the play in a mean attic. The National Theater production, however, delighted in the faded glories of the Habsburg empire. The other fundamental difference was that Schnitzler was urging his audience to be more broadminded about sex, whereas Stoppard, in line with the new puritanism, thought fit to denounce male infidelities.

Is this puritanism in London anything more than a minor change of fashion, the social consequences perhaps of Thatcherism and the revival of right-wing politics, which may disappear after the next election? After all, one can still see punk-rock kids in the street with their Mohican haircuts and cheeks dyed green. The welfare state, so often blamed for the decline in family life, is still intact after nearly seven years of Conservative rule, although it has suffered a few blows. The old social pressures to keep families united against the harsh world outside no longer exist. Youngsters no longer have to beg permission of their parents to get married or to live together; and few fathers would threaten to cut off their children without a penny—the old, forgotten menace of parental tyranny.

The battles for independence, so much a feature of the domestic dramas of the past (such as *When We Are Married*), have receded into history, and at least three generations of British couples have grown up, married, and settled down without too much fear of family interference. To that extent, it seems odd that British writers and directors should want to look again at those turn-of-the-century plays whose social circumstances now seem more remote to us than Mars. But they may have other political intentions for doing so.

> Reviving an ancient bit of British rubbish is one thing, but England's major subsidized theaters . . . have gone a stage further by digging up elderly domestic dramas from other European civilizations.

Dusty Hughes' version of Maxim Gorky's early play *Philistines,* for the Royal Shakespeare Company, has been as freely adapted from the original as Stoppard's *Dalliance,* although it is less of a travesty. The most devoted student of Russian drama would not claim that *Philistines* is a great play, for it is verbose, heavily didactic, and sprawling. It does, however, retain something of Gorky's rough power of invective, attacking his favorite target, the small, domineering business man who makes the life of his family a sheer misery and meanly snatches every last kopeck from his dependents, including the tenants of his house.

This is, I suspect, the image of nineteenth-century family life which the British left wing would most like us to remember—the social impact of unbridled capitalism. Hughes has tightened up the script and reduced the welter of characters to manageable proportions; and under the deliberately austere circumstances of the RSC's studio theaters in London and Stratford-upon-Avon, *Philistines* emerges not necessarily as a better play but as a trenchant warning against nostalgia. Old-fashioned fathers, and the family lives surrounding them, did not bring emotional security. On the contrary, they encouraged wastrel sons, suicidally unhappy daughters, rows at the dinner table, and timid wives. David Burke, one of the RSC's best actors, provided a towering performance as the father, calculating his rages in a long *crescendo,* rising to peaks of self-pity in the last act, reminiscent of James Tyrone in Eugene O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey into Night.*

Whatever the motives for staging *Philistines,* it offers an example of how, at best, the major subsidized companies in Britain can use their privileged status to explore the forgotten recesses of European drama and, by those means, encourage British audiences to take a longer term view of how our Western societies have developed. *Philistines* is more than a curiosity, if less than a masterpiece, and while it will never

be popular with the British public, as it wasn't even with the Russian, the RSC's reputation is such that audiences are still prepared to come, listen attentively, and even applaud.

Education, rather than show business? Perhaps, but it is education on matters fundamental to all our lives, for if revivals like *Philistines* or *Dalliance* teach us anything at all, it's not about European drama, but about how other people with different ways of life handle those domestic crises which are common to humanity. We may not learn how to love through the theater, but at least we can become more sophisticated about our failures to do so. The new puritanism in Britain seeks to rediscover love after the distraction of the sexual freedom of the 1960s. Or was it a distraction? That is still the unanswered question.□

—John Elsom

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Not Your Classical *Chess*

Chess is a game between two people played on a board with sixty-four squares and thirty-two pieces, and can last anywhere from five minutes to five hours, or even five days. It is also an ambitious new London musical featuring a cast of forty-eight people singing and dancing on a huge revolving black-and-white checkered board, and could run for as many as ten years.

How chess, a sober, calculating battle of minds, lends itself to being material for a swashbuckling musical, with a full orchestra and theater company, is intriguing, but it just so happened that the musical's opening at the Prince Edward Theatre, in London's West End, virtually coincided with the thrilling finale of the United Kingdom versus United States Chess Challenge, played in a hotel a few miles away. Good planning.

Exactly what the U.S. chess champion, Lev Alburt, and his fellow chess experts might have thought of the musical remains open to conjecture, since he and several world chess grand masters spent opening night standing on the sidewalk across the street from the theater, demonstrating on behalf of a former champion, Boris Gulko.

It is good to know that Gulko, after seven years of trying to emigrate from the Soviet Union, was finally granted his request at the end of May and is now free to purchase a ticket for *Chess* in the front row of the stalls. It would be fascinating to hear his comments after it. One suspects that he might find the story slightly incredulous but the music rather engaging.

Chess, written by Tim Rice, with

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Tom Jobe as The Arbiter (left) exudes confidence and looks comfortable in his part.

music by Benny Andersson and Bjorn Ulvaeus of the hugely successful rock group, ABBA, cost $6 million, making it the most expensive play in the history of the West End.

It tells the story of Anatoly Sergievsky (Tommy Korberg), the Russian challenger for the crown of chess champion of the world. Between him and victory stands the current champ, Frederick Trumper (Murray Head), a brash, conceited American, prone to John McEnroe-style tantrums when life doesn't work out exactly as he wishes.

Following a long buildup, which emphasizes the obvious—that the players are mere pawns in the game of East–West relations—the match begins, not in the United States or the Soviet Union but somewhere in the middle—a small town called Merano, in northern Italy, where the locals, dressed in traditional Bavarian attire, look anything but Italian. Suddenly, Trumper storms off in an unexplained huff and, with equal suddenness returns, losing the match. His girlfriend, Florence Vassy (Elaine Paige), of Hungarian descent but without a hint of an accent, runs out of patience with Trumper and into the arms of Sergeivsky.

The Russian has problems. He loves his wife and two children back home but has fallen for the pert, blonde Vassy. The plot becomes unnecessarily convoluted when the Soviet Union sends over a new challenger for the rematch in Bangkok, a man one never actually sees but has to imagine is sitting behind his king and queen across the board from Sergievsky.

The KGB tells Sergievsky that he will not see his wife and children again if he wins and the CIA makes it clear that if he loses, Vassy's father will be allowed to leave Hungary. Woven into this muddle is the lackluster relationship between him and Vassy and the sudden arrival of Sergievsky's wife, Svetlana (Siobhan McCarthy), who appears unbothered by the imminent demise of her marriage.

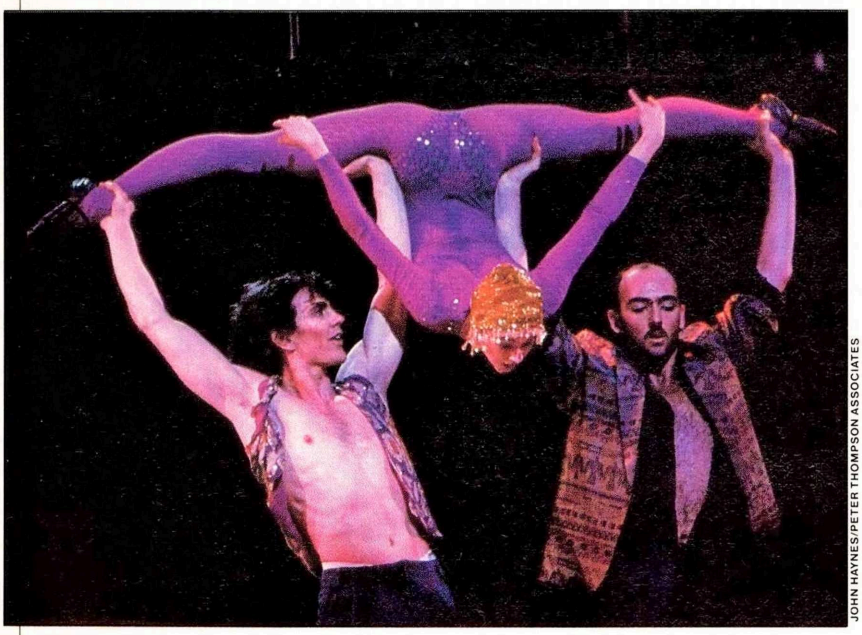
Trumper, meanwhile, has cut his hair, bought a shirt and tie and has been given a commentator's jacket by a U.S. television station. Rather than revenging his shattering defeat by demanding a rematch—as Rocky Balboa would have—Trumper sets out to humiliate the Russian during a live interview on what looks like the *Good Morning America* show. So much for the story.

Molly Molloy, who trained at New York's High School of Performing Arts, and who became, at age sixteen, the youngest star pupil of the Metropolitan Opera Ballet School, is the choreographer of *Chess*—and its dazzling opening sequence is one of which she should be proud.

It chronicles the history of chess, with humans disguised as ivory chess pieces moving about the board as they would during a real game. One learns from Rice's clipped lyrics that after its invention some 1,500 years ago in a Hindu palace, "Chess displayed no inertia, soon spread to Persia," before "reaching every corner of the globe with nation squaring up to nation to determine, no holds barred, who owns, who made, who will parade, the champion of chess."

Explosive openings can be dangerous. They threaten to dwarf what follows. But *Chess* survives, not on the strength of its plot or its acting, but on the basis of its appealing tunes, immaculate directing and stunning sets.

With the album preceding the show, many of the songs are well-known, especially "One Night in Bangkok" and the delightfully tender "I Know Him So Well,"



JOHN HAYNES/PETER THOMPSON ASSOCIATES

Molly Molloy choreographed the dancers to move about the board as chess pieces in a game.

which last year became a top-selling single in Britain.

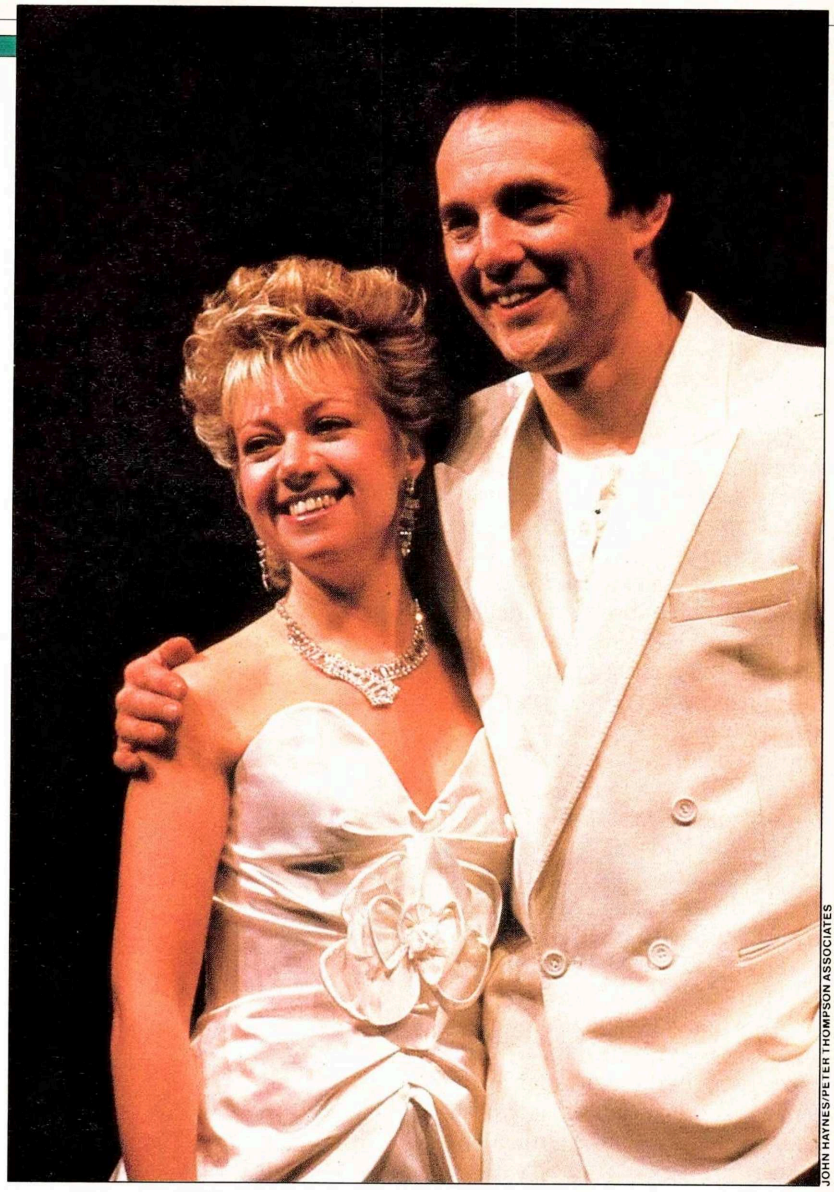
Robin Wagner, the set designer, is no stranger to big-time musicals. After having designed for such productions as *Hair, Jesus Christ Superstar, A Chorus Line, Dreamgirls,* and *42nd Street,* among others, *Chess* has provided him with a new frontier, which he seizes with relish. The black-and-white-checkered stage revolves and tilts, while above it and at the sides, huge banks of TV monitors carry news bulletins from all over the globe about the chess match, interspersed with footage of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit and the Cuban missile crisis.

The director is Trevor Nunn, but more of him later.

The star in the souvenir program is Paige, but the star of the show is Korberg, who hails from Sweden and has sung everything from modern popular music to opera. His enormous versatility is evident throughout, with "Heaven Help My Heart" being the most gripping number.

He is supported by Paige, 36, for whom *Chess* marks a return to the West End in her first major musical since *Cats.* She sings beautifully and most of her time on stage is spent singing, which is fortunate, because although she trained as an actress, she is cold and wooden when she is not singing.

Paige first worked with Rice during 1978, in *Evita,* for which Andrew Lloyd Webber wrote the music. There has been considerable gossip about Rice's burgeoning romance with the singer, which Rice said might have helped generate added interest in the show. His wife might not see it that way and certainly it has not helped Paige immerse herself in the character she plays on stage.



JOHN HAYNES/PETER THOMPSON ASSOCIATES

Elaine Paige as Florence and Tommy Korberg as Sergievsky.

When asked about this, Rice says only that Paige "is the best possible talent for the play." It's a shame, though, that a potentially moving story of love and political intrigue is played so dispassionately. In the end, one cares not one tittle whether Vassy sees her father or stays with Sergievsky, or returns to Trumper. Paige has said that *Chess* is the most difficult play she has done and that she has difficulty pacing herself. But she certainly has the opportunity to do so—her contract runs for nine months, with an option to extend it if she wishes.

Head has also worked previously with Rice, playing the role of Judas in *Jesus Christ Superstar.* Since then, he has appeared in seven films and produced several albums. Last year he performed at a free concert in Paris and drew a crowd of more than 400,000. His fans will be sorry that in *Chess* he fades into the background after the intermission and is upstaged by The Arbiter (Tom

Jobe), who, more than anyone else, exudes confidence and looks comfortable in his part. Jobe recently played the lead role of Electra in Lloyd Webber's hugely successful *Starlight Express* and has brought much of that show's sharpness with him.

Chess endured a long, painful pregnancy which went into difficult labor when five preview performances—including a gala evening during which Princess Margaret was present—had to be cancelled on short notice because the computer controlling the lighting and set changes went on the blink.

But that was nothing compared to earlier setbacks, particularly the one in January when the American director, Michael Bennett, 42, walked out. At first it was thought that he had had an argument with Paige, but later Robert Fox, one of the producers, squashed that rumor and said Bennett had "behaved like an angel." It was his health which had forced him to leave.

"We suffered the nightmare all producers dread," said Rice. "The departure of the director after huge sums had been spent, including the commissioning of extraordinary elaborate stage machinery. When you're faced with horrific bills, an immovable opening date, a hundred people on the payroll, and no director, you can only reach for the smelling salts."

With $2 million worth of tickets already sold, Rice approached Trevor Nunn, the 45-year-old chief executive of the Royal Shakespeare Company, whose commercial directorships have included *Cats* and *Starlight Express,* and who is known to have difficulty in saying "no."

He said "yes," stipulating that it was to be his show and not an adaptation of Michael Bennett's.

"He talked to each member of the cast and told them that he would be unable to honor any promises made to them by Michael Bennett, and they would all have to start again," said Rice. "Anyone unhappy about it could be paid off. Not one chose to go."

Rice's love of cricket is well-known. But what of chess? Like many people, he was fascinated by the 1972 match in Reykjavik between Bobby Fisher of the United States and Boris Spassky of the Soviet Union and he had long wanted to write something about East-West tension, which, he said, "is not perhaps a crushingly original theme, but when applied to the weird and wonderful world of chess and chess players instantly becomes vastly more intriguing."

> "It was a huge risk," said Rice. "We had to have a hit. If we couldn't have a hit, we had to have a flop."

In 1981, he met Ulvaeus and Andersson, who apparently shared his enthusiasm, and two years later the two members of ABBA had produced enough music on the subject to fill a double album. Which they did, using the voices of Paige, Head, and Korberg.

"It was a huge risk," said Rice. "We had to have a hit. If we couldn't have a hit, we had to have a flop. A modest success would kill us, because we would not have paid off our recording costs, but would still have had to pay royalties to the artists."

To launch the album, Rice, Ulvaeus, and Andersson decided to stage live concerts in London, Paris, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Stockholm; they then released "I Know Him So Well" and "One Night in Bangkok" as singles. The album and singles sold and the next logical step was to find *Chess* a home in a West End theater.

It opened on May 14 at the Prince Edward Theatre—which had previously housed *Evita*—and was received cautiously. One critic described it as a "triumphant victory of style over content," while *The Guardian* said the songs were lost in a "total emotional vacuum." *The Times* was kinder, calling it a "fine piece of work that shows the dinosaur mega-musical evolving into an intelligent form of life." But Milton Shulman, of the *London Standard,* had "the impression that all this moving about is designed for excuses for production numbers that have nothing to do with *Chess.*"

Which is related to Rice's main contention that international chess matches have little to do with chess.

Or, as the opening chorus puts it:
"Each game of chess means there's one less
Variation left to be played
Each day got through means one or two
Less mistakes remain to be made."
□

—Mark Palmer

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FILM

The Mystical Palm

The 39th International Cannes Film Festival

BY SERGE TRIBHOUT

Someone had to actually do it. And he did it. Hats off to Sidney Pollack! The odds against his deciding to go were enormously formidable. It was an open secret as to who had bowed out. After much beating around the bush, weighing of the pros and cons as if they were picking through a pile of rags, those who think they make the sun rise and set on the industry, those tough guys, those macho he-men with articulated biceps and deltoids, those champions of the box office—they balked at the hurdle like ordinary nags, the whole lot of them, even though it meant they would be found out. They set those nasty Gallic tongues wagging from Lutèce to the Mediterranean, and came out of it looking like wet hens.

It's true that the challenge posed by the 39th International Cannes Film Festival carried a high measure of risk. No one could deny that. After all, there were, all under the same roof, a band of bloodthirsty pirates, austere Carmelites, a lanky flamenco dancer, a mystic poet, hairy mercenaries, a militant revolutionary–red menace, an out-of-control locomotive, an excessively cuddly chimpanzee, ridiculous first

EMIKO OZAKI

Catherine Mouchet starred in Thérèse, *which won the Special Jury Prize.*

generation Australians, some hostile blacks, a gawky loose woman, a prudish computer operator, a rumpled Catherine Deneuve, a Zeffirellized Placido Domingo, a Shepardized Altman, a transvestite Depardieu. And all this under the threat of Qaddafi's time bombs, with the protection of a detachment of the Special Security forces. Oh, to be seen in this Ali Baba cave, this wayside tavern filled with pestiferous people. It would feel great —maybe.

Of course there was sunshine and champagne galore, which are highly persuasive incentives for attending the festival. But participation also required steady nerves ready for anything. This was apparent from the start and became more so as the films, one by one, were projected. There were over twenty full-length feature films screened at the Auditorium Lumière, each competing, incidentally, for that ultimate prize, the Golden Palm. Palace intrigues kept people guessing. Comparisons, silences, craftiness, politicking behind the scenes, hunches—it's the same thing at every Cannes Film Festival. It's like being stuck in a can of worms.

Pollack's task was a difficult one, a thankless mission, one which was apparently simple but demanded ample tact and authority. Helped in part, no doubt, by his recent Hollywood Oscars, and the triumph French moviegoers made of *Out of Africa*, Pollack didn't fail. He lacked neither the tact nor the authority. He was the right person for the occasion—the best, if Robert Redford will allow; and, while not responsible for the official selection at this 39th Cannes Festival, he accomplished something rare: he brought about unanimity.

During the breaks, Edy Williams and the starlets fed the interest of the paparazzi. On the arm of the always-dashing "Jolly Roger" Polanski they turned the deck of the pirate galleon upside down, were caught dozing at the Majestic bar, lined the terrace of the Carlton, were seen along the Croisette with elderly tourists, and dallied on Antibes Street with the soldiers of fortune.

Once the audiovisual chaos was over—when the media relaxed its grip, the 600 or more films shown at the festival were rewound, the nearly 3,000 journalists had turned in their credentials, and the prime list was proclaimed at an electrified live ceremony by a Mr. Loyal, who, in his penguin suit, appeared to be floating in a great abyss—it had to be said that when all was taken into account, what had occurred along the Croisette was little short of a holy war of the most serious nature.

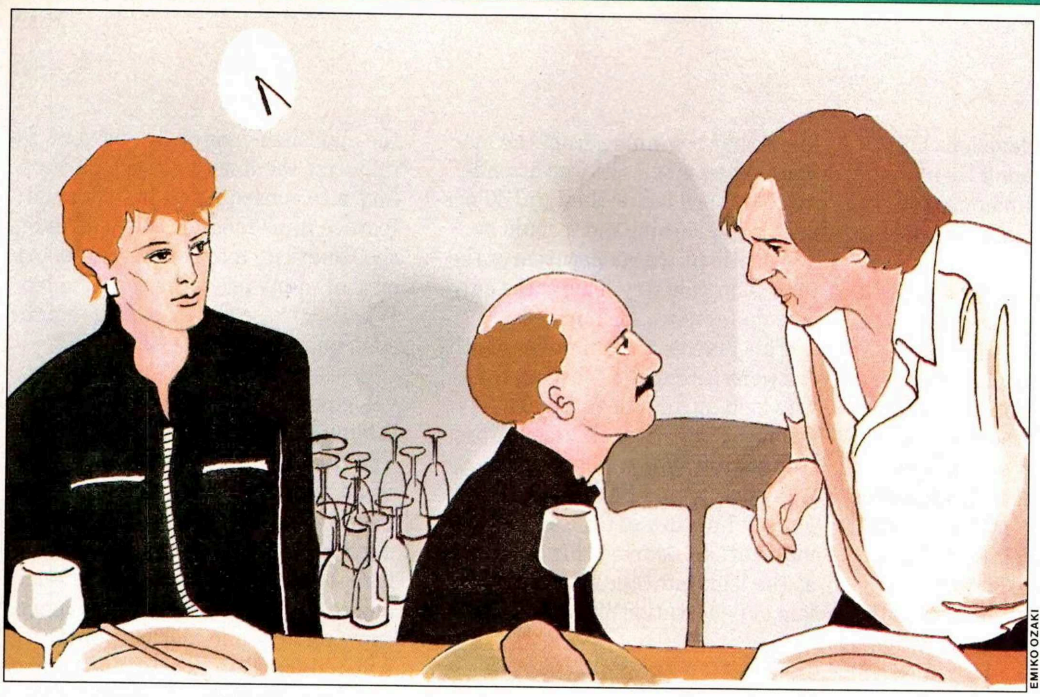
> It had to be said that when all was taken into account, what had occurred along the Croisette was little short of a holy war of the most serious nature.

It could have degenerated into a societal crisis had it not been for the decisiveness of the armies of the faithful, who on closing night, by means of the awards ceremony, made those pagan troops coming from Italy, Japan, France, Paris —detachments consisting of worshippers of the flesh, zoophilia enthusiasts, bird eaters, and other choristers of carnal love—bite the dust. Exeunt therefore Blier and his *Tenue de Soirée,* Oshima and *Max, Mon Amour,* and Ferreri's *I Love You.*

The deck cleared, the infidels unequivocally vanquished, the only thing left for the fanatics to do was to divide the spoils of conquest from the all-out war—trophies to be collected with the requisite zeal. Who in Sweden (Tarkovski's *Sacrifice*), or in Great Britain via Latin America (Joffe's *Mission*), or in West Germany (Margareth von Trotta's *Rosa Luxembourg*), or furthermore in France (Cavalier's *Thérèse*), was not more than a little proud of their unexpected, unpredicted exploits?

As André Malraux said, "The twenty-first century will be religious or it won't be." It is certain that during the celebrations and the "final judgment," Sidney Pollack and members of the jury were visited by the spirit of that writer-minister and friend of General De Gaulle. All glory goes therefore to Joffe's missionary to the Amazon, to Tarkovski's celestial explorer, to Von Trotta's mystic Marxist, to Cavalier's voice of the Holy Spirit—glory that the Lucases and other ardent partisans of *Star Wars* take for granted. Once and for all, the next century will belong to the spiritually elite, the mystics, not to those rowdy and dissolute soldiers of the barrack-rooms. This is the implicit message of the Cannes "High Mass." Hallelujah.

Although the awards of the 39th Cannes Festival appeared to have been astutely, even judiciously, decided, a closer look shows that the cameras were so intently focused on the works which made no secret of their moral imperative that the weaknesses of the overall selection were obscured. The selection included no film of great magnitude, at



Miou-Miou, Michel Blanc, and Gérard Depardieu in Tenue de Soirée.

any rate nothing that could be compared with Coppola's *Apocalypse Now,* Antonioni's *Blow Up,* Wajda's *Man of Iron,* or Camus' *Black Orpheus*—all past top prize winners. One is allowed to ask oneself why. It is regrettable, agonizingly so. It is as if the selectors made a raid upon unfinished symphonies. In such a situation it is not always easy for the jurors to separate the wheat from the chaff. Pollack's adeptness is therefore all the more impressive. Now it is possible to think that maybe the laurel that was placed on Martin Scorsese's head, the award for best director, was more for *The Last Temptation of Christ* that he directed not so long ago than for the with-it farce that his *After Hours* is. If not, then nothing is comprehensible. Everything is doubtful— oneself, others, all.

The biggest losers at the Cannes Festival were, without a doubt, Golan-Globus' Cannon group. They had high stakes riding on this Rivieran wager. Were not three of their protegés entered in the official competition from the start? The result? Neither Altman, Konchalovsky, nor Zeffirelli came away with even the least award or the smallest consolation prize.

Be that as it may, the terrific tandem of Golan-Globus, makers of miracles and mirages, knew from experience how to emerge smelling like roses at Cannes, just as they did the previous year. It was at Cannes in 1985 that, with much fanfare, the announcement was made of the signing, on a restaurant tablecloth, of a contract with Jean-Luc Goddard, the pope of the New Wave, for the production of *King Lear*, with screenplay by Norman Mailer.

In 1986 Golan-Globus did it again —at a jam-packed press conference. They revealed the upcoming shooting of a super production. The theme? The war in the Falkland Islands. The title? *Falklands: The Real Story.* It is a colossal project which is expected to cost over $10 million. The production was offered to the British producer Stuart Urban. Credits will go only to top international stars.

These also are part of the Cannes International Film Festival: bursts of anger and publicity-mongering. Wonderful. Another kind of cinema. And this phenomenon only gets bigger. This year it reached the danger level, worse than anyone would have imagined. In fact the real stars of the Cannes Festival are no longer the films, the filmmakers, or the actors. The media have stolen the show. Yes. Yes.

The absence, by and large, of the American contingent—the Spielbergs, the Kim Basingers, the Shepards, the Matthaus, the Voights, the Roberts, and the "chicken-Rambos" scared off by the specter of a few Libyan threats—was a glaring illustration. Wouldn't the absence of these famous people detract from the success of the gathering? One would have thought so. Is that what happened? Not at the Cannes International Film Festival! The moral of the story is that what may be a cause for alarm for some is just a simple invitation for others. Oh yes!

You be the judge. At the Cannes Festival in May 1986, there were no

fewer than eighty television channels represented, among them nine American stations, and only the best. With radio and press people swelling the ranks, what was at the outset only a cinema festival grew to be the world's second-largest media event, just hehind the Olympic Games and just ahead of soccer's World Cup competition. Standing room only. A sign of the times, no less. Some even went so far as to call it the "Chernobyl teleradioactive fallout cloud," uncontrolled and uncontrollable. Can the information media really be taken seriously?

All joking aside, the impact of the Cannes International Film Festival, however slight, cannot be denied. If official figures for box office sales during the week of May 7–13, the first week of the festival, are studied, what can be seen? A 6.5 percent increase in box office sales for newly released films, some of them being the films showing along the Croisette, a total of 860,520 sales. Eloquent results, aren't they? Something to be pondered by those who disparage the Cannes "High Mass" and by others as well.

This pleasant but temporary clearing in the forest doesn't obscure the thorny problems that confront the cinema industry today, both in France and elsewhere. Even with 172 million tickets sold in 1986, according to the French National Cinema Center, and though France fared better than some European partners, it is far from being untouched by the public's disaffection with movie theaters.

This is not an impossible crisis for the cinema industry. Some executives are already conscious of the fact that the cinema must adapt to the new norms imposed by technological and audiovisual developments. This is imperative. They know that beginning from the moment when movie theater attendance dropped below the fatal 40 percent level, nothing more could be done without the cooperation of the television industry. This is the only certain factor in the business.

This matter and a number of others were raised at a meeting that was held during the festival at Cannes, between Jack Valenti, president of the Motion Pictures Equity Association, and François Léotard, French Minister of Culture and Communications. During this tête-à-tête at the "summit," the delicate problem of penetration of France's national film industry into the American market was brought up one more time. The American market is highly protective, according to French professionals, who, to justify their accusations, cite particularly startling figures. Thus it was learned that films made in France only attract .5 percent of the overall market in the United States, whereas in France, American films attracted more than 39 percent of the film market. Problematic, don't you think? Naturally, the two partners had to bring up the question of dubbing French films before showing them on U.S. television—a gesture that would serve to overcome the apprehensions of the viewers, familiarize them with French culture, and, as a consequence, help French feature films fend for themselves on the American market. It was reported that many promises were made. Whether these promises will be acted upon remains to be seen.

Some executives are already conscious of the fact that the cinema must adapt to the new norms imposed by technological and audiovisual developments.

The strategy for the further development of the cinema is still unfolding. The merit of the Cannes Film Festival is its ability to attract, on an annual basis, decision makers from all facets of the industry, to serve as a kind of sounding board for new ideas. Perhaps the various points of view will begin to be more supportive of one another. Mrs. Anne-Marie Dupuy of Cannes and Charlotte Spadaro of Beverly Hills united the two cities this past May 13. Hopefully this will be for the better. Haven't these ladies symbolically shown the cinema the way to go? In the cinema industry, as in the aeronautics industry, accords of cooperation on a world-wide scale are necessary. It is unquestionably and unavoidably true, and these ladies dared to do it.

Now that the curtain has fallen on the 39th Cannes International Film Festival, all eyes are already looking toward the 1987 horizon, the occasion of the festival's fortieth birthday, an historical moment. Delegate General Gilles Jacob has already let it be known that for this event a Roberto Rossellini Award will be created. This prize will be awarded to the person who contributed the most to cinematographic progress during the preceding year. Another new prize, this one announced by Pierre Voit, the president of next year's festival, is an award that will be given to the best opera film. Bel Canto will follow this year's mystic voices, and this is one way to set the tone, to get the Cro-

isette singing. Wait and see!

The disappearance of the old Palace Hotel, to be torn down this year, where out-of-competition films were screened, will be the first, if not the only, shadow on the canvas of the new season. The hearts of festival participants and film enthusiasts will skip a beat when they discover a new four-star hotel in the spot once occupied by the old Palais Croisette, that mythical site where Jim Jarmusch and Fina Torres were discovered. All the festival participants will tell you that it will be a nostalgic experience that no one can afford to miss. This is the award for anonymous people.

Afterwards, each one can compare, for pleasure's sake, distant and privileged memories, gathered either in the obscurity of a screening room or over a glass of champagne. For me, the 1985 festival was colored by the friendly face of Clint Eastwood. I met him casually during a party given in his honor on the terrace of the famous Palais Croisette. In 1986, change of place, change of decor in this 39th festival. I already identify it with the enchanted adolescent face of Jean François Lepetit, producer of *Three Men and a Cradle,* the film that triumphed in New York at the 68th Street Playhouse and of which the Walt Disney studio is preparing a remake—appropriately enough, Disney having been another person who lived a cinema fairy tale without letting it detract from his authenticity. And that is Cannes, in May. □

Serge Tribhout is a free-lance journalist who frequently comments on the arts. He is based in Paris.

39th Cannes International Film Festival

OFFICIAL SELECTIONS

Pirates - Polanski (France, Tunisia), out of competition
Tenue de Soirée - Blier (France)
Poor Butterfly - Raoul de la Torre (Brazil)
Love Me Forever or Never - Jabor (Brazil)
Fool For Love - Altman (USA)
Mona Lisa - Jordan (Great Britain)
A Man and a Woman: Twenty Years Later - Lelouch (France), out of competition
The Last Image - Hamina (Algeria)
After Hours - Scorsese (USA)
Sacrifice - Tarkovski (Sweden)
I Love You - Ferreri (Italy)
Max, Mon Amour - Oshima (France)
The Color Purple - Spielberg (USA), out of competition
Genesis - Sen (India)
Othello - Zeffirelli (Italy)
Thérèse - Cavalier (France)
The Scene of the Crime - Techine (France)
The Mission - Joffe (Great Britain)
Rosa Luxembourg - von Trotta (West Germany)
Runaway Train - Konchlovsky (USA)
Down By Law - Jarmusch (USA)
Fringe Dwellers - Beresford (Australia)
Hannah and Her Sisters - Allen (USA), out of competition
Boris Godunov - Bondarchuk (USSR)
L'Amour Sorcier - Saura, out of competition

AWARDS LIST

Golden Palm: *The Mission* - Joffe
Special Jury Grand Prize: *Sacrifice* - Tarkovski
Best Director: *After Hours* - Scorsese
Best Actress: Barbara Sokowa for *Rosa Luxembourg* and Fernanda Torres for *Love Me Forever or Never*
Best Actor: Michel Blanc for *Tenue de Soirée* and Neil Jordan for *Mona Lisa*
Special Jury Prize: Alain Cavalier for *Thérèse*
Prize for the Best Artistic Contribution: Sven Nykvist

THE JURY

Sidney Pollack - Producer
Charles Aznavour - Singer
Sonia Braga - Actress
Danièlle Thomson - Script Writer
Lino Brocka - Producer
Istavan Szabo - Producer
Tonino dellie Colli - Chief Cameraman
Philip French - Critic
Alexandre Mnouchkine - Backer
Alexandre Trauner - Set Designer

Spacey in Spots, but Still Camp: Reflections on the Movie Spacecamp

Always grist for the mills of the minds of youthful moviegoers is any probing of the unknown, any dabbling in the mysteries of the partially known, or any adventure that crosses the borderline between the probable and the merely possible. The current Twentieth Century Fox release *Spacecamp* is indeed such an adventure, and children everywhere are relishing it in untold numbers.

There's a very logical fascination with every new frontier and the unexplained that lies beyond. Some have called space the final frontier, but they're exuberantly wrong. There will always be as many "final frontiers" as there have been past frontiers, and space is only the frontier of the moment. Speakers and thinkers in any age are always convinced that their discoveries are the ultimate, yet something always emerges that supersedes and brings new hopes and new challenges, and those become the stuff that movie dreams are made of. Whatever is trendy, whatever is camp, is in, and *Spacecamp*'s space camp is no exception. It's on the cutting edge of every kid's imagination, and imagination is still really the only true magic carpet for fantasy-minded children—or fantasy-minded adults, for that matter.

In the early years of this century the Tom Swift books were devoured by young readers. Consider such mysterious dabblings as *Tom Swift and His Airship, Tom Swift and His Motorcycle,* or *Tom Swift and His Submarine Boat,* all copyrighted in 1910 and all exploring those then-new and very exciting frontiers, together with all the magic that goes with that sort of thing.

By 1928 it was *Tom Swift and His Talking Pictures;* by 1933 it was ... *His Television Detector,* and by 1934 ... *His Ocean Airport,* at a time when aircraft carriers were barely a dream. If the series were published today, I would envision *Tom Swift and His Space Shuttle Adventure* or the like, and that's exactly what we have in the entertaining and gripping film *Spacecamp.* It's many notches above *Our Gang Blasts Off,* but in essence the identical appeal is all there.

The story is based on the existence of the elaborate summer programs offered to kids ages eleven to seventeen at the NASA Space Center in Huntsville, Alabama. (There's a small similar camp in Hutchinson, Kansas, but the film is set at the original location of Huntsville, and almost all of it was shot at that particular camp.) The idea of such a space camp, together with a space museum, was the brainchild of the late German scientist, Wernher von Braun. Today over 4,000 youngsters "graduate" each year from the program, with double that number anticipated by next year. At the camp, the science-minded youth train in conditions of weightlessness, work in the "five degrees of freedom" chair used to train astronauts for space walks, operate the MMU (Manned Maneuvering Unit, a robot arm), and undergo mock emergency procedures in simulated flight conditions in a replica of a space capsule. It's the dream of thousands of today's boys and girls, and the movie makes it a vicarious reality for the viewers.

The story begins as the summer crop of kids arrives at the camp, managed by astronauts Tom Skerritt (who starred in *Top Gun*) and Kate Capshaw (*Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*). The main group is cutely contrived, and in today's usual attempts at apparent ethnic and racial heterogeneity, the mix, though possible, is atypical. We have two teenage girls. One is demure and brilliant: Lea Thompson (*Back to the Future*), and the other is a bit nutty, dresses like Cindy Lauper and Madonna, but has a photographic memory: Kelly Preston (*Secret Admirer*). There are two teenage boys: newcomer Tate Donovan, who plays an irresponsible beer-guzzler who couldn't care less about space travel and is at camp only because his parents sent him, and a black youth, Larry B. Scott (*Revenge of the Nerds*), who's dedicated but, frankly, not very bright. The remaining member of the team of principals is young Leaf Phoenix, another newcomer, a boy of about eleven or perhaps younger, admitted as an exception. In today's trend of colorblind casting, we have four whites, one black, and no asians, a mix that is slightly less than run-of-the-mill.

The group is supervised by Kate Capshaw, an extremely rude and condescending instructor—embittered, perhaps, because she has been passed over for a recent shuttle flight.

Regardless, she works with the kids, trying to whip them into shape, giving them crew assignments, and scolding them with vindictive regu-

ABC MOTION PICTURES, INC./TWENTIETH CENTURY FOX

Andie (Kate Capshaw, left*) is launched into space with her Space Camp pupils,* (left to right) *Kathryn (Lea Thompson), Max (Leaf Phoenix), Rudy (Larry B. Scott), and Kevin (Tate Donovan), in* Spacecamp.

larity. Toward the end of their week, they're scheduled for the ultimate experience: they all sit in an actual shuttle, positioned on the launching pad, and feel the thrill of a test-firing of its engines, an experience, by the way, that is definitely *not* part of the real-life Space Camp program!

Suddenly something goes wrong, the shuttle takes off, and five inexperienced kids, with partly experienced Kate Capshaw, are launched into space. Since the ship was not actually flight-ready, they lack proper supplies of fuel, oxygen, and food, but the real problem is that long-range radio equipment was not in place, and they quickly lose voice contact with Earth. At this point we have the oft-repeated essence of good film plots: a heterogeneous group of individuals, suddenly thrust together and enclosed within a crisis, which causes them to work together fully to seek successfully a way out of the dilemma. It worked for John Ford's *Stagecoach* in 1939, for such epics as *Earthquake* and *The Towering Inferno,* and the teamwork theme works well here.

Abruptly the youths are forced to depend on whatever innate or learned skills might be available. They don't have enough oxygen to last until the next reentry point. They remember that oxygen tanks are stored at a space station under construction. They change course. The ground crew is at once frantic but calm. So is the neophyte shuttle crew. At the space station, senior member Capshaw and tiny boy Phoenix spacewalk dramatically to pick up the oxygen. Capshaw is badly injured and is almost lost in space. Little kid is big hero. Gasping crew get oxygen at last minute (as we knew they would). With Capshaw injured, kids must figure all coordinates and bring ship in. No one in "the tower" this time to talk them down, and so on, and so forth. Can they do it? The answer is most certainly predictable, but knowing that doesn't in the least detract from the thrills and the genuine suspense packed into *Spacecamp.*

Although the film is generally being well-received, some questions logically emerge. Is it proper or in good taste to release such a film in the wake of the impossible-to-have-predicted *Challenger* shuttle disaster last January? Similar problems arose with film producers regarding *Marooned* (1969) which was running at a time when we had real astronauts temporarily marooned in space, or at least in serious trouble. Again, *The China Syndrome* (1979) came out just after the Three Mile Island accident in Pennsylvania. Should those films have been held back? Aside from the obvious monetary reasons for releasing a film already in the can, the view seems to prevail that timely relevance is both profitable *and* informative, as long as good taste is maintained.

Another question raised asks whether we should be feeding our children on unattainable and unrealistic fantasy. Social anthropologists point out that the more complex a society becomes, the less valuable, from a practical standpoint, children are, since they must endure more years in limbo while waiting to catch up with the technology.

Twelve- to twenty-year-olds constitute approximately 80 percent of moviegoing audiences, and while both working parents stay home to watch TV in the evening, children flock to whatever the theaters are showing. Since it will take them many years to adapt to today's complex technology—such as space flight—it may be far better to feed them *Spacecamp* fantasy adventure than *Rambo* vengeance and violence.

The special effects were done by Chuck Gaspar *(Ghostbusters)* and Barry Nolan *(Dune),* and though brilliant and realistic, numerous scenes appear botched by sloppy traveling matte match. Harry Winer, here directing his first film, elicits admirable performances from his players; it's just that some of them act far too spacey to be believed. Nevertheless, the children in the audience don't seem to mind. As long as the story is a seat-edge nail-biter in some mysterious adventure-filled vein, children are captivated, spellbound in darkness for two hours. Tom Swift lives! *Spacecamp* is his reincarnation.

The real message comes early, right after the careless boy makes an error in the simulator that, in a real flight, would have killed the crew. Capshaw screams, "Four people are dead because you didn't work together as a team!" In *Spacecamp,* teamwork is the watchword. No sex or nudity, no violence, some profanity. Rated PG. □

—Douglas C. Moore

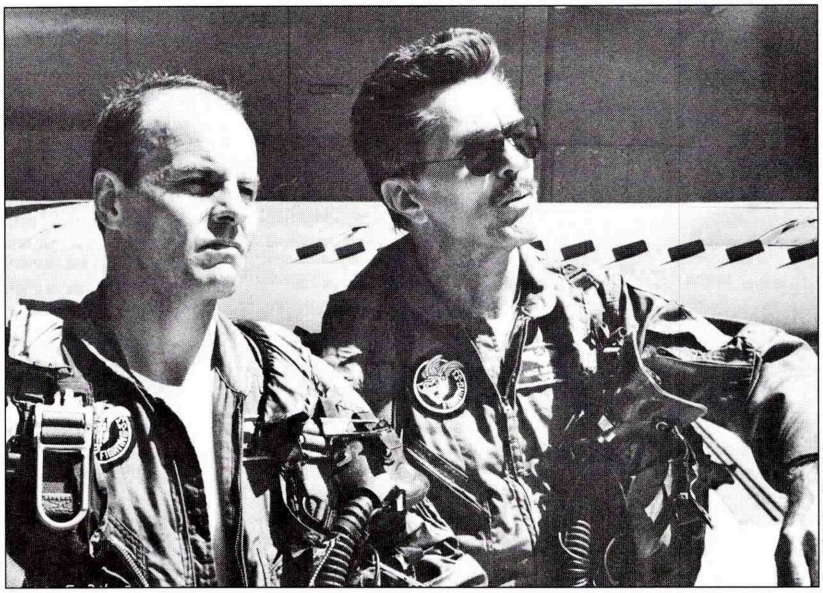
An Actor on the Way Up!

BY DEBRA WISHIK

Tom Skerritt may not be a household name, but he's bound to become far more familiar to moviegoers this summer with the release of two films, *Spacecamp* (20th Century Fox) and *Top Gun* (Paramount). In the latter, Skerritt plays Viper, a Vietnam fighter pilot. In *Spacecamp,* he plays Zach, a former astronaut and head of the space camp.

The handsome, lanky, gray-haired and blue-eyed actor is surprisingly soft-spoken. He admits that he's basically shy and has been unwilling to do much publicity in the past. Skerritt lives away from Hollywood with his wife, Sue, a writer, and their four children. The family has homes in the Santa Monica Mountains and in British Columbia. His friends tend not to be performers. When not working, he occupies himself with mundane activities such as gardening, plumbing, and his own writing.

A native of Detroit, Skerritt never aspired to performing. "I grew up in the Midwest, and movie stars meant Saturday matinees, Milk-duds, and popcorn," he confesses. He was studying art in college when a director-friend asked Skerritt to play a small part. Skerritt took it to overcome his extreme shyness. He explains, "I had to take the challenge and not skirt the issue." After that initial role, he continued to perform on stage and eventually moved to Los Angeles. His first film appearance was a role in *Warhunt* (1962). Then, he was cast by Robert Altman in television's *Combat.* Altman later cast him as the wild den-



PARAMOUNT PICTURES

Navy Fighter Weapons School officers Tom Skerritt (right) and Michael Ironsides watch a training exercise by their best pilots in Top Gun.

tist in *M*A*S*H* (1970). Skerritt appeared in other features while working in Italy for three years. Upon his return to the States, he played Shirley Maclaine's husband in *The Turning Point* (1977), and his performance garnered him a National Board of Review Best Supporting Actor Award.

Skerritt followed this role with feature and television appearances, including HBO's *The Hitchiker* and the series *Ryan's Hope.* He chooses his roles by identifying with the characters. "I can't play someone I don't like," he confesses. Skerritt also examines the overall package, including the director and producer. He acknowledges making some forgettable films while in Italy but feels the place and people were more important than the films. Skerritt likes to ask himself if he would pay his "five bucks to sit and see the film."

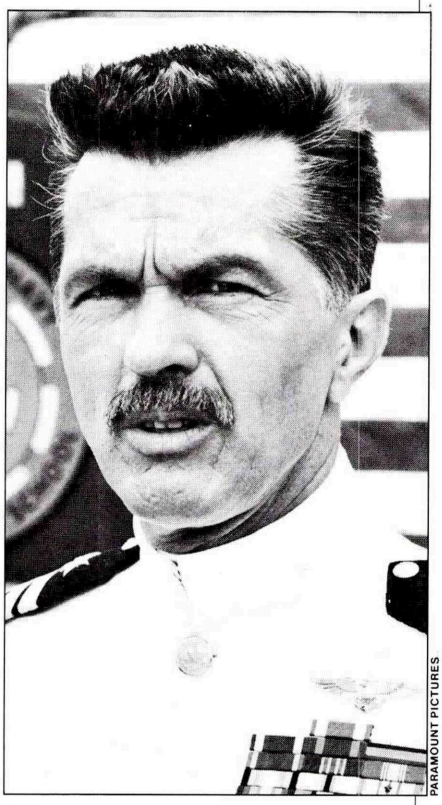
Skerritt is very enthusiastic about his summer releases. *Top Gun,* according to him, will be a breakthrough picture for director Tony Scott. Skerritt read twenty pages of the script and was convinced he wanted the role. Knowing that the producers were Don Simpson and Jerry Bruckheimer of *Beverly Hills Cop* and *Flashdance* fame definitely contributed to his decision. Skerritt filmed *Spacecamp* concurrently, again praising the abilities of the production team involved. Skerritt admits, "I'd rather work with mediocre material and a great filmmaker than the reverse."

He describes *Spacecamp* as a moving story about the relationships that develop among the teens attending space camp who suddenly find themselves on a shuttle mission. " The movie was always powerful, " Skerritt says, " and the *Challenger* disaster only enhances the power of the Midwest work ethic."

The pace of acting doesn't always satisfy Skerritt. "Sometimes, it's more of a vacation," he says, "because of the long waits between shoots." Skerritt writes and hopes to produce or direct a script cowritten with his wife. He's also keenly aware of certain social problems that he wants to fight. Citing the depressing statistics about the high illiteracy rate in the United States, Skerritt insists everyone should be able to do something. He says, "I have my health and my bills are paid so I can extend myself a bit."

Skerritt has already helped others—he is financing the Oxford education of a Kenyan student he met four years ago. Skerritt is thinking of forming other programs to enhance educational opportunities, particularly for children of broken homes. He'd like to see a sort of "Live Aid" for education. He makes a mean batch of fudge and is starting to market the candy. The profits will be donated to education programs.

He's excited about his acting, but Skerritt has a commitment to fight against illiteracy. He says he's only regretted four films made over the past sixteen years. Viewed from this perspective, one knows that Tom Skerritt makes valuable use of his time—both on screen and in his personal life. □



PARAMOUNT PICTURES

Tom Skerritt portrays Mike "Viper" Metcalf, the commanding officer at the world's best Fighter Weapons School in Top Gun.

Tom Skerritt on TV

MONTREAL—CBS Television has sent a cast (including costars Tom Skerritt and Jill Clayburgh) and crew out into the night to battle the rain and mosquitoes to film *Leaving Home,* scheduled to be broadcast at a later date.

Skerritt plays the role of a psychiatrist who tries to support his stricken wife while fighting his own sense of anger and despair. Jill Clayburgh portrays his wife, as well as the roles of mother and businesswoman, who launches a quiet, sometimes irrational campaign to find a potential replacement for herself in her family's life as she struggles with the discovery that her battle with cancer has failed.

Tom Skerritt, currently starring as the commanding officer in *Top Gun,* portrayed the endearing husband of Shirley MacLaine in *The Turning Point* and the off-the-wall dentist in Robert Altman's comedy *M*A*S*H.* Other film credits include *Fuzz, Harold and Maude, Big Bad Mama, The Wild Rovers, Ice Castles, Alien, Fighting Back,* and *The Dead Zone.* □

CRAFT

A New Renaissance in Glass Art

BY ROBERT KEHLMANN

COURTESY OF THE DOWNEY MUSEUM OF ART

Kreg Kallenberger, Interlock System 3-234. *Blown glass, cut, polished; 9 x 9 x 9 inches.*

Glass is so much a part of our everyday lives that we scarcely notice it while reading the time, waiting for a traffic light, or pouring a drink. Every day we generally see and touch hundreds of pieces of glass—windows in buildings and automobiles, plates, TV screens, jars, cooking utensils, eyeglasses. It is used so extensively in our technological age that we've been conditioned to overlook it.

A group of artists today, however, are reinvesting glass with the fascination and mystery it had for the early Romans or the Christian artisans who glazed the windows of vast cathedrals in medieval times. Their works, rather than focusing on technological advances which have made glass "invisible" to us, make the viewer aware of its unique and often sensuous qualities.

Two recent exhibitions in California have successfully documented the current renaissance in glass art which is taking place both in the United States and abroad. The Downey Museum of Art in southern California sponsored a *Glass Art National* (March 27–May 9), and the Oakland Museum in the northern part of the state is currently showing, through August 24, *Contemporary American and European Glass* from the collection of Bay Area collectors George and Dorothy Saxe. Taken as a pair, these exhibitions provide interesting insights into some of the reasons glass, as a medium for artistic expression, has begun to attract so much attention.

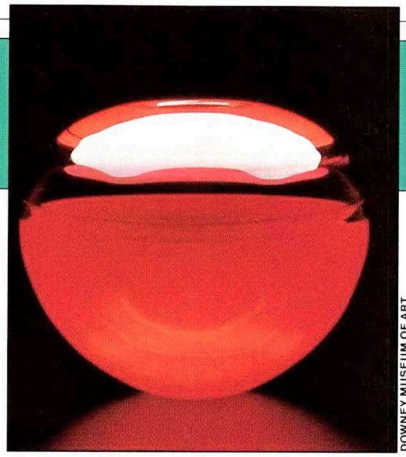
Objects selected for the Downey *Glass Art National* were juried from slides submitted by artists throughout the United States as well as Canada and Mexico. From the 601 slides

entered by 178 artists, 36 objects made by 25 artists were included in the exhibition. An added highlight to the exhibition was a gallery filled with crystal sculptures by three of Steuben Glass' foremost designers —Peter Aldridge, David Dowler, and Eric Hilton. The diversity of the objects displayed gives testimony to the highly imaginative and experimental nature of the new glass art on the one hand, and its debt to tradition on the other.

Visitors to the Downey Museum were greeted by a broad assortment of works. While the predominant expressive mode consisted of small-scale sculptural pieces, many examples of other types of work balanced out the exhibition. Conventional forms such as vessels, plates, and paperweights were juxtaposed with such unorthodox glass objects as masks, drawings, and even a luminous tapestry woven with neon tubing.

To someone unfamiliar with contemporary glass art, the Downey show was certainly filled with surprises. The mass-produced decorative glass objects which many of us own or have seen in museums or books are quite different in nature from the one-of- a-kind pieces in the *Glass Art National.* What sets the Downey works apart from mass-produced objects is that each of them was designed and fabricated by the artist, most often in his or her own studio. This is no small feat, given the experience, the complex technical knowledge, and the sheer physical endurance that are prerequisites for working successfully with molten glass.

Prominent glass artists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries such as Lalique, Gallé, or Tiffany designed works which were



DOWNEY MUSEUM OF ART

Sonja Blomdahl, Sphere - Red/Ruby/Red. *Blown glass; 11 x 12 inches.*

> Today students have the historically unique opportunity to be educated simultaneously in the art of design and in the skills and techniques necessary for actually handling glass.

subsequently executed by the master artisans they employed. Rarely did the designer handle a blow-pipe or actually come in close contact with molten glass. This is still the case in glass factories today throughout the world: the role of designer and that of craftsman are filled by separate individuals with different training and talents. This separation doesn't apply only to the "hot" glass factory—it is also true of large stained glass studios where designers make "cartoons" or drawings for windows while artisans cut the "cold" sheets of glass and lead the windows together.

The three Steuben designers whose pieces were exhibited in the Downey show work in this ages-old tradition. Taking the designers' drawings and models, glassworkers employed by the Steuben factory

M. LEE FATHERREE/THE OAKLAND MUSEUM

Dale Chihuly, Seaform Macchia Group. *Blown glass with applied threads and color; 11 1/4 x 20 x 21 inches. Collection of Dorothy and George Saxe.*

M. LEE FATHERREE/THE OAKLAND MUSEUM

Klaus Moje, Bowl. *Multi-colored mosaic glass fused in black glass; 3 7/8 x 10 1/4 inches. Collection of Dorothy and George Saxe.*

painstakingly cast, cut, polish, and assemble the sculptures using the finest of crystal. The purity of the glass and the angles of the cuts lead light through the works, reflecting and refracting it in a dazzling manner. Our eyes are drawn to prismatic rainbow effects which appear and disappear in the colorless glass as we move around each work.

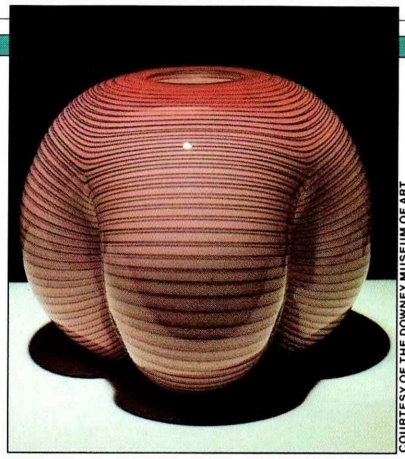
By way of contrast with the Steuben artists, most of the new generation of glass artists who showed their work in the Downey Museum of Art were trained in one of the many glass programs which have sprung up in schools across the United States. Their curriculum trained them in both design and in the hands-on processes of actually working with glass. Whereas twenty years ago such programs hardly existed, today they can be found in the art departments of over eighty American universities and colleges. The phenomenon, moreover, is not limited to the United States: glass programs can now be found in schools throughout North America as well as in England, Scandinavia and other parts of Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and numerous other locations throughout the world.

In countries like Italy, Czechoslovakia, or Austria, which have glass traditions that go back many centuries, glass workers traditionally learned their trade by serving, from

an early age, as apprentices to craftsmen working in factories and studios. Designers of functional objects or windows, on the other hand, generally learned their profession in art schools offering no hands-on training in the medium to which they would eventually bring their skills. Today, however, students have the historically unique opportunity to be educated simultaneously in the art of design and in the skills and techniques necessary for actually handling glass.

This new breed of artist-craftsman has pioneered fresh approaches to the ancient medium. Whereas in the past a certain conservatism towards form and design, dictated both by the marketplace and tradition, typified most glass work, this is hardly the case with much current work. Like artists working with other materials, today's glass artists quite commonly are highly personal, subjective, and at times even forthrightly disrespectful of past models. In point of fact, many seem to be making a tradition of being untraditional not only in the way they work but in the objects they produce.

The imaginative inventiveness we see in glass today is nicely illustrated by the many different approaches that are taken to the vessel form —the very backbone of traditional work in the medium—by artists represented in the Downey and Oakland exhibitions. Both shows have numerous examples of beautifully rendered vessels exhibiting a fresh contemporary approach to form, color, design, and proportion. Some are decorated with humorous scenes drawn in glass, others suggest erotic forms or a whimsical lack of balance. Certain pieces are adorned with autobiographical or psychologically probing portraiture. Abstract



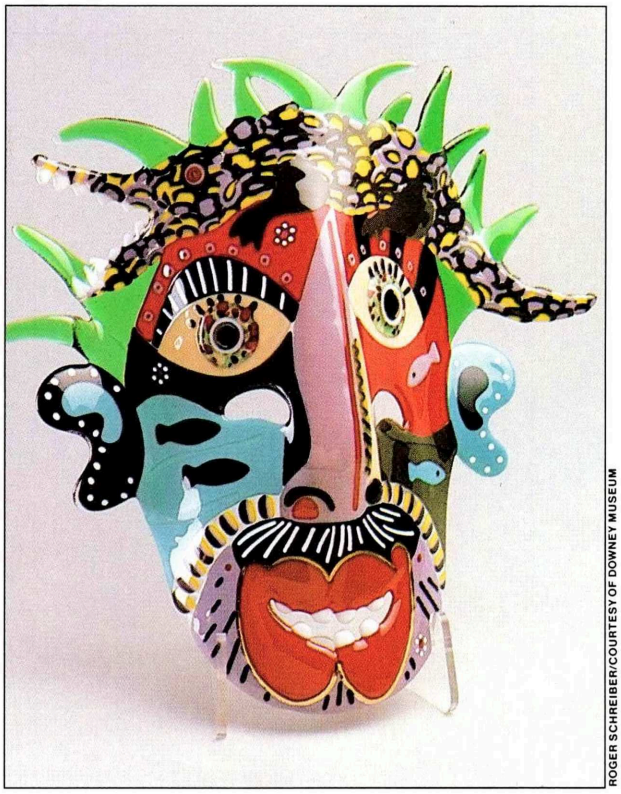
COURTESY OF THE DOWNEY MUSEUM OF ART

Stephen Rolfe Powell, Pink Buns Johnson. *Blown glass; 12 x 12 x 12 inches.*

> *This is no small feat, given the experience, the complex technical knowledge, and the sheer physical endurance that are prerequisites for working successfully with molten glass.*

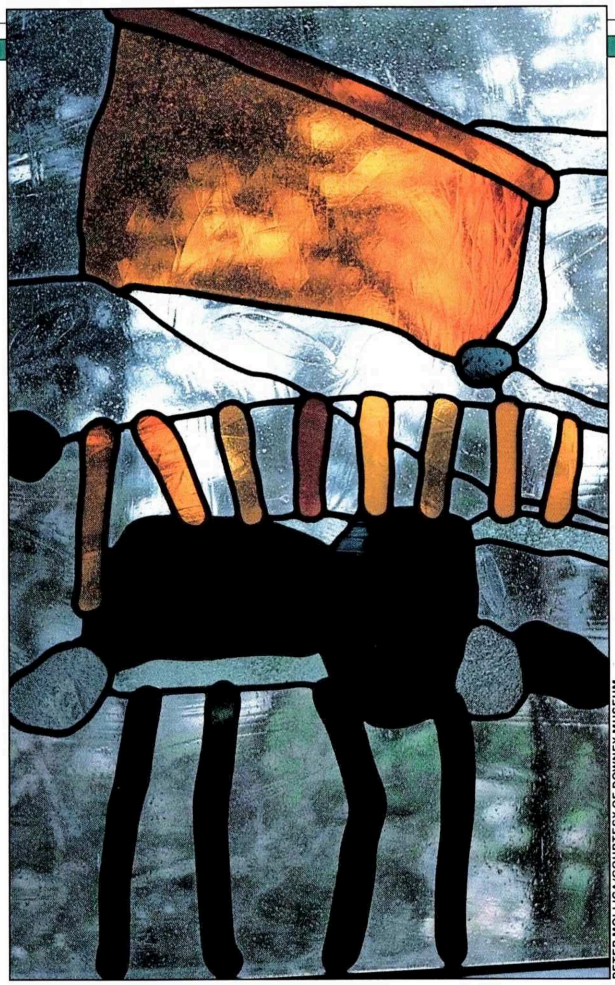
decorative motifs on some vessels seem to spring from parallel trends in painting: color field, hard-edge abstraction, or expressionism. As functional decorative objects, such pieces would handsomely grace a household table or display case, much as would a more traditional vase produced by a European or American glass factory.

The vessels mentioned above, however, form a distinct contrast to another category of objects which, for want of a better term, we will call "nonfunctional vessels." While alluding to the vessel form, this later category of works cannot be used, for example, to hold flowers or pour water. In some instances the vessel has been rendered two-dimensionally, or the skeleton of a vessel has been constructed by gluing pieces of glass together. In other instances, holes may have been drilled into a vessel, or the shape of the object is such that it



ROGER SCHREIBER/COURTESY OF DOWNEY MUSEUM

Ruth Brockmann, Crocodile Man Mask. *Fused and slumped glass; 17 x 16 x 15 1/2 inches.*



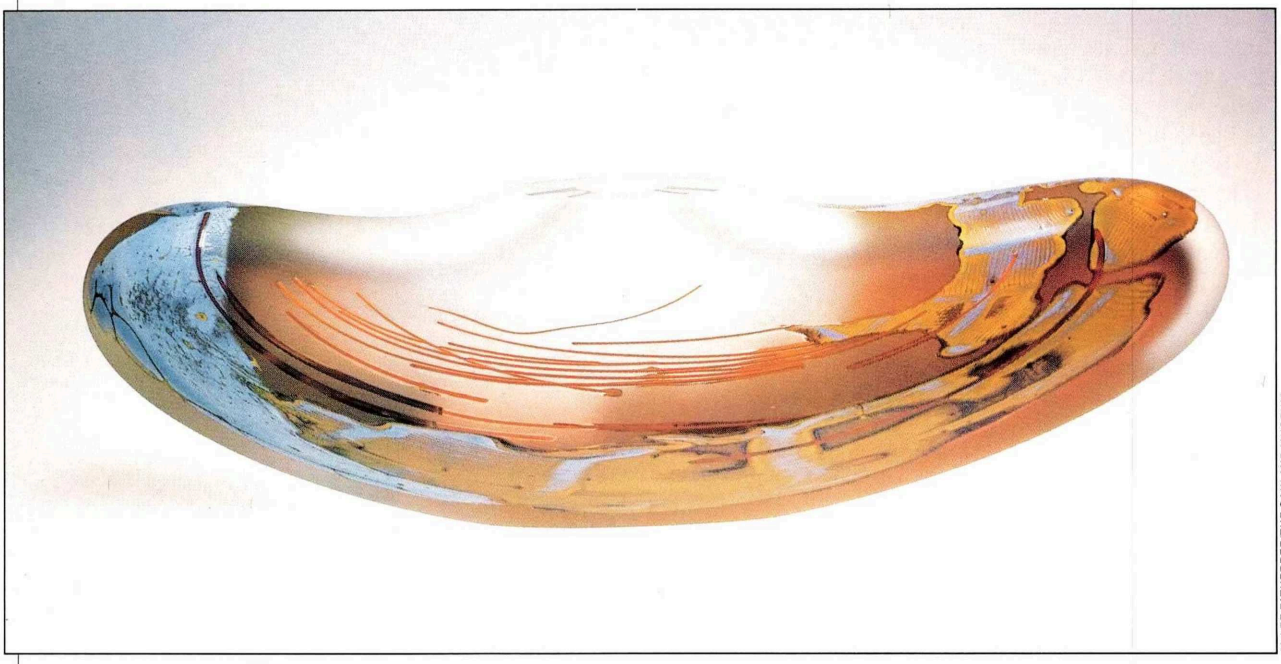
PETER MOLLICA/COURTESY OF DOWNEY MUSEUM

Peter Mollica, Alaskan Memory/2. *Leaded glass; 32 x 21 inches.*

would spill its contents if liquid were poured into it.

While alluding to and commenting upon traditional modes of glass fabrication, nonfunctional vessels and small-scale glass sculptures are art objects per se. They provide aesthetic pleasure but they have no functional use. Similarly, the stained glass panels in both the Downey and Oakland exhibitions, which hang freely like paintings, but which were not designed to glaze specific window openings, fall into this same new category of visually pleasing nonfunctional glass objects.

All of us have purchased functional glassware like plates, goblets, and vases. On a daily basis we see such things in retail stores. Who, however, purchases nonfunctional decorative art objects? Interestingly, as the new glass artists have grown older and their work has matured, a network of galleries and shops have sprung up both across the country and abroad which sell works made



M. LEE FATHERREE/THE OAKLAND MUSEUM

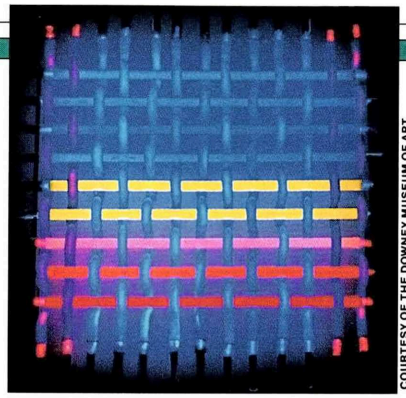
Joel Philip Myers, CFBMHG 1985 15. *Blown glass, cut, polished, and acid treated, with applied decoration; 7 1/8 x 24 x 3 inches. Collection of Dorothy and George Saxe.*

of glass. In some instances these galleries and shops sell glass objects together with other handcrafted goods. Certain outlets, however, now deal exclusively in glass. Major galleries in such varied locations as New York, Florida, Michigan, and California devote themselves entirely to the sale of glass art.

Concomitant with the development of the glass movement, individuals and institutions have begun to collect contemporary works in the medium that have been designed and made by studio artists. Since this trend in glassworking is relatively new, few collectors have been buying works for very long. George and Dorothy Saxe, for example, who currently have fifty-six works from their collection on display at the Oakland Museum, only began collecting glass in 1980. In this short period of time, however, they have managed to amass a large and diverse collection.

Unlike the Downey *Glass Art National,* the Saxe collection is international in scope. Though heavily weighted towards American work, a number of the collection's most powerful works come from Europe —particularly Czechoslovakia. Unlike the United States, Czechoslovakia has a glass tradition which goes back many centuries. Certain important artists have been granted access to large glass factories and have been permitted to have artisans fabricate their work for them. Whereas Americans seem to excel in the imaginative inventiveness of their forms and images, much Czech work is notable for its use of the optical properties of glass and the extreme refinement of the techniques used in working the material.

Looking at *Cube in Spherical Space,* by Czech glass masters Stanislav Libensky and Jaroslava Brychtova, we are drawn into the mysterious space inside the work. Our eyes delight in swirls of tiny bubbles and the ways in which light glides around them. What we tend to overlook, however, are the numerous hours that were spent cold-working the piece—cutting and fitting its parts together and polishing its perfectly smooth surfaces.



COURTESY OF THE DOWNEY MUSEUM OF ART

Amos Glick Zook, Neon Weaving. *Neon, wood, acrylic; 43 x 43 x 2 1/2 inches.*

> Since this trend in glassworking is relatively new, few collectors have been buying works for very long.

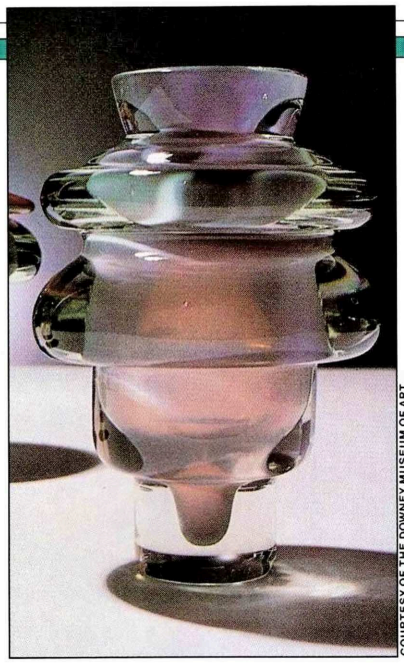
A wide assortment of techniques are used in making glass objects. Broadly speaking, these operations can be separated into two categories: hot-working techniques and cold-working techniques. Hot-working techniques involve manipulating the material while it is in its

M. LEE FATHERREE/THE OAKLAND MUSEUM

Stanislav Libenský and Jaroslava Brychtová, Cube in Spherical Space. *Cast, precision ground, and polished optical glass; diameter 12 inches. Collection of Dorothy and George Saxe.*

molten state. This may be done by shaping glass at the end of a blowpipe either free-hand or with the assistance of a mold. Some other common hot techniques are casting molten glass into various types of molds, or shaping small pieces of glass directly over a burner ("lampworking").

Cold-working techniques, on the other hand, involve working with glass in its hardened or cold state —the state in which we encounter it in our daily lives. Examples of cold-working processes are: sandblasting the glass to create relief or textural effects; cutting, grinding, or etching the glass to create certain shapes, optical effects, or to remove unwanted sections; and polishing the glass to restore its sleek transparent surface qualities after it has been cast, cut, or ground. Given the incredible hardness of glass certain cold-working processes like grinding and polishing are extremely labor intensive. Certain of the objects in the Saxe collection, particularly those by Czech artists, evidence endless hours of labor by highly skilled artisans.



COURTESY OF THE DOWNEY MUSEUM OF ART

Corey R. Powers, Folded Lip Series #2: Segmented Forms Small Bases. *Blown glass; 6 1/2 x 3 3/4 x 3 3/4 inches.*

Contemporary glass over the past decade has rapidly managed to establish itself as an upcoming and important medium for artistic expression.

Contemporary glass over the past decade has rapidly managed to establish itself as an upcoming and important medium for artistic expression. Major museums throughout the world, including the Metropolitan in New York, the Victoria and Albert in London, and the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, have already mounted large exhibitions and begun to collect the works made by artists working today. The Downey Museum's *Glass Art National* and the Oakland Museum's exhibition of *Contemporary American and European Glass from the Saxe Collection* have given us an excellent overview of the latest happenings in this vital medium. □

Robert Kehlmann is a glass artist and art critic. His essays have appeared in numerous publications both in the United States and abroad. He is currently writing a book on twentieth-century stained glass.

COURTESY OF THE DOWNEY MUSEUM OF ART

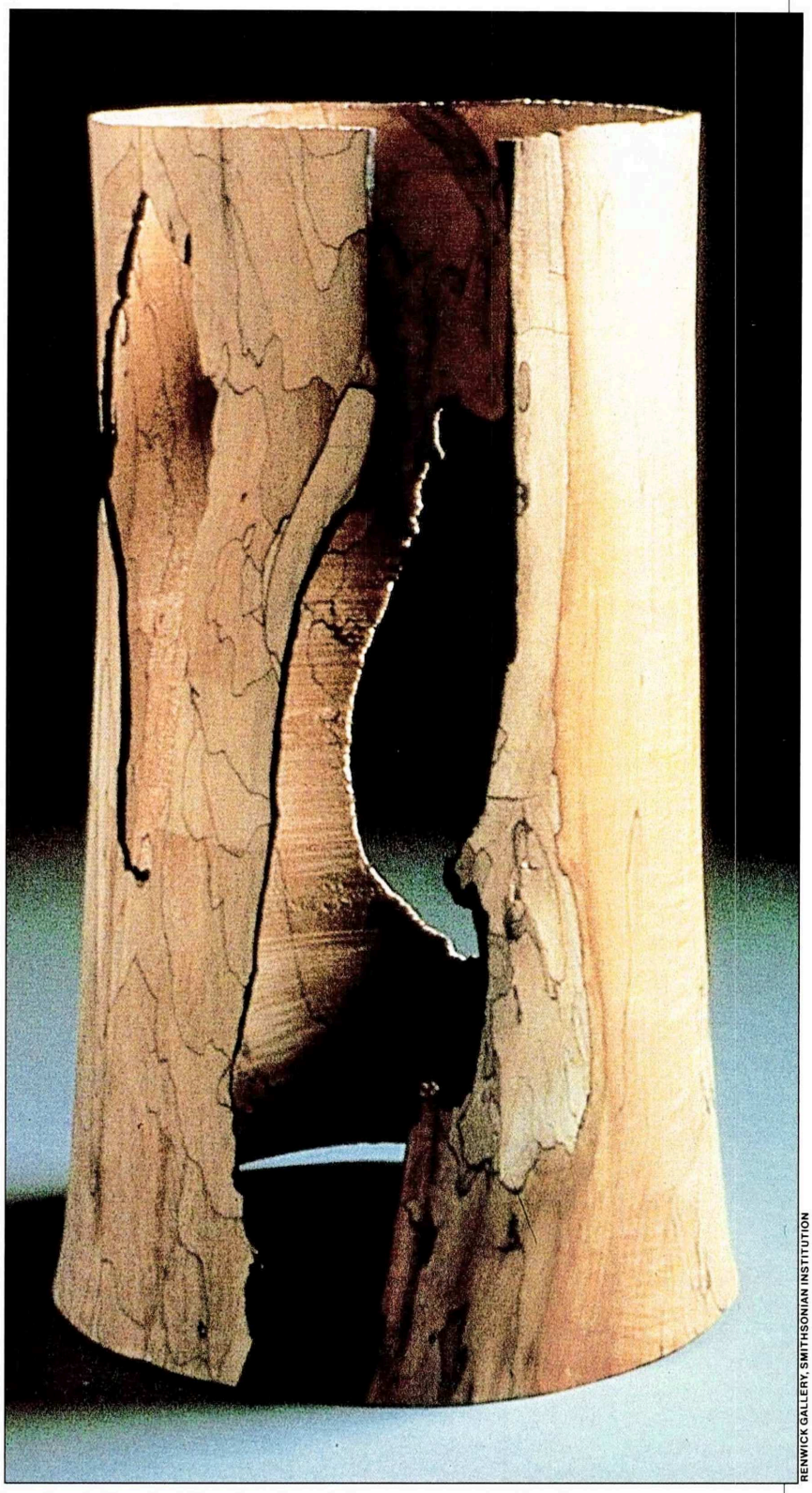
Sonja Blomdahl, Bowl & Sphere. *Blown glass; bowl 10 x 13 inches, sphere 10 x 12 1/2 inches.*

Turned-Wood Bowls

BY LAURA HJERPE

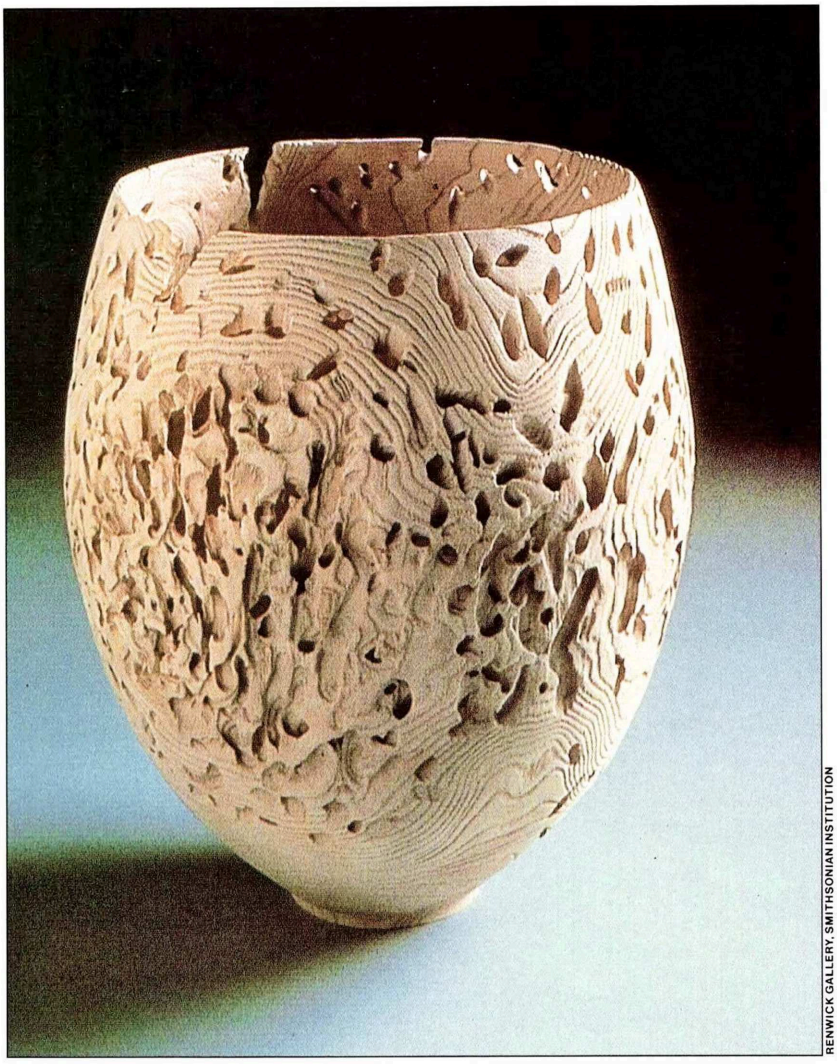
Turned-wood bowls as an art form—a rather novel concept. On the other hand, since wood bowls have been around for three thousand years, maybe it's not as novel as it seems.

James Prestini, currently professor emeritus of Design at the University of California, Berkeley, pioneered the idea that the wooden bowl could be of aesthetic value. Prestini took up wood-turning as a hobby in Chicago, seeking to explore new forms in sculpture during the years of unemployment following the completion of his B.S. in Mechanical Engineering at Yale University in 1930. At this point, wood-turning had become a largely mechanized process practiced only by a few craftsmen. Prestini abandoned wood for steel as a medium for his art in the 1950s because he was "tired of making circles." Although steel is a more versatile material, Prestini said that it lacks the friendly quality of wood, which is what appealed to him when he started wood-turning. Some recent developments in the field of wood-turning have left this first generation wood-turner somewhat disenchanted. He contends that in their attempt to make the turned-wood bowl into a high art form, some artists are denying the quality of the wood and trying to work with it as if



RENWICK GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

David Ellsworth, Hollow tube, 1984; spalted sugar maple. Lent by Edward Jacobson.



RENWICK GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Dale L. Nish, Ellipsoid "sponge" bowl, 1984; wormy ash. Lent by Edward Jacobson.

it were a more flexible material such as glass. "It should express the qualities of wood . . . not imitate those of glass," he said.

It cannot be denied that the turned-wood bowl has undergone dramatic changes since its recent inception during the 1930s, and especially after the 1970s. The word "bowl" is probably an inadequate term to describe the creations artists have produced with a lathe and block of wood. David Ellsworth, president of the American Association of Woodturners and an artist who has been described as nudging the edge of his field, has said that "vessel" might be a more appropriate term.

The results of these developments can be seen on display at the Renwick Gallery in Washington, D.C. until September 28. The collection of eighty-three bowls produced by twenty artists from all over the United States, plus one artist from Ontario, Canada, belongs to Edward Jacobson, an attorney who lives in Phoenix, Arizona. In the past, Jacobson has participated in the display of collections of American Indian and African art for the Heard Museum in Arizona. He found collecting and promoting wood bowls as an art form particularly rewarding because the art form is so new and because it has been so well received by prominent artists.

Jacobson began collecting turned wood bowls when he purchased, in 1977, a tiger-striped Georgia Pine bowl turned by artisan Ed Moulthrop at The Hand and Spirit, a craft shop in Scottsdale, Arizona.

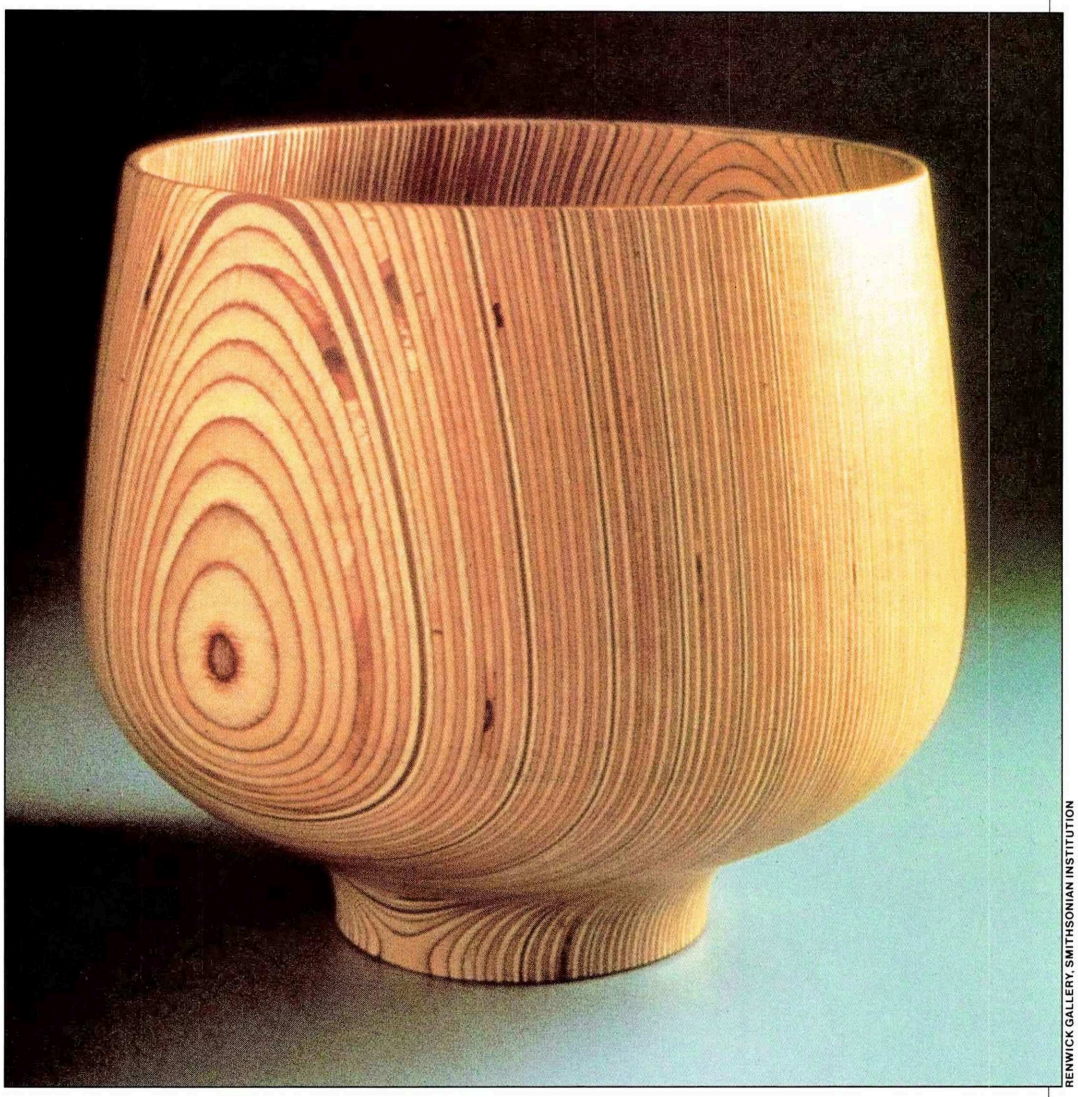
"I have always related to wood. Most men relate to wood, and some women," he said, pointing out that out of the nearly one hundred bowls on display, not one was carved by a female turner. Jacobson said a principal reason for this unusual occurence is that most men have taken shop class in junior high and high school where they learn to work with wood and a lathe—an experience most women were more likely to have missed.

As a result, public schools are probably the most influential institution in the field of woodturning, since the art is too new to have made much of an appearance in college and art school curricula. There is only one school, located in San Bernardino, California, where a degree in wood turning is offered.

As an aesthetically accessible art form, the turned-wood bowl offers something of a paradox to this observer. Upon my first observation of the exhibit, my feelings could be summed up in the words of a rather burly, outspoken man at the exhibit, "It seems as if I was going to all that trouble, I'd make it hold some water." I was also appalled at how much of the wood goes to shavings after one of these bowls is made: about a third of the block of wood used.

However, once one accepts the fact that a bowl does not have to be func-

Rude Osolnik, Deep-footed "artichoke" bowl, 1982; laminated wood. Lent by Edward Jacobson.



RENWICK GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

RENWICK GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

David Ebner, Deep-footed bowl, 1981; wild cherry. Lent by Edward Jacobson.

tional in order not to be a waste of wood, it is very easy to fall prey to the whimsy of this art form. For one thing, wood is not given to creating an abstract distance between the audience and the object.

Also, the collection of turned-wood bowls has as great as a diversity of techniques and styles as any more conventional exhibit of paintings or sculptures.

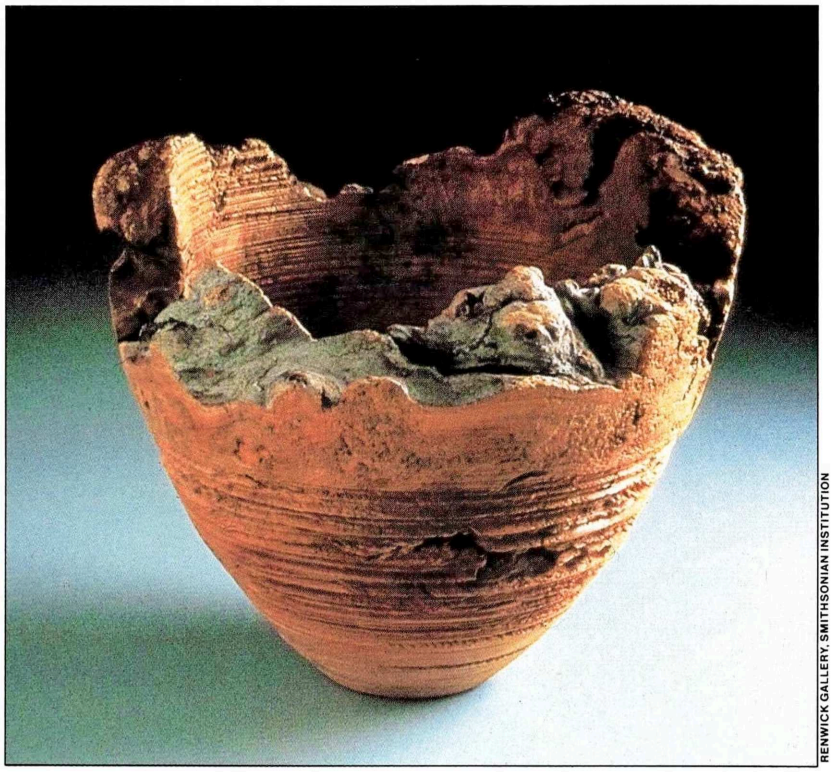
The variety of woods and forms used reflects the various regions of the United States. For instance, a set of vases carved by Arizona woodturner, Todd Hoyer, is suggestive of the Painted Desert with its spare detail, dry smooth surfaces, and sandy hues ranging from bone to burgundy. A larger than life chalice and trumpet-lipped bowl, made from Norfolk Island Pine driftwood gathered from the beaches of Hawaii, are reminiscent of lava and volcanoes with their conical shapes and splotchy brick red coloring.

The range in size and scale is enormous. The most dramatic example of this can be seen in the pale, glossy, foot-high orbs formed from Georgia Pine and Tulipwood by Ed and Philip Moulthrop, who are father and son. The passing down of the mastery of this art from one generation to the next is a relatively common occurrence in this field. These "bowls" take on a billowy appearance with their illusion of seamlessness effected by the narrow inwardly turned-in donut hole at the top. On the other end of the scale are the Lilliputian vessels of Del Stubbs, a woodturner from Chico, California. Carved from Manzanita wood, the walls of his creations are literally paper thin. When wetted, they take on a pulpy texture which allows them to be manipulated more easily. Some of the tiny bowls appear to be made out of wax, rather than wood.

Of course, bowls that could be used for eating out of can be found as well. The works of Prestini and Bob Stocksdale, also of Berkeley, are distinguished by their refreshingly classic bowl shapes. The bowls are solid, yet light, and the pattern of the wood grain is extremely regular with the subtlest of sheen applied, and the result is the perfect combination of aesthetic and utilitarian aspects. A technique of recent popularity, using diseased woods such as spalted maple, wormy ash and burls of various sorts have produced some striking results.

Stephen Hogpin of Owens Sound, Ontario and Giles Gilson of Schenectady, New York, have given the turned wood bowl a somewhat Dadaesque twist. Hogpin's designs slightly mock the traditional bowl shape. One of his more whimsical creations is his walking bowl, which has legs that appear to be moving. Gilson's bowls are conventional in shape, but the wood is completely unrecognizable, having been covered in various shades of iridescent lacquer.

One type of wood which is extremely difficult to find, but which is a favorite of collectors, is pink ivory, which is owned by the Zulu tribe and is so rare that it is sold only by the ounce and only once a year. Jacobson describes the color of the wood as being similar to that of a pink flamingo. However, even if you cannot feast your eyes on this oddity, you can have the satisfaction of knowing that you viewed the birth of a uniquely American art, and perhaps the first American equivalent of a Ming vase. □



RENWICK GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Mark Lindquist, Unsung Bowl #1, 1981; *cherry burl. Lent by Edward Jacobson.*

Laura Hjerpe is a freelance writer based in Arlington, Virginia. She has written extensively on the Arts.

POETRY

Of a Woman's Heart

BY ANDREA HOLLAND

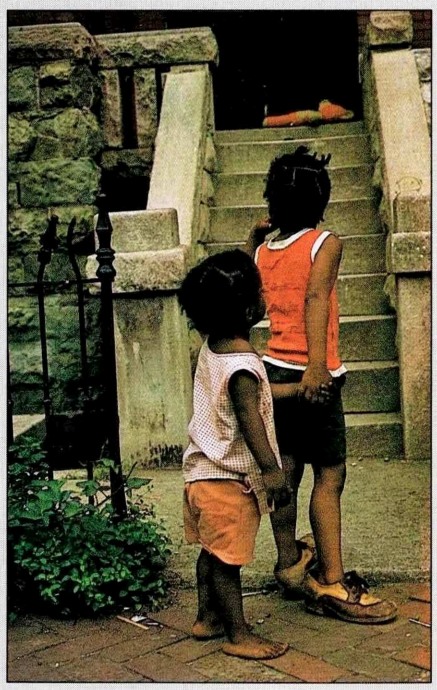
Newest Gem

Oh funny duchess; dearest inner me. . .
You/I, the silliest immorality box:
See how like soft, fine lesions are his kisses,
one or two still here outside,
dressing my skin
like rosebuds or eagles;
gently placed tattoos.
Sterling feelings, like pure silver, real,
adorn me too, the internal jewelry.
He doesn't look like a god
or any other old fashioned idol,
he holds a look all markazite and sapphire
while I wear him on me well,
falling down to the bed
the both of us, like purgatory,
then rising up like favorite european kings.

The last sweet night we rode on
is gone like the tide-like pumping of your heart,
but the sun is back, my liebe,
like a diamond;
we should chase its brilliance and wrap it
round our eyes, for a while,
and dodge the clouds wound tight around my legs.
How good this is:
I am carried off by the rubiest of mouths
which warms that old cripple
my dehydrated heart.

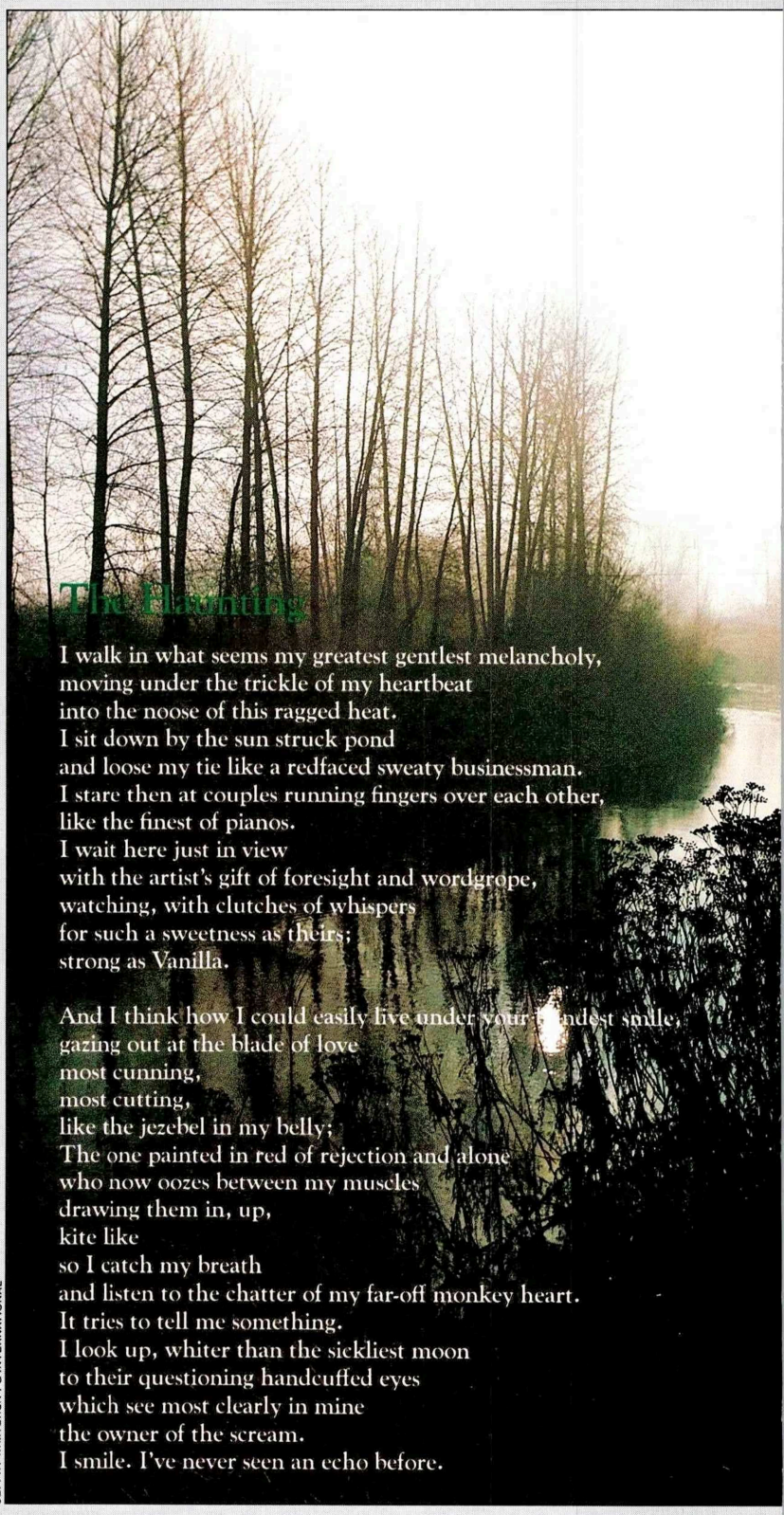
Andrea C. Holland was born in London in 1965 and lived there until she moved to Long Island, New York with her family in 1981. Her main interest is, of course, poetry; both writing and reading. She is also very interest in music, art and drama. Despite an artistic urge in all these fields, poetry is her forte and one true love.

JOHN KLEINMAN/UNIPHOTO



The State (for Alice Walker)

That poverty
In America almost always Black
and torn from the also darkest soil
like an unwilling, yellowing root
of the dryest land
of the sticky mouths swollen from poor sores
and a father's riddled fist.
There, children
in muted cry and urine stained jeans
There are
apples, at last
at christmas and there are from the slovenly core
the tiniest bitter seeds to plant
and hotter days to sit and watch them pretend to grow
Little does
like even the strongest unheard of their children.



JEFFRY W. MYERS/FPG INTERNATIONAL

The Haunting

I walk in what seems my greatest gentlest melancholy,
moving under the trickle of my heartbeat
into the noose of this ragged heat.
I sit down by the sun struck pond
and loose my tie like a redfaced sweaty businessman.
I stare then at couples running fingers over each other,
like the finest of pianos.
I wait here just in view
with the artist's gift of foresight and wordgrope,
watching, with clutches of whispers
for such a sweetness as theirs;
strong as Vanilla.

And I think how I could easily live under your kindest smile,
gazing out at the blade of love
most cunning,
most cutting,
like the jezebel in my belly;
The one painted in red of rejection and alone
who now oozes between my muscles
drawing them in, up,
kite like
so I catch my breath
and listen to the chatter of my far-off monkey heart.
It tries to tell me something.
I look up, whiter than the sickliest moon
to their questioning handcuffed eyes
which see most clearly in mine
the owner of the scream.
I smile. I've never seen an echo before.

Post Birthday Wishes (Friends, Poets, Gentlemen:)

"You will and must be like a tree,
thus enduring the inevitable shift of things . . ."
—*T. (McKinley) Petrara*

Mis amores. This next day.
I could dance in the rain
like oil in puddles, swirling.

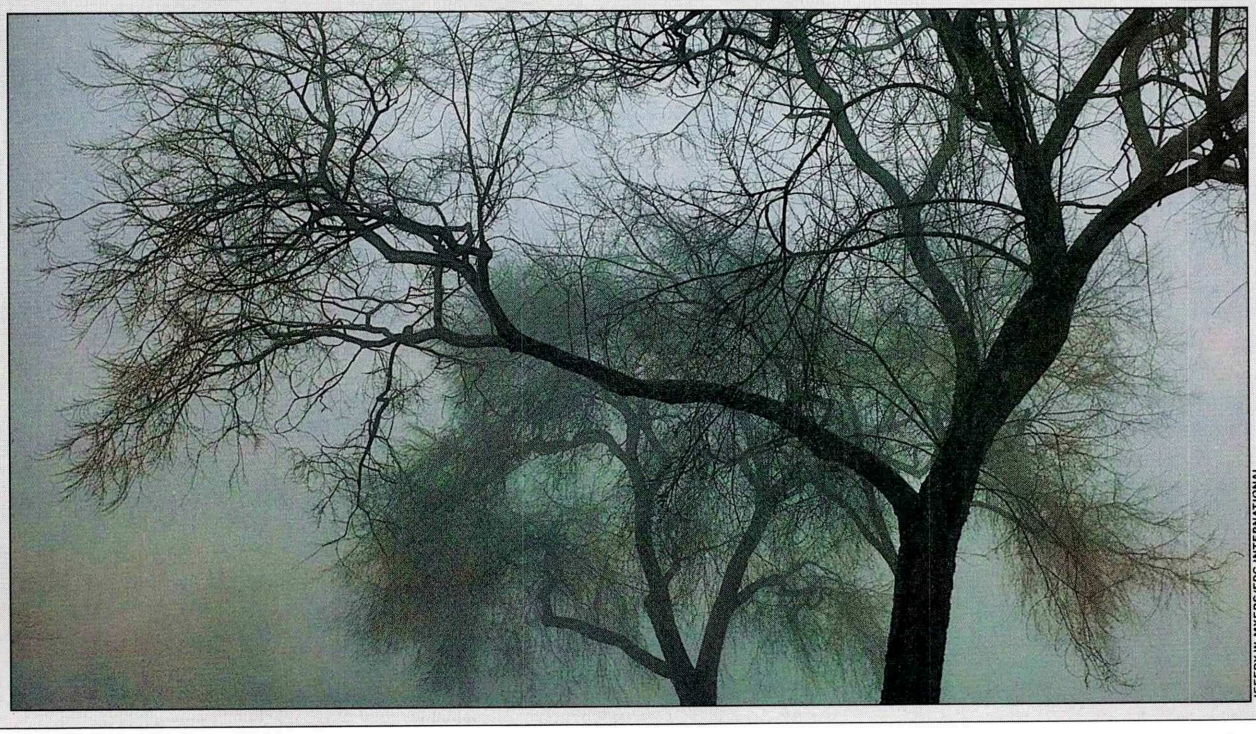
I breathe in the sweet, chilly wetness of the air.
This rain, dripping,
is like a wet pine lullaby.
I sit here inside, warming a spirit,
a feeling;
of cool camp attics, precious toys and thoughts of travel:
Kisumu, Ketchikan, London and Kintyre.

Everything is cloudy and touched with water,
even the wounds of my small world.
I feel it.
One such is solitude;
a wound to turn inward, and begin to enjoy,
like long prayers at dawn,
the dark mouth of a cave.
And rain,
so much of it, and more:
Like a mountain crawling, then rising,
a shift of nature
like all shifts, endurable.
Like a tree, strong. . .

We sleepers joining hands, read poetry, dream too much,
and sit out the long desire.
And then, mis amores of you all:
I seek excellence like an eager snake I strike at thrill,
especially in the winds of greatest pleasure, greatest power.
I note sad changes, which mock the sorry state of love. . .
This all, just a feeling you see;
a view, like a saint's;
removed and rare in me.
I'm leaking poetry and this feels good.

The blackest leaves of winter
are dripping with the rain.
It's March, with all her ides and idols.
I'm twenty-one and smell the color of this damp day
(in between my hangover and nervousness.)
That's pretty good.
Enough:
I finally feel around my soul
and dance like a child,
with delirium tremens.
All this; the start of feverish new me.

Mis amores, I struggle to write for you.
I'm racked with Russian Pauses but here's something.
This one's escaped passion
and lies so far, unpolluted
I hope that it is enough.



JEFFRY W. MYERS/FPG INTERNATIONAL

A New Romanticism?

BY KENNETH LAFAVE

Musicians and music-lovers who are looking for signs of Modernism's end and Romanticism's return (I suspect there are more of us than even *we* imagine) have lately been thrown a bone in the form of a curiosity called, deviously enough, "New Romanticism." Neither really new nor at all Romantic, "New Romanticism" is a twist on Modernism, a continuation of the familiar death march for Western music that certain mainstream composers and critics have been beating out for half a dozen decades.

Like most handy aesthetic or moral labels, this one was born in the press, its purpose being the lumping together of certain composers who didn't fit anywhere else. The movement is supposed to have incubated in the 1960s and is now said to be everywhere. (Or perhaps it has even peaked.) The "New Romantics" are said to include David Del Tredici, George Rochberg, Frederic Rzewski, George Crumb, Joseph Schwantner, John Harbison, Christopher Rouse, and Tison Street, among the virtually countless others who have been so labeled. By extension, one could also include composers such as Joan Tower and Oliver Knussen, who have come to prominence since the "New Romanticism" emerged, and older composers like Hans Werner Henze and Ned Rorem, who have always had flashes of Romanticism in their work. All of these composers are highly skilled, often deeply gifted, people. Some of them may even actually be romantics. But together, they do not constitute a "New Romanticism."

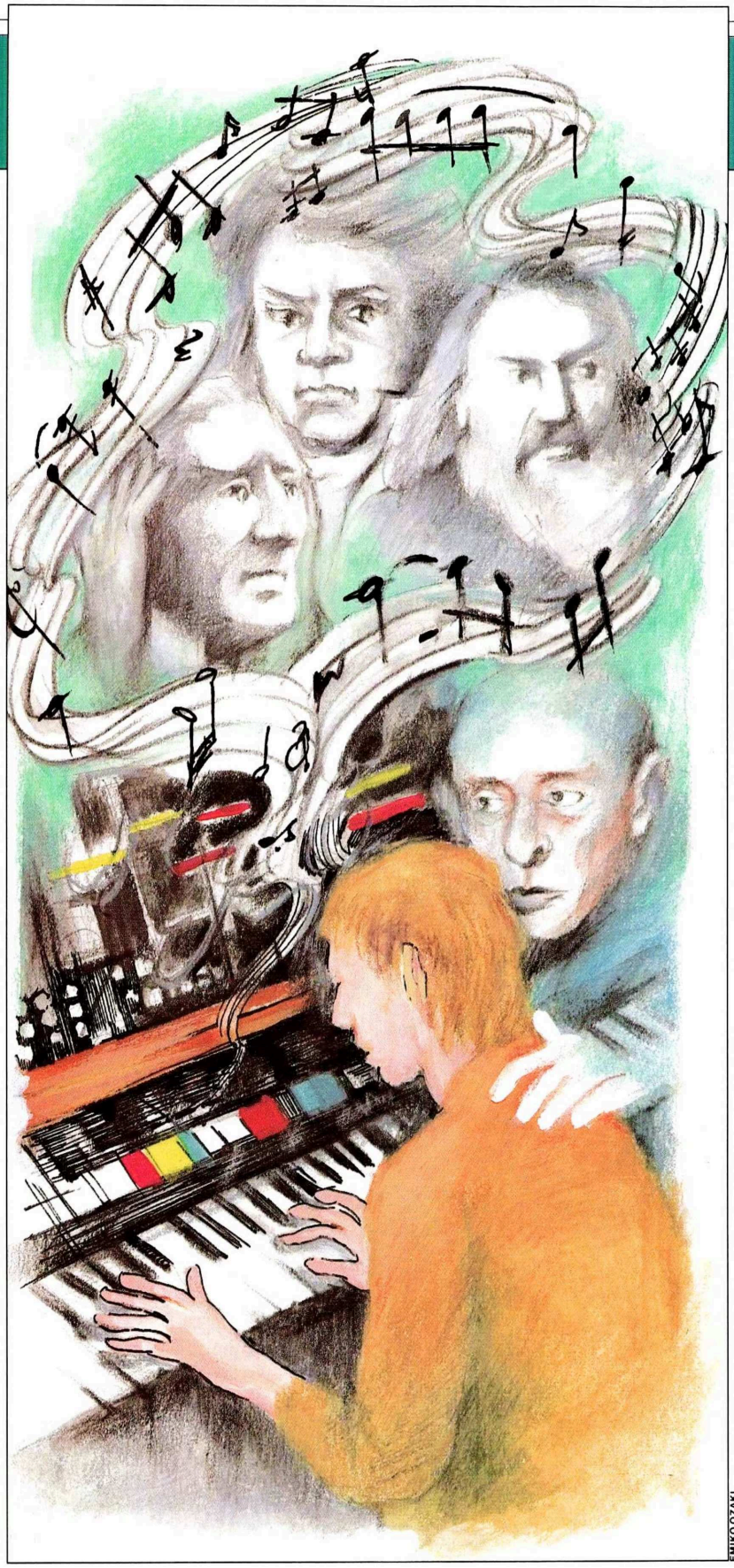
If they did, then surely the seasons in New York, Washington, San Francisco, and so forth would be resounding with populous, happy symphony audiences pouring forth praise for young Schumanns, new Liszts. After all, audiences show up in spades for the "old Romantics"—Tchaikovsky and Rachmaninoff, Schubert and Wagner, Franck and Elgar, and Mahler and Verdi. But this is not the case for the "New Romantics." Instead, the very words "new music"—Romantic being beside the point—continue to signal to most people a morass of dense, nontonal harmonic sputtering, and tuneless hours of rhythmic grind. At symphonic and chamber concerts around the nation, audiences attend performances of new music in underwhelming numbers, knowing that what they'll get from a new piece of music is "New Music." New works are a vital business only where the audiences expect and encourage the "New Music" aesthetic and eschew Romanticism, that is, in Soho lofts.

Are there Romantic elements to the composers of the "New Romanticism"? Undoubtedly. That is why the bone can seem so satisfying. Del Tredici's endless sonic climaxes are as parodistically Romantic as Mahler's, though lighter hued. Rochberg's string quartets are the real item in terms of their structural strength and archlyricism. But as a movement, it's a flop, and worse: it's an excuse to ignore the real needs of people to hear new music with melody in it, and with harmonic dynamism at the core—music coming from a vital cultural center, rather than from the edges of a rapidly failing world of symphonic orchestras and opera companies.

What's missing isn't composers, but a context. The "New Romanticism" has appeared without anybody having the slightest notion what Romanticism *is.* The closest thing to a definition of New Romanticism may have been composer Jacob Druckman's, as cited in a recent article in the New York music magazine, *Keynote:* It is music of a "strong and potent reaction to the academicism [of] the 1950s." This is fine, so far as it goes, but it is a definition by negation; it tells us that the New Romanticism is against academicism, but it doesn't tell us what it's *for.*

One other characteristic is said to typify New Romantics, and that is a return to tonality. Except that those who say "return to tonality" often confuse tonality with "consonance." In his highly touted *All-American Music: Composition in the Late Twentieth Century, The New York Times* critic John Rockwell equates the "return of so many composers today to tonality" with the "fascination with the physics of sound on the part of so many minimalists, which goes so far that some of them, like La Monte Young, are content to contemplate a perfectly tuned fifth for 'eternity.'"

It may seem baby-simple to point this out, but consonance is not tonal-



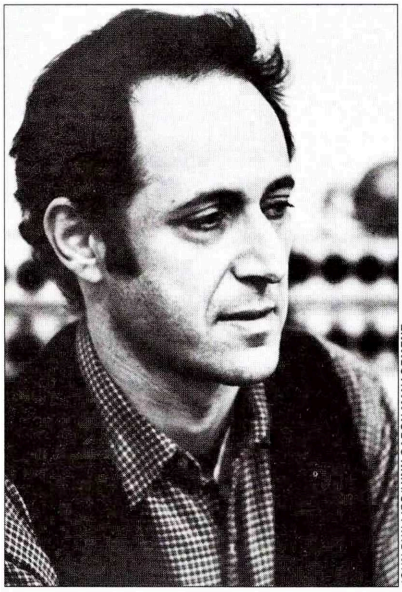
EMIKO OZAKI

ity. Tonality is a language, a system of comprehending both consonance and dissonance within a rational framework. It worked splendidly between approximately 1600 and World War I, before the onslaught of the modern world. Mr. Rockwell's easy equivalence of new tonal composers and the Minimalists implies that tonal music is fundamentally consonant music, which it most definitely is not.

In fact, tonal music relies almost completely upon dissonance for its expressive potentials. And to take things further, and perhaps tip the hand of the case I am about to make, you could say that Minimalism, with its nearly unrelieved consonance, and serialism, with its avoidance of consonance, are two sides of the same coin, while tonality is the true opposite of them both.

The Minimalists are either a sharply defined subgroup of the New Romantics, or a closely related phenomenon, in the current belief. That the Minimalists are so considered is alone enough to make the case against the New Romanticism's "Romanticism." For the single thrust of the Minimalist aesthetic is *stasis,* the contemplation of repeated passages for the sake of enjoying the effect of this pseudo-Eastern meditation. (This is not intended as a pejorative, but merely a statement of what the music does. It repeats itself, repeats itself, and just when you think it's going to do something new, it repeats itself. For easy empirical proof, check any recording of music by the two leading Minimalists, Philip Glass and Steve Reich.)

Minimalism is the Greek inside our Romantic Trojan horse, and to make a case for the argument that it essentially carries forth the salient points of decades-old Modernism, I must



JOHN PHILLIPS/LYNN GARON MANAGEMENT

Steve Reich

present a pocket history of twentieth-century music. I promise to keep it concise, and I imagine that its parallels with other intellectual and artistic disciplines in our century will make it sound hauntingly familiar.

The tone for the entire century was set by Arnold Schoenberg, a banker-musician with an enormous amount of raw talent and a near-obsessive need to categorize everything. Schoenberg, after writing some of the greatest works in the late Romantic vein (*Transfigured Night, Gurrelieder),* decided that the old tonal system of organizing musical sounds was washed out, used up, and generally at an end. Instead of the tired system of scales and chords, he said, there should be a new form of tonality in which all the tones are treated equally. (You remember, of course, that in the still-hanging-on system of tonal music, the *do,* or tonic, of the scale has a higher specific gravity than the *sol,* or dominant, and the other pitches, so that the effect is one of dynamic movement away from a center and back toward it.) Schoenberg called his new system "pantonality," but some who were a little quicker to see the implication of an egalitarian system of pitches called it "atonality." It is the leitmotif of twentieth-century music.

The reason for Schoenberg's restructuring of our twelve chromatic tones into something nontonal —the idea that tonality had exhausted itself—is erroneous and has been proven so many times, most strikingly by Leonard Bernstein in his book, *The Infinite Variety of Music.* In that book, Mr. Bernstein and a computer scientist determined that the tonal system, pre-Schoenberg, provided for a literally limitless number of possible melodic combinations. But by the time this proof was made, Schoenberg's goof had long ago entered the culture, taken hold, and changed the way music was made.

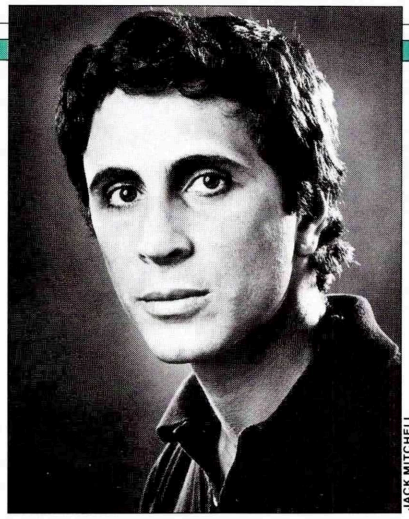
Schoenberg's system gave rise to a school of sorts, and the finest member, Alban Berg, was so fine that he wrote straight through the so-called twelve-tone system into a personal expression that encompassed a kind of expanded tonality. Consonance still existed and so did its twin, dissonance. And something even more essential to Western music was maintained: *dynamism.* For tonality was never a static series of patterns, the way some musics are. It was a language, every bit as neutral as a language of words and every bit as potent for individual use. Schoenberg's twelve-tone system attempted, probably inadvertantly, to level language into patterns, and except for the individual genius of Berg and very few others like him (one of whom, curiously, was Schoenberg himself), it nearly succeeded.

COURTESY OF AVERY FISHER HALL

David Del Tredici

Alas, success came after World War II. Pierre Boulez, France's perpetual *enfant terrible,* wrote a scathing article in 1951 called "Schoenberg is Dead," in which, among other things, he accused Schoenberg of having failed to take his tentative experiments with a new system far enough, and accused Berg of having drifted back into Romanticism. In this latter, he was factually correct, at least.

Boulez and others developed Serialism, which is basically Schoenberg's egalitarianism applied across the board to rhythm, instrumentation—in fact to all choices a composer must make in order to make a piece. It flattened tonality and produced a generation of composers so sterile that we could lose them tomorrow and not know the difference. And it did this: It imbued into the compositional process the priority of *patterns.* That's very important. Indeed, that's the real and complete story of twentieth-century music: the abolition of expression and the inculcation of patterns. Patterned compositions produce static works of art, while the Romantic aesthetic, with its emphasis on expression, had stressed *dynamism,* a single word that serves well to sum up the very essence of Romantic music. No other



JACK MITCHELL

John Corigliano

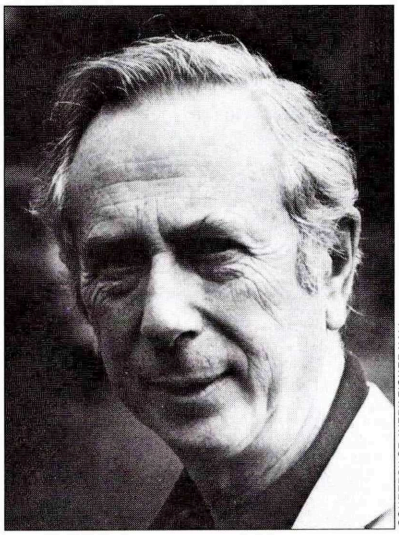
music plays tension and release off against each other in such a vital way.

The outline of a definition of Romanticism emerges when we consider our pocket history above. Romanticism stressed dynamism, which had grown out of the tonal system; indeed, Romanticism without tonality would have been unthinkable, since one was the seed of the other. In technical terms, ninteenth-century Romanticism evolved directly from the diatonic tonal system via the gradual comprehension of chromatic tones into that system. The most distinctive form of this comprehension was Wagner's, but it was by no means the only one. The language of tension and repose afforded by the seven tones of the major and minor scales deepened and widened when composers as different as Mahler, Franck, Saint-Saëns, and Gershwin found ways of making all twelve tones play the tonal game. Romanticism was thus an expansion of the tonal pallette to the end of personal expression, and its destruction was assured the moment the world believed the lie,"tonality is dead."

By the time the so-called "New Romanticism" emerged, it was already assumed that new music —contemporary music, music that expressed the twentieth century —was static pattern music. The reentry of tonality at such a time would have to have been accomplished by dismantling the intellectual errors and blind assertions made by hundreds of people, dating all the way back to Schoenberg, and maybe beyond. That didn't happen. What happened instead was the arrival of a completely consonant pattern music—Minimalism—to replace the completely dissonant pattern music —Serialism—and thus continue the sweep of modernism. The non-Minimalist "New Romantics" were merely a by-product.

Now here is where we are: Pattern music is considered the vogue. Tonality—real tonality—has enjoyed some flurry of chic, but no real revival. The words "New Romantic" and "Neo-romantic" have been misapplied to static pattern music, and have subsequently been bandied about in the press until people actually believe there has been a period of Romanticism, when there hasn't been. Meanwhile, concert-goers go to hear Richard Strauss and wonder, are there any young composers who might like to pick up where that last great Romantic master left off in 1949? And when the answer seems to be "no," they listen to more Strauss, or to Berlioz, or to the lush, vigorous film music of John Williams and Jerry Goldsmith, knowing that such music isn't considered "legitimate." ("Late-Romantic kitsch," is Mr. Rockwell's dismissal of it.) Now and then, however, they hear the real thing in the concert hall. Perhaps it's something by John Corigliano, a composer who has managed to turn the modern vocabulary of instrumental effects into a private language of light and shade by marrying it to an expanded tonal framework. They may hear such a piece, but it is one out of thirty performances of "New Music," and so they continue to dismiss living composers as windy proselytizers.

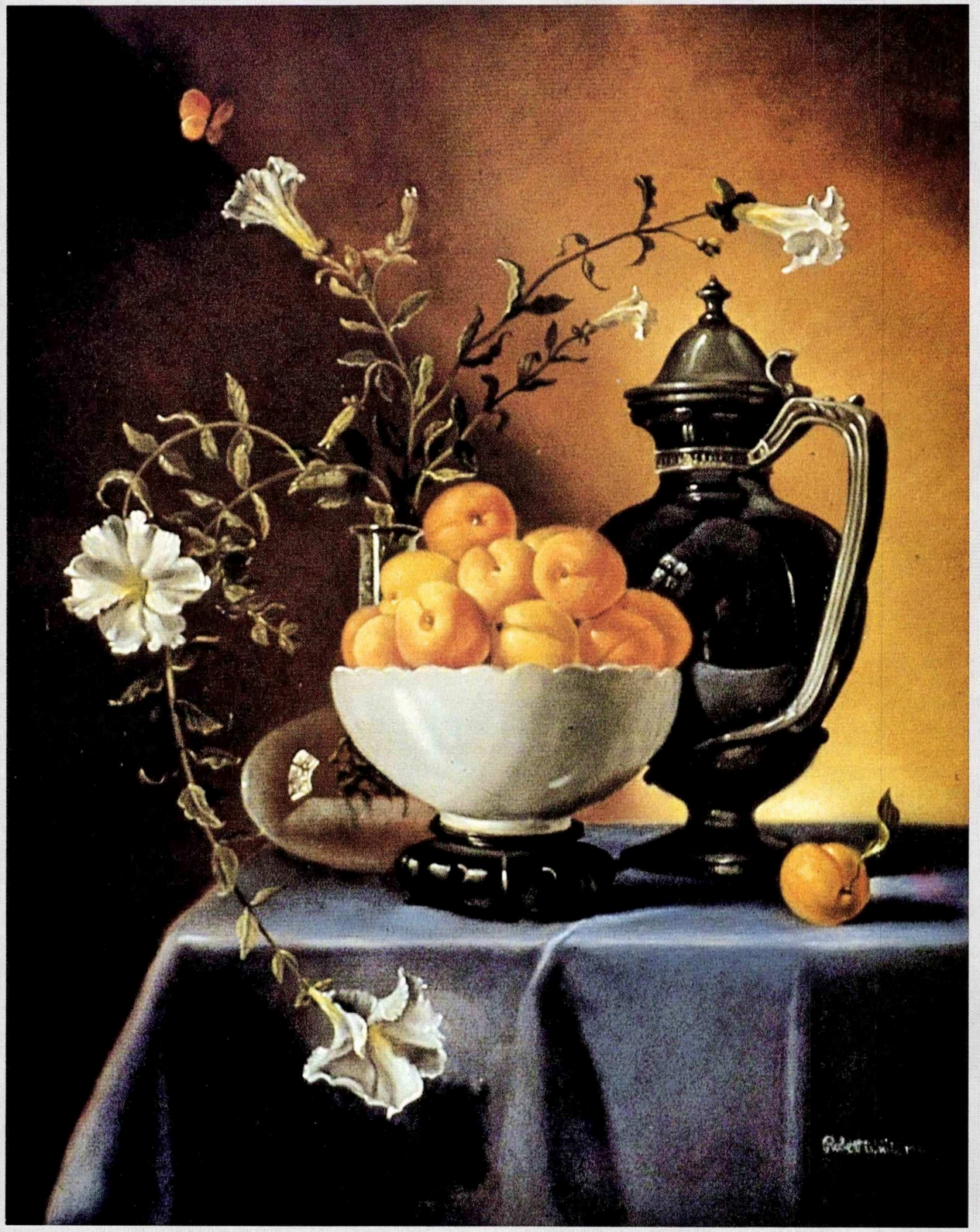
But somewhere out there, some young men or women are learning to play Kurzweils or some other highly sophisticated computerized keyboards. Far removed from the caterwauling of New York critics and the political sniping of academic composers, they are listening to Strauss and Tchaikovsky and Gershwin, and Williams and Goldsmith, and even Del Tredici and Rochberg. Given an eventual sea change in the bureaucracy of the classical music business, given time and room to grow, independent of trends, these composers may someday finally continue the great and eternal revolution of Romanticism in a truly new fashion. □



COURTESY OF AVERY FISHER HALL

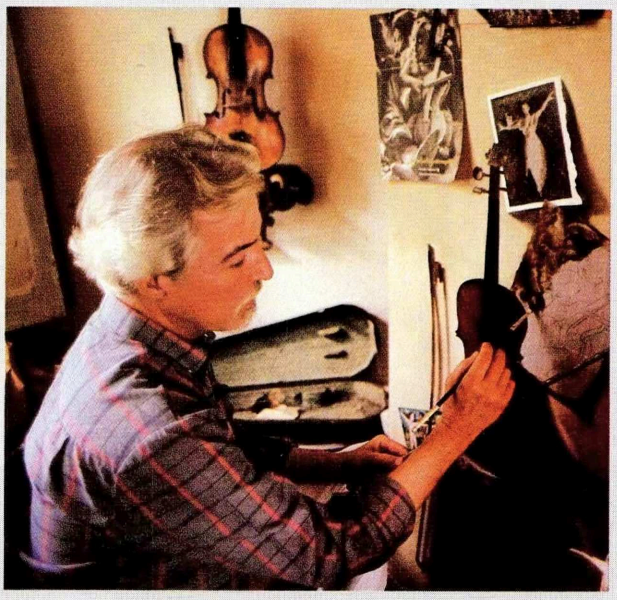
George Rochberg

Kenneth LaFave is a composer and arts journalist. He has contributed to Opera News, Ballet News, Stagebill, *and* Keynote *magazines, and was for several years music critic of* The Arizona Daily Star. *His most recent commission, from the Tuscon Symphony Orchestra, resulted in a new work for chamber orchestra, and he is currently composing an opera about J. Robert Oppenheimer and the development of the atomic bomb.*



Apricots and White Petunias
1982. Black oil; 24 x 20 in.

The Peace and Plenty Paintings of Robert White



An American Contemporary Classical Artist

ROBERT F. MURRAY

Just minutes from this nation's capitol, in Old Town Alexandria, Virginia, can be found the astonishing paintings of an artist who, thirty years ago, made a commitment to concentrate his entire attention to the perfection of still-life painting in the *black oil medium.*

Lost to many artists for the centuries between the Renaissance and modern times, the once secret techniques of the black oil medium were known only to the great Flemish and Italian masters. Luminous objects arranged against dark, deep-toned backdrops typified the style of Rembrandt and his followers, and it is in this vein that Robert White works. In the serenity of his home studio and school, he passes on the mystique of the special mixes and hues of the black oil process.

Don't ask him if his paintings tell a story. They do not. Rather, he suggests, they project an aura or atmosphere in which the imagination may immerse itself. Indeed, his paintings could almost be considered "meditations." They are peaceful and richly textured compositions, with his subjects rendered in deep lusters and colors.

This fifty-two-year-old artist originally studied at the Franklin School of Professional Art in New York and taught for a while at the Baltimore Polytechnic Institute. His works are exhibited and collected from New England to Miami, from California to New York, and he is presently arranging for a show in Sydney, Australia, at the Holdsworth Gallery Pty., Ltd.

It is only a twenty-minute drive south from the White's home to Mount Vernon, our first president's plantation home on the Potomac. There is not a room in the stately main house where a Robert White painting would look out of place, for these celebrated works are filled with the images of America then and of America now. The paintings abound in themes of our colonial American tradition, carried over into contemporary life today. Far from primitive, however, White's refined works project a heightened attention to detail and reality.

He says his favorite painting is the one he has most recently finished, but his main concern is the viewer and his or her aesthetic experience. Each White painting holds the promise of new interpretation and insight. They are original and timeless works, embodying the peace and fullness of a mature artistic temperament.□

Robert F. Murray is director of the Von Brahler Gallery & Exposition of Alexandria, Virginia.

Winter Morning
1979. Black oil; 24 x 30 in.

Pumpkins
1979. Black oil; 36 x 24 in.

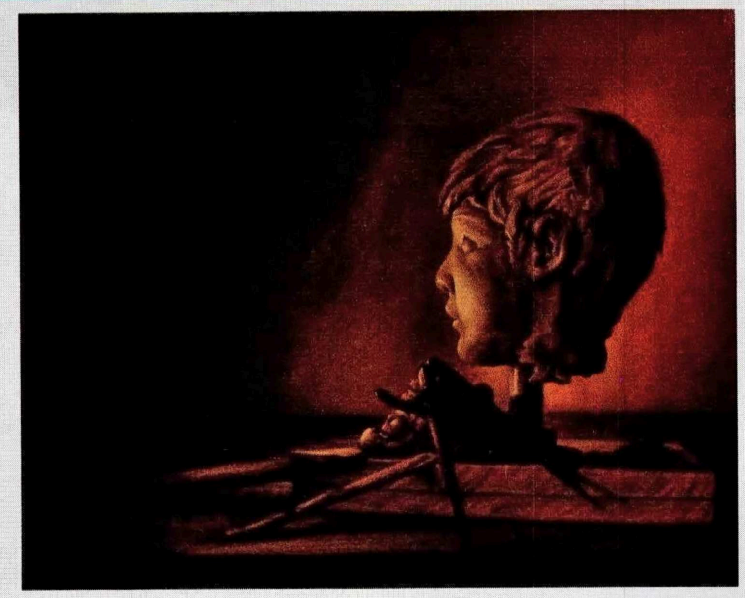
Apples and Cider Jugs
1984, Black Oil; 20 x 24 in.

Sand Castle
1979. Black oil; 30 x 40 in.

Studio Interior
1970. Black oil; 24 x 48 in.

French Chair
1985. Black oil; 30 x 24 in.

Potting Shed
1975. Black oil; 14 x 18 in.



Clay Bust of Chris
1967. Black oil; 16 x 20 in.

Retired since 1918
1986. Black oil; 30 x 40 in.

Announcing
THE WORLD & I
Photo Contest

The World & I is pleased to announce its monthly photo contest beginning with the October issue. The winners of each month's competition will be published in the Gallery section of The World & I magazine, and will be eligible for the year-end grand competition.

Each month there will be two separate contests: one for an individual photo, and one for a photo essay.

In both contests, individual and photo essay, photos submitted may be in the form of black and white prints, color prints, or color slides.

COMPETITION SUBJECT MATTER

Subject matter of entries should fall under one of three categories, corresponding to the regular monthly World & I photo essays:

1. LIFE & IDEALS. Illustrating the harmony and contrast between the ideal and the reality of life. To convey the "human" condition; people's reality and their endeavors for a better life.
2. PATTERNS. Photographic appreciation of world cultures. Depiction of lifestyles in society. The ways of living that have withstood time, cultural evolution, etc. Photographs that illustrate the habits and traditions of a particular culture in a way that captures its essential flavor.
3. FOCUS. A visual understanding of current issues and the effects they have on society.

MONTHLY AWARDS & PRIZES

Individual Photo Contest:
$200 cash, and entry to year-end Grand Contest
Photo Essay Contest:
$1,000 cash and entry to year-end Grand Contest

YEAR-END GRAND CONTEST AWARDS

Individual Photo:
1st place—$1,000 in camera equipment and $1,000 cash.
2nd place—$750 cash
3rd place—$500 cash
4th place—$250 cash
5th place—$150 cash
Photo Essay:
1st place— $3,000 in camera equipment and $2,000 cash
2nd place—$1,500 in camera equipment and $500 cash
3rd place—$800 cash.

RULES

—All black and white or color prints shall be 8x10 and not mounted.
—All slides must be 2x2 mounted, larger formats accepted.
—Category shall be clearly marked on the back of each print.
—All essay photos shall be in numerical order.
—Photographer's name and address shall appear on all material entered, with an explanation for each essay submitted. A short resume of the photographer shall also be included.
—Each entry must be titled.
—Captions should be submitted with each photograph, but The World & I reserves the right to alter the captions as it deems appropriate.
—All photo essays will consist of at least three and no more than eight pictures.

DEADLINES

The closing dates (to be received by The World & I) for the contest for the remainder of this year are as follows:
October competition — August 1
November competition — August 26
December competition — September 26
All entries received after the closing date will be entered for the following month.

RIGHTS

The World & I reserves the rights to use all material submitted for the contests for publication in any or all of its publications.
Entries shall be kept on file for future consideration for publication or sale.
Should any entries be sold on a commercial basis with any client or subsidiary company of The World & I, we shall act as a representative agent of that entrant and shall remunerate that party 40% of that net sale.
All sales to other Agencies shall constitute a one-time use and shall be properly accredited to the *photographer's name/The World & I.*

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Sexual arousal is an avenue of knowledge and has moral significance.

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Roger Scruton considers erōs, philosophy, and the moral foundations of sexual love.

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The intellectual forefathers of the postwar conservative movement were imbued with a profound historical consciousness that today's conservatives would do well to remember.

Hegelian thinking crucially shaped the older tradition of American conservative thought, which deserves to be revived. (p. 413)

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Liberal Protestantism: Realities and Possibilities
Robert Michaelson and Wade Clark Roof, Eds.
If current trends continue, within a generation or two the liberal denominations may go the way of the old state churches of northern Europe.

SCALA/ART RESOURCE, NY

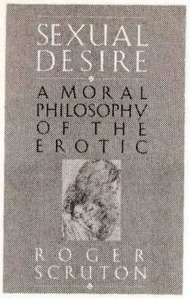
Rinaldo and Armida, Tiepolo.

Introduction

Sexual Desire, a new book by British scholar Roger Scruton, launches an overdue philosophical debate on this universal human impulse. Approaching erotic desire in the manner of an analytical philosopher, the author builds a system of sexual ethics based upon the motives behind sexual behavior. The study rejects the popular view that all is permitted to "consenting adults" and that personal actions do not affect public life.

Sexual Desire has stimulated significant interest among scholars in Great Britain and the United States. It is a declaration of independence from the prevailing view of sexual desire as merely instinctual tension, and it offers liberating insights on the morass of ethical confusion that is symptomatic of modern Western society.

The excerpt below, on *love,* explores love in connection to desire and studies both in relation to moral life.



Sexual Desire

A Moral Philosophy of the Erotic

Excerpted with permission of The Free Press from *Sexual Desire by* Roger Scruton, © 1986 by Roger Scruton.

BY ROGER SCRUTON

Love

The subject of this chapter is erotic love, which I shall attempt to describe, first in relation to desire, and later in relation to the moral life of the rational being. The second part of the discussion will be spread over the chapters which follow. Since the topic is delicate and obscure, I cannot hope to do more than to provide guidelines. And much of what I say will depend upon an understanding of a crucial question which almost all traditional accounts of sexuality have either failed to answer or failed to pose.

The question is this: what place has sexual desire in love, friendship, and esteem? Either it is a part of love, in which case erotic love is too purposeful, and too narrowly focused, to be a form of friendship; or it is not, in which case love is never erotic. Each answer gives a reason for thinking that there can be no such thing as erotic love—no state of mind that is both a form of love (where love includes friendship) and a form of desire. At best the two states may be conjoined, like ham and peas on a single plate. In which case they may taste better, or be better for you, when taken independently. Such was the argument of Socrates in Plato's *Symposium,* and I shall call the question Plato's question, in deference to the clever way in which Socrates first poses and then conceals it. I shall argue, against Plato, but in accordance with at least one neo-Platonic tradition, that erotic love is a form of desire and also a form of love. And I shall give reasons for thinking that the attempt to separate the two "components" is ultimately destructive, not just of this love, but perhaps also of every love.

Discussion of the question is made especially difficult by the traditional misuse of the term 'love', in particular by those—the exponents of courtly love—who made it the name of their ruling divinity. Thus Andreas Capellanus, in his seminal work *De arte honeste amandi,* defines love thus:

> Love is a certain inborn suffering derived from the sight of and excessive meditation upon the beauty of the opposite sex, which causes each one to wish above all things the embraces of

> the other and by common desire to carry out all of love's precepts in the other's embrace.[1]

By "love's precepts" Capellanus means what I have called "the course of desire," and the definition is in fact a definition of desire, which corresponds at almost every point to the definition that I have given. At the same time Capellanus uses it to introduce a discussion of love. Thus he arbitrarily introduces the element of desire into his account of courtly love, first by defining love in terms of it, and then by ignoring the definition.

Still more misleading are the authors (and again the principal offenders belong to the tradition of courtly love) who entirely leave out the reference to desire and distinguish erotic love simply by its peculiar genesis—by the fact that its victim is *smitten* by love. Thus, in Dante's compelling redescription of his childhood encounter with Beatrice, nothing marks out this love from any other, beyond the implosive shock of its coming to be. Not only is the subject of this love a nine-year-old child; so too is the object. And the paroxysm is followed at once by a most exacting servitude, not to the girl herself, but to the tyrant love:

> At that point I truly declare that the spirit of life, which dwells in the most secret chamber of the heart, began to tremble so greatly that it appeared horribly in the slightest of my pulses, and trembling it uttered these words: *Ecce Deus fortior me, qui veniens dominabitur mihi* . . . .
>
> Thereafter I say that Love held lordship over my soul, which was so early given over to him, and he began to hold over me so much assurance and so much mastery, through the power which my imagination granted to him, that I was obliged to do all his pleasure perfectly.[2]

That a child should be addressed by his inner voice in Latin is, in a way, the least astonishing part of the experience. Dante was surely right in thinking that the most significant aspect of the phenomenon is also the one that is most familiar: the fact that someone is compelled to love by the mere sight of another person. Merely to note this fact, however, is to give no explanation either of the erotic nature of the passion or of our disposition to describe it as a form of love.

The philosophy of courtly love has an ideological motive. And, from the beginning of philosophy, love has been similarly connected with religious devotion, with redemption, with marriage and the rearing of children, by those who have wished to attach its excitements to some "higher" cause. For those who have found this "ideologizing" of love implausible, it has still been customary, if not to justify, at least to explain, the trouble of love by describing it as a cataclysmic "passion." From Capellanus to Denis de Rougemont, the emphasis has been not on erotic love (love transformed by desire), but on the passionate constraint of love—Stendhal's

1. Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Loving*, tr. and ed. J.J. Parry (New York, 1941), p. 28.

2. Dante, *Vita Nuova*, ch. 2.

amour-passion. For Capellanus, love exists only to the extent that it is hidden, forbidden, and furtive. Furthermore, he insists, it is nourished on jealousy, destroyed by exposure, and cannot exist between husband and wife. Such is the love of Tristan and Isolde, both in the medieval romance and in Wagner's music-drama. Moreover, as de Rougemont has persuasively argued, passion-love continues to exist as a recurrent myth in Western literature, but only to the extent that new interdictions may be discovered, whereby to place intolerable obstacles before it—interdictions which will simulate the power and the authority of the ancient law against adultery. The most powerful invocations of *erōs* in modern literature therefore concern incest (Wagner, Musil in *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften*), love for a nymphet *(Lolita),* or the no longer quite so forbidden love between woman and woman, or man and man (Proust, Genet).[3]

Such speculations, while comprising the mass of writing upon this subject, are irrelevant to the theory of love. Passion may indeed require the stern interdiction of a King Mark, or of the moral law that he personifies; but this is a fact about passion, and not about love. Some, including Denis de Rougemont and C. S. Lewis (in *The Allegory of Love*), have argued that passion-love exists only locally. Many go further, subscribing to the view that "romantic love" was invented only with its name, and that, whether or not the outcome of "Ovid misunderstood," it did not exist before the twelfth century. (Thus J. Huizinger in *The Waning of the Middle Ages,* and Bertrand Russell in *Marriage and Morals.*) I doubt that any such thing is true. Japanese and Persian literature provide abundant evidence to the contrary; our own classical literature too is replete with stories—Orpheus and Eurydice, Daphnis and Chloë, Dido and Aeneas, Haemon in Sophocles' *Antigone,* and Apuleius' allegorical presentation of Cupid and Psyche—which are as "romantic" as anything in Chaucer or Boccaccio. But even if it were true, this would only show how little *amour-passion* matters to our subject, how very much it is a localized constraint upon love, rather than love itself. If love between mother and child were forbidden—as in *Brave New World*—it too would be a vehicle of the most troubled passion. The interest in passion is part of a dangerous tendency to assume that the central example of a phenomenon is the one in which its effects are most vivid or extreme. This search for the pathological is also an unphilosophical distaste for the normal. It is important neither to share, nor greatly to respect, its intellectual motivation. The romantic movement did not invent erotic love; but it did invent the corrupt perception of love, which seeks for love's essence in love's disease, and mistakes the flush of fever for the glow of health.

The interest in passion is part of a dangerous tendency to assume that the central example of a phenomenon is the one in which its effects are most vivid or extreme.

Plato's question

What is it that lends such force to Plato's question? Love implicates the whole being of the lover, and desires the whole being of the beloved. The beloved's embodiment may be a crucial object of the lover's interest,

3. On this theme, see the exaggerated theories of Denis de Rougemont in *Passion and Society,* tr. M. Belgion, revised ed. London, 1956; and *Comme toi-même* (Paris, 1961), tr. as *The Myths of Love,* by R. Howard (London, 1964.)

but love cannot be satisfied either with the contemplation or with the possession of that embodiment in the act of desire. A mystical redescription of the two phenomena provides the easiest way to unite them—as when the neo-Platonist describes the aim of love as "spiritual copulation,"[4] or the aim of desire as "physical union." Love has an aim which is separate from that of desire. Love seeks companionship, in which mutual well-being will be the common purpose; it is nourished on counsels and conversations, on gifts and tokens, on affection, loyalty, and esteem. Moreover, love involves dependence. It is not a commodity that can be received, now from this provider, now from that. To love is to acquire a need for another individual, and to wish for one's solace there, with him. Hence, where love is, there too is the certainty of grief.

Plato's answer to the question is well known. Desire, he believed, could have no place in love. For desire is a physical urge, belonging to man's baser nature, a bodily appetite that we share with the animals. Its connection with love is at best accidental. Erotic love is the peculiar form of love which appears to be *born* in desire, but which can remain love only by transcending desire. The conclusion is highly paradoxical, for two reasons. First, how can erotic love—the poignant attachment to the soul of another, which contains, for Plato, the premonition of every human good—start up from so base an origin? And secondly, how can desire, on this account, be an *expression* of love?

Plato answered those questions in the following way. First, erotic love starts up, not from desire, but from the perception of another's beauty. Beauty is the visible form of his immortal soul, which is revealed to us sensuously in precisely this apparel. Secondly, desire is not an expression of love, but a derogation from love, which impedes love's development, and must be transcended if love is to survive. True *erōs* exists only in the conquest of desire. Sexual attraction is nothing more than a premonition, which may be diverted into lust, but also refined into something higher. And its refined form—*erōs*—exists primarily between persons of the same sex, since only then does sex have nothing to do with its aim. Those two answers form, between them, the premises of the most influential of all theories of the erotic, according to which love is by its own nature set on the path of renunciation. Love's ultimate aim is either *amor intellectualis Dei*—the intellectual love of God—or else spiritual union with the other in a bliss that has much in common with religious devotion (cf. Dante and Beatrice). Desire is never more than an impediment to such a love, and can be wrongly taken as a sign of love, only because we confuse it with the sense of beauty.

Platonism is the other side of Kinseyism. Each is based in the same misdescription of desire; the first extends a universal frown, the other a universal smile, towards an activity which, in truth, is too integrally bound to the totality of our moral choices to be the proper object of either attitude. In each case, the impoverished description of desire makes it impossible to see how desire can be an expression, or a form, of love. (The same is also true of the Augustinian tradition described in chapter 5.) Yet surely, while not all desire expresses love, some does; and this is an

4. This idea is emphasized by Abravanel (Leone Ebreo), *The Philosophy of Love (Dialoghi d'amore)*, tr. F. Friedburg-Seeley and J.H. Barnes, introduction by C. Roth (London, 1937), p. 41.

important part of its intentional structure. Furthermore, Platonism, which offers to explain the nature of erotic love, in fact does no such thing. All love, on this view, becomes reduced to a single kind, and the peculiarity of erotic love consists merely in its origin—that it begins in the perception of beauty—an origin, moreover, which the theory makes quite unintelligible.

It is useful to compare Plato's theory to another, which also describes sexual love as a kind of "composite" state of mind, in which the sense of beauty, the sexual "appetite" and an interpersonal regard are incongruously stewed together. This theory is that of Hume:

> 'Tis plain that this affection, in its most natural state, is deriv'd from the conjunction of three different impressions or passions, *viz.*, the pleasing sensation arising from beauty; the bodily appetite for generation; and a generous kindness or good-will.[5]

Hume then has the problem of explaining how the sense of beauty and the "bodily appetite for generation" may be related. His argument suffers from the well-known limitations (transparently displayed in the phrase "impressions or passions") of his philosophical psychology. Nevertheless, it is sufficiently curious to deserve quotation, if only in order to show how mysterious the facts of love become when sexual desire is given the structure of a bodily "appetite." Hume begins by arguing that parallel desires may become mentally "connected":

> Thus hunger may oft be consider'd as the primary inclination of the soul, and the desire of approaching the meat as the secondary one; since 'tis absolutely necessary to the satisfying that appetite. If an object, therefore, by any separate qualities, inclines us to approach the meat, it naturally increases our appetite; as on the contrary, whatever inclines us to set our victuals at a distance, is contradictory to hunger, and diminishes our inclination to them. Now 'tis plain that beauty has the first effect, and deformity the second: Which is the reason why the former gives us a keener appetite for our victuals, and the latter is sufficient to disgust us at the most savoury dish that cookery has invented. All this is easily applicable to the appetite for generation.[6]

The general explanation is of course absurd, implying as it does that someone with a scientific interest in excrement is on that account more likely to eat it. The particular application is yet more absurd. For what sense can we make of an "appetising morsel," whose savory preparation competes with her lack of beauty? No such idea could capture the special relation between the sense of beauty and the movement of desire. Desire is the tribute paid to beauty, and the judgment of beauty is an expression of the intentional content of desire. These are not two states of mind, but

Desire is the tribute paid to beauty....

5. D. Hume, *Treatise of Human Nature*, book II, ch. 2, section xi.

6. Ibid.

one. Most intolerable of all, however, is the assimilation of desire to appetite—an assimilation which indeed necessitates this "disaggregated" analysis of love, but which also makes it impossible to represent desire as love's expression. In Hume's view desire is no more the expression of love than is the propensity to boil and eat the beloved. There may be a "connection" between the states of mind, but only as there may be a connection between a pain in the chest and the thought that I must give up smoking. No one imagines that the pain expresses the thought, even if (as might happen) it is caused by the thought. In the same way, sexual desire, on Hume's account, could never be an expression of love, even when caused by love.

Clearly, if we follow in the footsteps of Plato and Hume, we shall never establish a coherent category of "erotic love"—love expressed in, and modified by, desire. We shall arrive either at the amalgam described by Hume or at the mystery disclosed by Diotima to Socrates, in which one and the same love somehow ascends from the desire for boys *(paiderastein),* to the contemplation of the divine beauty itself: *auto to theīon kalon dunaito monoēides katidein.*[7] This divine beauty is unique and irreplaceable; but only because it is the hypostatized universal, lying outside time and change. Hence erotic love, for Plato, realizes itself only by ceasing to be love of a human being.

The account that I have offered of sexual desire avoids the immediate difficulties which confront both Plato and Hume. Nevertheless, the mere fact that desire and love each have an individualized and interpersonal intentionality is not sufficient either to prove that there can be erotic love (else it should prove the existence of erotic hatred, erotic anger, and so on), or to show how desire narrows and transforms the focus of love, so justifying the idea of *erōs* as a separate species of it. We must show that desire can be, in itself and by virtue of what it is, an expression of love, and that love is modified by that very expression. Only then shall we have given a description of the erotic. And without that description we shall be one step further away from a sexual morality, whose outline is determined, I shall argue, by the needs of love.

Levels of friendship

A discussion of erotic love must begin from a discussion of love. But "love" is an uncertain category, and one in which rival theories of human nature, and rival moralities, stake their conflicting claims. In Shakespearean English "love" means both love and friendship, as does the word *philia* in Greek. And yet there is an abiding intuition—reflected in the distinction between *erōs* and *philia*—that love and friendship are not quite the same. To clarify this issue, therefore, we should first give an account of the intentional structure of friendship.

In a famous discussion,[8] Aristotle distinguishes three kinds of friendship, those based in utility, in pleasure, and in virtue. In Aristotle, and in many of his successors, this distinction derives not from a study of friendship only, but from a theory of practical reason, which divides

7. Plato, *Symposium,* 211B-212A.

8. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics,* book VIII.

reasons for action into three distinct kinds (roughly, the useful, the pleasant, and the good). For our purposes, however, the theory of friendship may be discussed independently of the larger theory.

The first kind of friendship, exemplified in friendly relations between those engaged in a common enterprise, is of a circumscribed nature. As Aristotle argues, such friendships expire just as soon as the purpose is fulfilled (or, if they seem not to expire, this is because friendship of another kind has arisen meanwhile). Such fragility is peculiar to the first kind of friendship, which, in its minimal form, need be no more than common courtesy. Friendship of the second kind is exemplified in the "jolly companion," who is enjoyed, like Falstaff, for his company, but, like Falstaff, rejected at the call of higher things. It is tempting to distinguish the two kinds of friendship in Kantian terms: the first treats the other as a means, and what it contains by way of "friendliness" can be seen as a special case of efficiency; people are more amenable, and business more swiftly accomplished, when you behave in a friendly way. Thus *"l'intérêt parle toutes sortes de langues, et joue toutes sortes de personages, même celui de désinteréressé"* (La Rouchefoucauld). If we were to be strict, we might consider this to be friendship only in a derivative sense—for it lacks an element that is crucial to friendships of the "higher" kinds, the element of "liking."

It is tempting to distinguish the two kinds of friendship in Kantian terms....

Even so, however, it is by no means obvious that the Kantian language is sufficiently exact to distinguish the first kind of friendship from the second. While it may be said that Prince Hal treated Falstaff as an end —for he laughed with him, and at him, and sought his company with no thought of the abstract companion who would "do just as well"—in another sense he treated Falstaff as a means to enjoyment (as he admits, indeed in the soliloquy which closes the second scene of *Henry IV, Part I*). Hence the speed with which he rejected Falstaff, once the time for enjoyment had gone. Falstaff was at once no more to Hal than a foolish old man, "the tutor and feeder of my riots" (*I Henry IV, V*). At the same time, the purpose with which Prince Hal approached Falstaff was, at least in part, an "immanent" purpose. (See above, chapter 5, pp. 101–2.) Hal's enjoyment was enjoyment *in,* and not simply *because of,* Falstaff.

There is a prevailing error in aesthetics, typified by Collingwood's diatribes against "amusement art"[9] and Croce's rejection of the *estetica del simpatico,*[10] according to which attitudes like amusement, sympathy, and so on can have no place in the true appreciation of art (or the appreciation of true art). To be interested in something "for the sake of amusement," Collingwood argues, is to be interested in it for something other than itself; it is not to be interested in it "for its own sake," in the quite special sense of that phrase manifested by aesthetic interest. The argument is of course fallacious. When I laugh at something, I laugh at it for its own sake, and not for the sake of laughing. (Contrast eating.) Amusement is a species of interest in an object "for its own sake." The same is true of the second kind of friendship. And this enjoyment *in* a person, while it is "particular," in the sense defined in chapter 5, is also reason-based. I enjoy John *for* his qualities, which are the grounds of my

9. R.G. Collingwood, *Principles of Art* (Oxford, 1938), ch. V.

10. B. Croce, *Aesthetic,* 2nd edn., tr. D. Ainslee, (London, 1923), ch. XII.

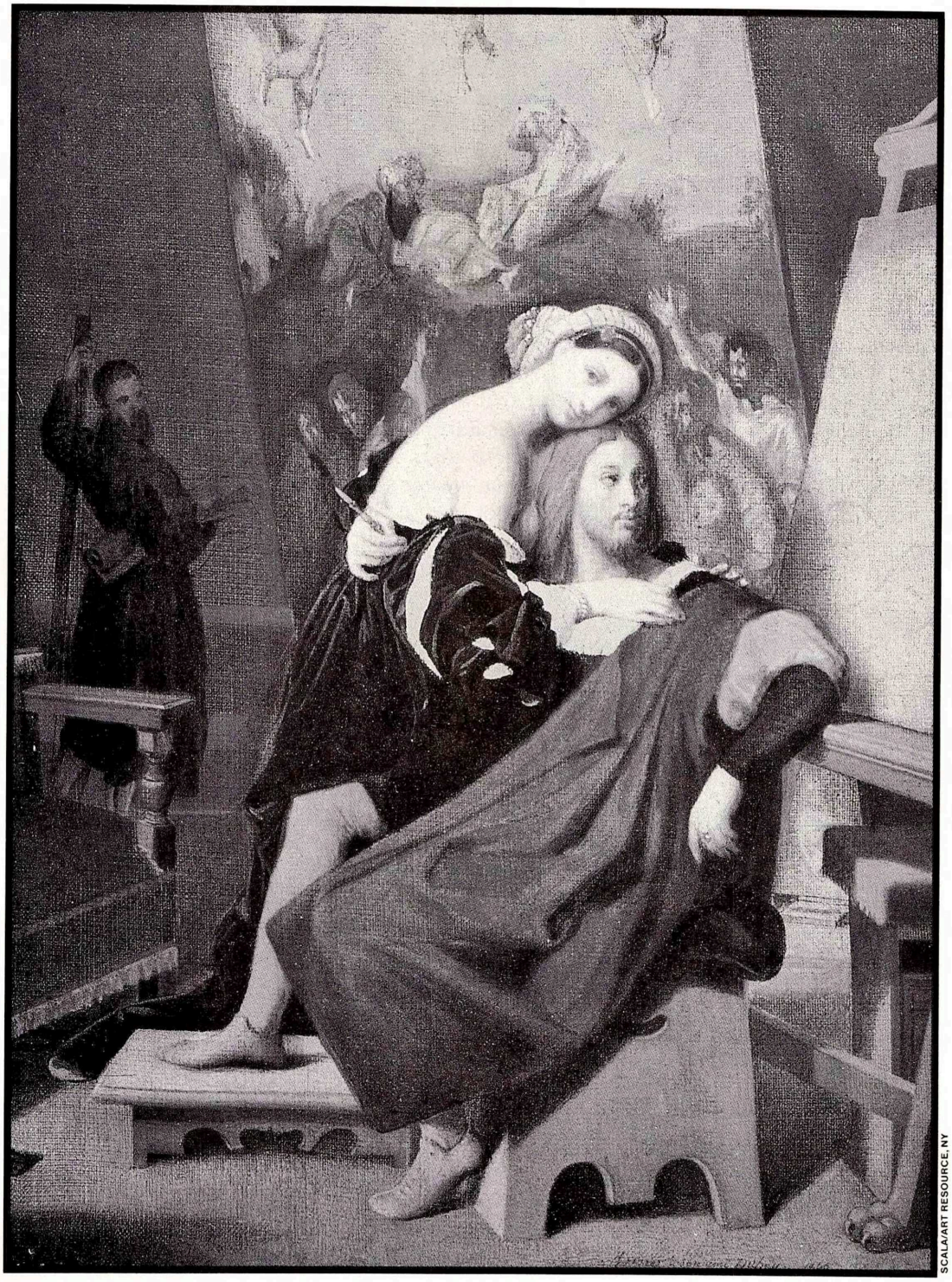
enjoyment, just as I enjoy a work of art for its qualities, which might be offered as reasons in a critical appraisal. Thus I enjoy John for his humor, absurdity, good nature, or intelligence. But if we are to be true to the spirit rather than the letter of Kant's distinction, we can hardly call this kind of friendship a case of appreciating John as an end in himself. (Cf. Tolstoy's description, in *Anna Karenina,* of the quickly exhausted, but endlessly renewable, charm of Oblonsky.) There seem to be cases of interest in a man "for his own sake," which yet do not deserve quite so dignified a label. The least that can be said is that Aristotle's tripartite division promises a finer understanding than Kant's dichotomy—a dichotomy which we have, in any case, already seen reason to question.

I may enjoy John's humor. Presumably I may also enjoy his virtues. (Indeed, humor is a part of virtue.) Why then does Aristotle set aside the special case of friendship founded in virtue, as friendship of a higher kind? One answer is that I do not merely enjoy my friend's virtue; I also value it. Someone who merely enjoyed the virtue of another would not be classed by Aristotle among his third category of friends. (One who sought the company of another simply in order to *laugh* at his virtue is certainly no friend. Nor is the person who takes an aesthetic interest in the virtue of another: as Gilbert Osmond in the virtue of Isabel Archer in James's *The Portrait of a Lady.*) The third category of friend is distinguished by the fact that the qualities found interesting in the friend are also valued. Friendship based in valuing the friend is clearly a different thing from friendship based in enjoying him. If I value you for your moral qualities, I have towards you not merely affection, but the attitude which features in the Kantian morality as "esteem."

Kant would no doubt have agreed with Aristotle in setting the friendship of esteem apart from the friendship of enjoyment. And he would have argued that only in this third kind of friendship is the other *really* treated as an end in himself. For only in the attitude of esteem do I reverence that in my friend which *constitutes his nature as an end,* which is his reason, as displayed in obedience to the moral law. For the Kantian, therefore, Aristotle's tripartite distinction must be reconstructed in the following terms: First, there is the friendship of utility, in which the other is treated as a means. Secondly, there is the friendship which treats the other as a means to enjoyment, and for that very reason appreciates him "for his own sake." Thirdly, there is the friendship which treats him as an end in himself, in the positive sense of that expression. The third friendship is based not in enjoyment but in esteem.

Friendship and esteem

I propose to adhere to the Kantian language, despite its unclarity, and despite the need to amend Kant's dichotomy in the direction suggested by Aristotle. The reason is this. Aristotle's moral theory is couched in objectivist terms, so that, when he speaks of loving one's friend *for his virtue,* he has quite specific qualities—courage, wisdom, justice, and so on—in mind, and believes not only that these *are* the virtues, but also



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Raffaello e la Fornarina, Ingres.

that all rational beings would instinctively perceive them to be so.[11] Although Aristotle is right (see chapter 11), it is question-begging to assume so. Moreover, his distinction between kinds of friendship does not require his objectivist morality. It is sufficient to distinguish the *attitudes* of enjoyment and esteem, in order to make the distinction. And this involves no commitment to any objectivist moral theory.

Furthermore, although the Kantian language is associated with a theory which, by confusing important distinctions, has frequently threatened to damage our subject, it alerts us at once to a pivotal problem in the theory of love. Amusement (an attitude which may be taken as illustrative of the second level of friendship) is a particular attitude. Esteem, however, is universal. I cannot esteem you without basing my attitude in respect towards some quality which is the universal object of my esteem. (Hence Kant's view that esteem is a kind of reverence for the moral law.) But if that is so, it might appear as though esteem is less narrowly focused upon its object than is amusement, less clearly *appreciative* of the individual upon whom its gaze currently rests. (One should note here that the contrast betwen the "universality" of moral attitudes and the "particularity" of aesthetic interest is frequently used to define the distinction between them, and to clarify the sense in which an aesthetic interest is interest in an object "for itself."[12]) Why, then, is the friendship of esteem a form of friendship, when it is based precisely in an attitude that detaches itself from the individual, and respects him only for those features which it may equally respect in another?

This question occasionally troubled Kant, who was by no means happy with a theory that seemed to assign all love to the "pathological" part of man, and all esteem to the rational. He found himself struggling with an analogue of Plato's question, since he wished both to unite those states of mind and to insist on their categorical distinction.[13] We see here another reason for disaggregating the idea of the "individual object." Aristotle's distinction between the lower and higher kinds of friendship corresponds to something that we all instinctively recognize. And yet it would become nonsensical if the object of esteem were not truly an individual, but merely the universal attribute which provides such a good reason for loving him. To return briefly to Plato: what is most intolerable in Diotima's revelation to Socrates is the suggestion that erotic love, which begins in warm enjoyment of the human individual, ends in dispassionate contemplation of the divine universal. Love is transformed from a live passion into an abstract reflection. Such love might look with complete indifference upon the destruction of the person who originally inspired it, and yet remain itself. For Plato, the process of seeing value in the beloved is the process of forgetting him, in favor of the universal value that his contingency can only conceal. The Platonic paradox emerges, then, in the theory of friendship. (Nor should this surprise us, since sexual desire, like amusement, involves a move towards the friendship of enjoyment. Plato's question—how can desire be an expression of erotic love?—relates to a more general question: how can the friendship of esteem be a form of friendship?)

11. The search for an objectivist theory of virtue is now regarded with some suspicion, for reasons some of which are given in Bernard Williams, *Morality* (London 1973), pp. 69-76.

12. See S. Hampshire, "Logic and Appreciation," in W. Elton (ed.), *Aesthetics and Language* (Oxford, 1954).

13. I. Kant, *Foundations of the Metaphysic of Morals*, Prussian Academy edition, pp. 399ff.

Evidently the true friend, who is valued for his virtues, is also valued for *himself.* To put it another way: while I esteem his virtues, it is also *he* that is esteemed. In what way is this esteem part of, and a foundation for, friendship? In other words, how does it enter into, and qualify, an attitude of affection and enjoyment, the object of which is, in some non-trivial sense, "individual"?

We must here introduce a notion that is crucial to Aristotle's theory of virtue—the notion of character. A certain kind of philosopher, asked to define "character," might offer the following: a man's character is the sum of his dispositions to intentional action. Actions that are involuntary do not stem from character, nor do those which, while voluntary, express no abiding disposition. The purpose of this definition is to identify what another abidingly *is,* as a person.

As earlier discussions have shown, such a definition must fall short of the mark. If our aim is to focus on the moral reality of another, we must cast the net more widely. For, as Aristotle himself pointed out, and as is assumed by almost every sensible code of law, we are blamed, and also praised, for our dispositons to involuntary action. These too may be the product of education, and these too may be corrected, in the long run, by an understanding of what we do. (Only where that is not true—as in the case of epilepsy, say—do we withhold all praise and blame.) On the other hand, if our aim is to focus upon those actions of another which reveal him as he is—which reveal the perspective from which he acts and suffers—then again we must pay attention to involuntary actions. As I argued when considering smiles and blushes, involuntary conduct is here of paramount importance.

How does esteem enter into, and qualify, an attitude of affection and enjoyment . . . ?

In chapter 3, I discussed two closely connected, but initially distinct, features of an individual that form the basis of his existence as a person. The two features are the rational disposition to modify one's conduct in response to reason, and the first-person perspective. The idea of the individual person, as a center of agency, who acts from himself and suffers in himself, is composed of those two conceptions, together with the crucial notion of embodiment—of existence *in* the world, as one material entity among others. We may therefore summarize the concept of the person, as presented in this work, in three complex ideas: responsibility, perspective, and embodiment. The connections between these ideas are deep and obscure, and it is a subsidiary purpose of this work to cast light upon them. This purpose is furthered by considering a feature of persons which is already implied in those three ideas, but which has been of interest to recent philosophers for more specialized reasons: the feature of durability. People are extended in time, and what they are at one moment bears upon what they were or will be at another. This fact is of fundamental importance in the understanding of rational agency. A rational agent has a special attitude towards his own duration. The ideas of time, and of his own extension in time, form, indeed, part of the "given" of his experience.[14] The attitude of "taking responsibility" is revealed equally in decision and in remorse. Although our durability as persons is dependent on our durability as bodies, "personal identity"

14. This emphasis on the connection between self-consciousness and a sense of identity over time is central to many of the arguments in Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781, 1787), tr. Norman Kemp Smith (London, 1929).

through time is not, it seems, reducible to bodily continuity.[15] Moreover, persons are essentially capable of learning, and of responding at one time to information and arguments received at another. A person therefore *develops* in a way that has little or nothing to do with the development of his body. Hence, parallel to the metaphysical idea of the self, as an individual distinct from the bodily organism that he inhabits, there emerges a metaphysical idea of self-identity—of our duration as persons. This idea represents our history in terms that do not apply to the history of our bodies, and implies that self and body obey different laws of development.

From the third-person point of view, nothing is revealed of you and your perspective, save that which is displayed in your embodiment. The same is true of your "self-identity": this too can be real for me, only through its overt embodiment in the world of agency.[16] The correct way to understand the idea of "character" is, I believe, in terms of self-identity. Your character is that in you which endures through change, but which is nevertheless *you,* and which develops as *you* develop. It includes dispositions to intentional action, but also those other dispositions in which your enduring nature as a responsible being is revealed: clumsiness, negligence, half-heartedness; energy, wistfulness and serenity. It includes the disposition to blush with shame or flush with anger, to smile with affection or laugh with joy. For all these are critical revelations of your nature as a responsible being, and all, in their dispositional continuity, create for me the presence of the embodied and enduring you, the real object of my distaste or affection.

Friendship is crucially interested in "what comes next": in the surprises and the unsurprises of companionship. Hence friendship is an attachment to what is durable in the other. The more lasting the friendship, the more durable the features in which it is founded. Furthermore, friendship is an interpersonal relation, which focuses on the embodied personality of the other. While I may enjoy the companionship of an animal, this is not friendship in any normal sense of the term. An animal cannot be my counsellor, the object of my raillery, the butt of my jokes and observations—even though I may prefer him to any such [person]. Friendship seeks the self of the other, and is absent when there is no self to be sought. It follows that in both kinds of friendship—the higher and the lower—character must be the prime focus of attention.

The lower kind of friendship, the friendship of enjoyment, is, like amusement and aesthetic interest, essentially individualizing. But there is a sense in which it leaves the real individuality of the other to one side, as does the sexuality of *vaga libido.* My friend is appreciated for what he is. But what he is *for himself* need scarcely enter my calculations. I may have little concern for his joy or well-being, and only a casual interest in how he envisages his own destiny. His reasons need not be reasons for me, and his self-image may be something with which I entirely fail to identify.

This is the real basis of the felt contrast between the lower and the higher form of friendship. While this higher friendship is based in the

15. See the now familiar arguments of Sidney Shoemaker in *Self-Knowledge and Self-Identity* (Ithaca, 1963).

16. Cf. M. Merleau-Ponty's theory of the international understanding directed toward the other's "embodiment", in *Phenomenology of Perception,* tr. C. Smith (London, 1962).

universal attitude of esteem, focused on the character of the other, it engages intimately with his individual existence as a self-conscious being. It is useful to return briefly to Aristotle's theory of virtue. Aristotle argued that the real distinction between virtue and vice is not between actions, but between the characters from which actions spring. What we admire in the other is not the action (which could equally be performed from some base or indifferent motive) but the virtue which is expressed in it. A virtue is a disposition, characterized by a specific motive; virtues and vices are alike in that, when acting from them, we act from, and reveal, ourselves. The distinguishing mark of virtue is that actions done from virtuous motives are actions in which rational agency is not overcome but dominant. In virtuous action, *I* am the originator of what is done, even though my motive derives from my embodied, emotional existence, and not from the prompting of some Kantian moral law. Thus I can be overcome by fear but not by courage; by rage but not by justice —and so on. Only the vicious man is repeatedly overcome by his passions; the virtuous man, on the contrary, expresses himself in and through them as reason demands. The Aristotelian idea of virtue is, I believe, the idea of a disposition in which rational agency is in the ascendant, and through which it is fulfilled. (This parallels Kant's view, that what I esteem in you is the "transcendental" freedom revealed in your practical reason.)

If that is right (and I shall spell out the argument more elaborately in chapter 11), then esteem is more truly focused than is enjoyment upon the individual you. For esteem seeks out the center of activity, which is at once the locus of your responsibility and the sign of your perspective. And your virtue is not something external to your own sense of what you are and what you intend. On the contrary, it is the very heart of you, the origin of all those reasons which you present to yourself in determining the value of this or that course of action, the desirability of this or that response. Thus my interest in your virtue is an interest in your character in the deepest and most intimate sense: it is an interest in what defines you, both for yourself and for me.

We can now see how to resolve the difficulty that we encountered earlier. The higher form of friendship is in fact interested precisely in the irreplaceable individuality of the other—in the self, obedient to reason, defined by its enduring character, through which learning and responsibility assert their own peculiar principles of development. The instinctive respect which I feel towards virtue expresses itself in my affection for you. No obstacle stands in the way of this transformation, for both attitudes focus on what you *really are*. Indeed, esteem focuses more nearly on your self-identity than does amusement, and hence founds a more deeply personal affection than could ever grow from enjoyment alone.

Of course, there are differences between mere esteem and friendship. I may esteem someone for whom I have no friendly feelings. The higher form of friendship involves an additional concentration on the individual —a desire for *his* well-being, together with that familiar and complex

Of course, there are differences between mere esteem and friendship.

desire for a reciprocity of motive that we have already encountered in sexual desire. Nevertheless, esteem has a role to play in founding and transforming the intentionality of friendship, which ceases as a result to be a mere desire for companionship in pleasure. We esteem another on account of features which we value, and in which he is revealed as a responsible agent. We confide in him, by esteeming him, a peculiar trust —the trust that he is, and will be, *true to himself.* We seek to rely on him, being provided thereby with an additional guarantee of continuity in change. In short, by enacting before me the spectacle of a being motivated by *himself,* the estimable person promises redemption from the shoddiness of my condition. He has authority for me, since in him I see strength and conviction expressive of the triumph of reason. Hence I instinctively tend to identify with him, to feel threatened by what threatens him, and consoled by what consoles him. *His* reasoning becomes mine. This is the insight captured in Aristotle's belief that the friendship of virtue is of a different kind from the friendship of enjoyment. The insight resurges in the Kantian theory that esteem confers upon its object a peculiar authority—the authority of reason; and it is present too in Sartre's idea that love seeks out the freedom of the other and seeks to make itself one with that freedom. (All these ideas are ways of glossing the fundamental human illusion, that what *you* are for *me* is given by your "self-identity.")

No actual friendship is based purely in enjoyment or purely in esteem. Always there is a mixture of elements, and the higher friendship would be incomplete if it did not stoop to the enjoyment that characterizes the lower. The two forms of friendship define distinct but intermingling currents of intentionality, and all actual friendship can be seen as some idiosyncratic mixture of the two. One may here see foreshadowed the moral basis of another distinction—that between comedy and tragedy. The comic character is displayed as the natural object of the friendship of enjoyment, the tragic character as the natural object of the friendship of esteem. The comic character can be humiliated without abolishing our affection for him, but he cannot be tragically disposed of, without at once surpassing our capacity to find logic in the drama. (Hence Falstaff's death is shown to us only through Mistress Quickly's moral malapropisms [*Henry V, II.iii*].) The tragic suffering of a comic character is disgusting; our feelings are outraged by the demand that we sympathize with this character in a predicament that he lacks the virtue to bear. Our attention is taken away from the dramatic meaning, and directed towards the suffering itself: this alone now interests us, but with a horrifying force. It was famously argued by Lessing in *Laocoon* that poetry is not competent, as painting is, to represent in aesthetic form the dreadfulness of human pain.[17] Whether or not that is true, it is difficult to conceive a *dramatic* portrayal of a comic character subjected to terrible suffering, that could succeed as Raphael and Titian succeed in giving aesthetic form to the flaying of Marsyas. And a character who appropriates to himself a tragic suffering which he cannot truly feel—or which he feels only in the self-centered manner of the sentimentalist—may appear almost

17. G. Lessing, *Laocoon,* (1766), ch. IV.

farcical, like Hjalmar Ekdal in *The Wild Duck.*

The tragic character, who is represented always as the natural object of a higher friendship, is brought down by a tragic "flaw." This defect, which would (like Falstaff's lechery) be inconsequential in a comic character, is the echo of an anxiety that inhabits every serious friendship. We know that, in endowing another with the authority that stems from our esteem of him, we overstep the limit of any possible justification. We know that—in this or that particular—he will deeply deceive us; and in doing so, he threatens what we promise, through this friendship, to become. The downfall of the tragic hero is a kind of propitiation offered to friendship—an exemplary punishment placed before all who would threaten the transcendental illusions in which friendship is nourished. This is perhaps what Schopenhauer had in mind, in arguing that the tragic hero expiates original sin—the sin of existence itself.[18]

The intentionality of friendship

What is the aim of friendship? Or does it have no aim? I have argued that friendship contains two currents of intentionality—that derived from enjoyment and that derived from esteem. Neither of these attitudes has a transcendent purpose, although there is, perhaps, an "immanent" purpose involved in enjoyment. In friendship, however, there is an aim —that of mutuality—which transforms these attitudes into lasting projects. The purpose is again immanent: it cannot be specified without making essential reference to the immediate object of interest, the friend himself. But it endows friendship with a more "purposeful" character than we may find in enjoyment or esteem. I may suffer from the full transcendental illusion that I have described as the natural consequence of esteem, and confer upon the other the task of redeeming the contingency of my existence. And yet I may not be "friends" with him. Thus a whole nation may feel its destiny to be inseparably bound up with a redeemer. The people may be willing to die at his command; they may suffer grief at his death, and bitterness at his treachery. But this would not be friendship. It becomes friendship only when set within the context of mutuality. I wish not only to make my friend's reasons mine; I want him to make my reasons his.

What is the aim of friendship? Or does it have no aim?

This desire for mutuality is familiar from the analysis that I have given of desire. But it must be distinguished from another element, an element which distinguishes the higher from the lower friendship. Both forms of friendship involve pleasure in the company of the other, together with a desire for his reciprocal pleasure. But only the higher friendship includes the desire for the other's well-being, together with the desire that this desire be reciprocated. I may be largely indifferent to the fate of my "boon companion." But I cannot be indifferent to the fate of my "true friend." Although I may miss my companion, and long for his return, this is not necessarily the expression of a state of mind that informs my dealings with him while he is by my side. I do not necessarily show consideration for him, or include him in my practical reasoning as

18. A. Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation*, vol. I, book 3, section 51.

I include my true friend. It is for this reason that people sometimes dismiss the lower kind of friendship as not being a "true" example. The higher kind of friendship, it is thought, must inevitably transform the life and character of the man who feels it, by forcing him to take account of another's existence and well-being. It is necessarily unselfish, in the manner of Montaigne's friendship for Boëtie:

> Our mindes have jumped so unitedly together, they have with so fervent an affection considered of each other, and with like affection so discovered and sounded, even to the very bottome of each others heart and entrails, but I did not only know his, as well as mine owne, but I would (verily) rather have trusted him concerning any matter of mine, than my selfe. Let no man compare any of the common friendships to this.[19]

Love and friendship

But this brings us to love. For is that not the correct description of Montaigne's affection for Boëtie? Montaigne even asserts that there can be only *one* true friend, supporting his contention with arguments that might equally be applied in defence of sexual monogamy. The implication of this, and of many similar descriptions, is that love is the limiting point of friendship—the point at which the highest union of interests is achieved.

Against that one must place the authors who have discerned in love a principle that wars with friendship. La Rochefoucauld, for example, asserts that love (by which he means erotic love) often seems closer to hatred than to friendship. Is this a special feature of the erotic, or is it characteristic of all love? Or is La Rochefoucauld exaggerating?

No philosophical account of the many things that have been called love can hope to achieve the kind of order which all philosophy must seek. Neither common usage nor literary artifice has been sparing of paradox in describing the human passions, and no theory could ever be produced that would not be immediately objected to on the grounds of this or that real or imaginary experience. In what follows, therefore, I shall postulate a norm, which I shall call "love" largely because it justifies the trouble that is expended in love's name, but which by no means corresponds to everything that every writer has meant, or would want to mean, in the use of that description.

Consider, first, the love described by Montaigne: the love between friends, who seek each other's company not for *erōs'* sake, but for its own sake. The friendship of esteem becomes love just so soon as reciprocity becomes community: that is, just so soon as all distinction between my interests and your interests is overcome. Your desires are then reasons for me, in exactly the same way, and to the same extent, that my desires are reasons for me. If I oppose your desires, it is in the way that I oppose my own, out of a sense of what is good or right in the long run. The mere fact that you want something enters the forum of my practical reasoning

19. Montaigne, *Essays*, book I, ch. XXVII.

with all the imperative character of a desire that is already mine. If I cannot dissuade you, I must accept your desire, and decree in my heart "let it be done." To dissociate myself is to withdraw my love: hence such love is *fed* by esteem, which causes me to have confidence that what you want, I shall want also. Contrast the tragic collapse of love, as between Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, when conscience increasingly withholds its sanction. There are degrees in this, of course. I can dissociate myself from some of your desires, and to some extent. But that is only because there are degrees of love. The tendency of love is towards the identity of interests described by Montaigne. My demand for your virtue is the demand that, in identifying with you, I do not enter into conflict with myself. You must be what I endorse.

Thus he who loves aims at the other's good, in just the way that he aims at his own good. This idea of a person's "good" is not to be simply described. We may return again to Aristotle's tripartite theory of practical reason, and make a preliminary division among goods, between the useful, the pleasant, and the virtuous (that which is good in itself). I want all of these for myself, and also for my friend; but to the extent that they conflict in my ambitions for myself, so do they conflict in my reasoning on behalf of my friend. Just as, in my own case, my sense of what I ought to be and do is constantly balanced against my wishes and interests, and tends, in the long run, to live a life of uneasy compromise with the vacillating requirements of utility and pleasure, so too, in the case of my love for you, my conception of your good is the outcome of a fluctuating compromise between competing claims.

. . . my conception of your good is the outcome of a fluctuating compromise between competing claims.

This aim of love—which is a continuation and completion of the aim of friendship—is no extinguishable project, to be fulfilled and cast aside. On the contrary, it is part of what I am. I can no more think forward to its cessation than I can contemplate the cessation of my own practical reasoning, based in the present apprehension of my interests and values. While I love, I can have no plans for the extinction of love's purpose; to have such plans is to have ceased to love. Hence the death of someone loved *necessitates* grief. It is not merely that we happen to feel grief on such an occasion, as we happen to feel merry after drinking a bottle of wine; it is rather that we must feel grief. Grief is a kind of death itself: it is the response to a perceived calamity, in which the basis of one's action is suddenly shorn away, and one can only long helplessly for its return. Friendship, unlike the special case of friendship which is love, may require only that I be saddened by my friend's death. Grief is more than sadness. It is a state of disability, in which both thought and intention are fatally impaired.

It is clear from the above account that love cannot do without information. The lover is relentlessly curious as to his beloved's sorrows, joys, and desires, which concern him as his own. Hence love seeks companionship—that "being with" the other, in which what he thinks, feels, and desires "go without saying," since they can be perceived immediately in his face and gestures. If I am separated from someone whom I love, I am impatient to be reunited with him, so that my epistemic

hunger can be appeased. This hunger is not only for propositional knowledge: it is also for that imaginative and immediate acquaintance with the other's mentality, which comes from looking into his face and hearing his voice. Hence all love shares, to some extent, that emphasis on the other's embodiment which dominates the love that springs from desire.

Erotic love

I have argued that the friendship of esteem may *become* love: in doing so it acquires the distinguishing features of love: the desire to "be with" the other, taking comfort from his bodily presence, and the "community of interests" that erodes the distinction between *my* interests and *his.* Love involves a transition (as Martin Buber would put it)[20] from "I and he" to "I and thou." Two consequences follow. First, while friendship develops naturally into love, it does not do so *inevitably:* hence there can be friendship without love. Secondly, love could arise in some other way. Hence we should take seriously the possibility that there might be love without friendship. Love grows not only from friendship but also from companionship. Arranged marriages are not more loveless than marriages of passion—indeed, being founded in an acceptance of destiny, they are less frequently torn asunder by the dream of an unreal freedom. The community which unites husband and wife in such a marriage may unite companions in danger, workmates in a common enterprise, and a thousand others who have been thrown together by circumstances beyond their immediate control. It did not need Durkheim to show that "solidarity" is as multifarious as human community, that it can exist without a common purpose, or that it is never stronger than when it *has* no purpose beside itself.

But the love which responds to destiny grows, in a sense, from nothing. No quality, no achievement, no virtue in the object need inspire the first movements of regard. It is enough that he is there, another warm human body, trapped beside me in the predicament that is ours. What need there be, in this, of friendship or esteem? And what is erotic love, if not just such a response to an inflicted destiny—the destiny of desire?

This peculiarity in the genesis of love has led some writers to deny that love has the structure of friendship—and, in particular, to deny that it is reason-involving. McTaggart argues that this emotion springs from a sense of pure and immediate union with another self. Hence, although love may arise *because* of certain qualities in the beloved, it is never held *in respect of* those qualities. Love may survive the qualities which first inspired it, and is not founded in the belief in their persistence, as fear is founded in a belief in the persistence of danger. Hence love is "more independent than any other emotion of the qualities of the substance towards which it is felt,"[21] and it is this which explains why "a trivial cause may determine the direction of intense love. It may be determined by birth in the same family, or by childhood in the same house. It may be determined by physical beauty, or by purely sexual desire. And yet it

20. Martin Buber, *I and Thou* (1922), tr. R.G. Smith (New York, 1958).

21. J.M.E. McTaggart, *The Nature of Existence* Cambridge, 1927, vol. II, ch. 41, p. 151. A similar account is given by Max Scheler, *The Nature of Sympathy,* tr. P. Heath (London, 1954), p. 121: "Nothing shows better [that the object of love is an "unspecified particularity"] than the extraordinary perplexity which can be seen to ensue when people are asked to give 'reasons' for their love." And cf. Montaigne, "Of Friendship" (*Essays,* book I, no. xxvii): "If a man urge me to tell wherefore I loved him I feele it cannot be expressed, but by answering: Because it was he, because it was my selfe" (John Florio's translation).

may be all that love can be."[22]

McTaggart's theory has a metaphysical motive, which is to show love as an approach to the "pure individuality" of another "substance." As we have seen, a state of mind may have such an "individualizing intentionality," and yet be reason-involving—as in aesthetic interest. McTaggart seems to deny this, but only because his argument concentrates on the *cause* of love and ignores its intentional structure. It is true, in a sense, as McTaggart observes, that love may provide its own justification. But that is precisely because love is reason-hungry, searching always for a foundation in its object, and stepping always on shifting sands.

Consider the love with which the erotic is most vitally connected: the love for a child, and in particular for a child of one's own. In this case it is evident that love normally precedes friendship. It is the body—fragile, dependent, and unformed, in which a soul grows visibly—that awakens my emotion. I want to be with it, to cherish it, and all its interests are my interests. My child compels me to love, long before he arouses either my friendship or my esteem. By the time such interpersonal emotions are possible, I am already trapped by love. Not that I loved his body only. From the beginning my love was conditional upon the thought of a distinct, and distinctly personal, life, expressed in this body and growing with it. I loved my child's *embodiment,* but not his body. And yet this embodiment also provides my love with its ground. I love my child's smile, his eyes, his face; I love his energy and character; I am proud of him, and cannot quite believe it when someone other than myself speaks frankly of his imperfections.

. . . love is reason-hungry, searching always for a foundation in its object, and stepping always on shifting sands.

It is a brute fact that such a love grips us more intensely (even if not more profoundly) than the love that stems from friendship. Such "brute" facts are facts about our own brute condition: they remind us that we are animals, governed by the implacable requirements of the flesh.

Erotic love, like the love of children, is compelled by the embodiment of its object. We may retain, as Chaucer tells us, our "choice al fre," even in the encounter with the object of desire. It may even be that, in some sense, our ability to suffer precisely *this* compulsion is—as it was for Dante and Boccaccio—the highest expression of our original freedom. But it is also true that we are subjected by erotic love, and that our freedom suffers the impact of an external necessity. Erotic love is experienced, not as a decision, but as a destiny. The hope of the traditional moralist has been to rescue human freedom from this predicament—to restore it to itself, by showing us how to transform erotic love into an expression of virtue. This is the motive behind Kierkegaard's defense of marriage:

> [First love] is the unity of freedom and necessity. The individual feels drawn to the other individual by an irresistible power, but precisely in this is sensible of his freedom.[23]

Through his eulogy of marriage (which is in truth rather more tedious than the eulogy of sensual passion which precedes it, and which it aims

22. McTaggart, *The Nature of Existence*, p. 152.

23. S. Kierkegaard, *Either/Or*, tr. W. Lowrie (New York, 1959), vol. II, p. 46.

to counter),[24] Kierkegaard defended the theory encapsulated in Chaucer's great invocation of the vow of love. Freedom may yet be retained, such thinkers argue, just so long as the expression of love is withheld until it may be released in a lifetime's commitment.

It is well to remember Plato's own reasons for being suspicious of *erōs*. Desire, by virtue of its fixation upon the body of the other, seems to limit itself to what is finite, temporal, and sensory—to the "embodied individual." Hence desire defies the essential nature of reason, which is to attach itself only to what is universal, infinite, and outside space and time. Man's destiny is to transcend the erotic, discarding in this act of transcendence the element of desire. However, to love is to love an individual. It is only in his embodiment that the individual is revealed, and only in his embodiment that he may be individually known. For love to be an act of free choice it would have first to be rescued from this attachment to what is immediate and concrete. Love could obey reason only if it had the structure of esteem, and would have the structure of esteem only if it grew from esteem. Erotic love, which focuses on the embodiment of the other, is therefore not a rational response, even if it is a response which only rational beings may experience.

Nevertheless, erotic love, like other love, is reason-involving. It is true that in erotic love I may rejoice in your faults, which may be, for me, the precious sign of your dependence, the emblem of a lifetime at my side. However, we must be careful how we understand such feelings. In one of his thin protestations against the human normality, Nietzsche exhorts us to despise our friends, so as the better to love them.[25] The real meaning of such an exhortation is this: abolish the friendship of esteem and replace it with *erōs*. For, bonds of kinship apart, it is erotic love alone that can survive the awareness of another's depravity, without declining into that weaker, more vacillating friendship, from which nothing serious can be built. At the same time, this is not the happiest form of erotic love. To the extent that it is cherished, it is from an abundance of desire. Thus, when Genet's anti-heroes wax tender over the vices of their paramours, the effect is of a supreme sensuality, outside the reach of normal human emotion. Interestingly enough, however, their sensuality is represented as a kind of moral virtue, which, through an inverted admiration for what others despise, becomes an act of defiance toward the moral norm:

> *[Culafroy] aima Alberto pour sa lâcheté. En face de ce vice monstrueux, les autres étaient pâles et inoffensifs, et pouvaient être contrebalancés par n'importe quelle autre vertu, surtout par la plus belle . . . . Abolir ce vice—par exemple, par sa négation pure et simple—il n'y fallait pas songer, mais détruire son effet amoindrissant était facile en aimant Alberto pour sa lâcheté. Sa déchéance était certaine, si elle n'embellissait pas Alberto, elle le poétisait. Peut-être à cause d'elle, Culafroy se rapprochait de lui. Le courage d'Alberto ne l'eût pas surpris, ni laissé indifférent, mais voici qu'à ce lieu il décou-*

24. Vol. I, ostensibly concerned with the "aesthetic" way of life, contains the harrowing "Diary of a Seducer," to which vol. 2, concerned with the "ethical" way of life, offers a kind of answer, in a quiet and solemn analysis of marriage.

25. F. Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, tr. W. Kaufman and R.J. Hollingdale, ed. W. Kaufman (New York, 1967), no. 964.

vrait un autre Alberto, plus homme que dieu. Il découvrait la chair. [Notre-Dame-des-Fleurs].

We can see in this passage a peculiar inversion of the mythology of "passion-love," in which everything is negated, save that which "overcomes" the subject of desire: the quality of Alberto as flesh. This reflects Genet's desire to build a "wholly inverted love": love in which all values of community, and in particular those which deny the validity of homosexual passion, are systematically negated. However, in that very negation, there is a reaffirmation of value. It is true that Genet's love seems focused upon vice, but then so is his esteem. His love, like his esteem, is an exercise of what Sartre calls *"la morale du Mal"*:[26] an attempt to rebuild, through that very erotic passion which society denies, the inverse of a normal love. Culafroy's inverted love is in fact moralized into a kind of inverted esteem.

Tensions in love

Erotic love seems, therefore, to defy the demands of reason only to influence reason toward its own point of view. (Which is why McTaggart says that love is "its own justification.") Love "moralizes" its object, so that it conforms to an ideal. When the object cannot be moralized according to the old ideal, love favors a new one—even an inverted one—in order that its object may seem worthy of its care. Love brings esteem within its orbit, often causing it to travel along unfamiliar paths.

Erotic love seems to defy the demands of reason only to influence reason toward its own point of view.

In love at first sight, therefore, the other is seen as a "total moral presence." Desire is experienced as a moral demand, and also as a moral right, both of which seem, in imagination, to precede the first encounter. The experience is captured in Florizel's words to Perdita, in *The Winter's Tale* (IV.iii):

> What you do
> Still betters what is done. When you speake (Sweet)
> I'ld have you do it ever: When you sing,
> I'ld have you buy, and sell so: so give Almes,
> Pray so: and for the ord'ring you Affayres
> To sing them too. When you do dance, I wish you
> A wave o'th Sea, that you might ever do
> Nothing but that: move still, still so:
> And owne no other Function. Each your doing,
> (So singular, in each particular)
> Crownes what you are doing, in the present deeds,
> That all your Actes, are Queens.

The poet expresses the sense of the beloved suspended before me, ineffably there in the beam of my desire. She is poised—"move still, still so"—and yet absorbed in her actions. And in this moment all her nature and character are concentrated—her buying and selling, her giving of

26. J.P. Sartre, *Saint-Genet, comédien et martyr* (Paris, 1955).

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Antonio e Cleopatra, Tiepolo.

alms, her ordering of her affairs, and also her dancing and singing. The language here is the language of desire, which caresses its object with a palpitating tenderness:

> When you do dance, I wish you
> A wave o'th Sea, that you might ever do
> Nothing but that: move still, still so.

At the same time, the thought encapsulates the mystery of Perdita's incarnation—"so singular, in each particular"—and the intimation of a moral life that is entirely hers. It is hard to find a better representation of the way in which love, when expressed in desire, focuses upon the bodily presence of the other.

It is desire, and not love, which gives this *immediate* sense of the other's necessity to me. But desire transforms the whole perception of the object—the heart is commanded, as the eye is commanded, to obey. (Thus Guinevere, as she rises to leave, pulls after her both "the eyes and the heart" of Lancelot: Chrétien de Troyes, *Lancelot,* ll. 3987–9). The experience of "love at first sight" is really nothing more nor less than the experience of an intense desire, which commands through the physical embodiment of the other. It becomes love at once, but only because it is so interpreted. The subject, being vividly aware of the personal nature of the object, is moved to think always of the perspective that is prefigured in the forms before him—as Perdita is prefigured to Florizel. There follows the "idealization" of the object of desire. The lover casts his ambitions in moral form; for this alone justifies his sense that he *must* be united with the person before him. The physical attractiveness of the other is seen as an expression of her virtue—her "conscious heart," which "glows in her cheek," as Byron phrases it (*Don Juan,* CVI)—and the lover begins to moralize his desire. Desire becomes, for him, a way of appreciating the real and imaginary merits of his companion. There is thus conceived the secret strategem of valuing the other, so as the better to desire him. The lover may even (in the extreme case) deceive himself into thinking like Plato, that desire is not the meaning of this experience at all, that it is aimed, on the contrary, at some infinitely higher thing. Such a thought may also be useful, in granting secret permission to desire.

The physical attractiveness of the other is seen as an expression of her virtue . . . .

> Oh Plato! Plato! you have paved the way,
> With your confounded fantasies, to more
> Immoral conduct by the fancied sway
> Your system feigns o'er the controlless core
> Of human hearts, than all the long array
> Of poets and romancers:—You're a bore,
> A charlatan, a coxcomb—and have been,
> At best, no better than a go-between.
> [*Don Juan,* CXVI]

Stendhal—in a misleading image—describes this moralizing of desire as a "crystallization": one has only to think of a virtue, in order to see it at once in the other's face and conduct.[27] (As though one dips the image of the beloved into super-saturated liquid, and withdraws it with the bright sparkle adhering all around.) More appositely, the process may be described as a *commentary*. Just as you see meaning in the work of art which you love, so do you see meaning in your beloved's gestures. That which focuses your attention of his body also disturbs you with the sense that this experience *must* have a meaning, that it *must* be morally significant. Desire obliges you to find value in its object, and so to "see him as" the embodiment of virtue.

As the example from Genet showed, the process of commentary goes two ways. A critic, in assigning meaning to a work of art, sees the aesthetic experience as qualified by its meaning. He also sees the meaning as qualified by the experience. No meaning is critically significant, unless it can enter into the aesthetic experience.[28] Hence the moral content of a work of art is always described, by the persuasive critic, in terms adapted to its aesthetic rendering—it is a content that can be fully appreciated only in the act of aesthetic attention. In the same way, the lover experiences the virtues of his beloved as clothed in the garments of desire. They wear, in his mind, a bodily form, as though he could kiss and hold them. Thus Cleopatra conjures, in her tribute to Antony's virtues, the beauty of his body and the sexual presence that was the occasion of her desire (*Antony and Cleopatra,* V.ii):

> His legges bestrid the Ocean, his rear'd arme
> Crested the world: His voyce was propertied
> As all the tuned Spheres, and that to Friends:
> But when he meant to quaile, and shake the Orbe,
> He was as ratling Thunder. For his Bounty,
> There was no winter in't. An *Autumn* it was,
> That grew the more by reaping: His delights
> Were Dolphin-like, they shew'd his backe above
> The Element they liv'd in.

(The first folio has "Antony" in the place of "Autumn"—which is in a way more expressive, even if a trifle absurd.)

Thus, just as desire is moralized into love, so is love demoralized, so to speak, into desire. This explains the principal features of courtly love. The plaint of the courtly lover to his mistress involves always an extended tribute to her virtue, and the declaration of a loyalty that will justify her love. The poet invites the mistress first to love him. But he then—in his language and the movement of his verse—pleads for her desire, as a sequel to, and expression of, a love which she cannot withhold. Thus the lover rises to the point to which the mistress declines, the first having sanctified his desire by attaching it to virtue, the second having humanized her virtue, by clothing it in desire. *Frauendienst* is primarily a cooperative strategy, to generate the greatest desire, and then to fill

27. Stendhal, *De l'amour* (Paris, 1891), book I, ch. 2: *"il suffit de penser à une perfection pour la voir dans ce qu'on aime."*

28. I have defended this thesis in detail in *The Aesthetics of Architecture* (London, 1979), chs. 5-9.

that desire with the greatest virtue, and so generate the greatest love. It is the poet's desire which begins the process, and desire has its origins in the compulsion which overcomes him at the sight of another form. But this form is understood by the poet in terms of its spiritual possibilities. By praising the mistress, he exacts from her the moral regime that will turn those possibilities into actuality, and so justify his love. He then, acquiring her virtue, justifies, and so permits, her desire. Thus Cavalcanti, in his famous *canzone, "Donna mi priegha":*

Egli è creato
e a sensato
nome
D'alma chostume
di chor voluntade
Vien da veduta forma che s'intende
Che'l prende
nel possibile intelletto.[29]

"He (love) is created, and has a sensory name, takes his costume from the soul and his will from the heart; comes from a form seen, understood so as to include latent spirit (*intelletto possibile*)." The terms are scholastic, and it is not easy to understand the higher reaches of Cavalcanti's thought. But it is clearly a neo-Platonic attempt to "discompose" the knot of erotic love, and to give a metaphysical description of the interpenetration of love and desire. The core experience is the body seen, and seen as an embodiment: a revelation of "latent spirit."

Desire does not imply love; but it provides a motive to love....

Desire does not imply love; but it provides a motive to love—and this fact is crucial in understanding the intentionality of desire. "Falling in love" is not to be seen as a transition from the absence of love to the presence of love, but rather as the sudden acquisition of this motive. Your self-esteem requires you to love, so that, while being overcome by the other, you can believe yourself to have preserved your inner freedom. In such a case (and according to Robert Solomon, in every case),[30] love has the character of a decision. By calling our passion love, we commit ourselves to that which makes it love (and therefore "love," according to Solomon, is a "political word").[31] The metaphors with which we embellish our passion also transform it: they endeavor to literalize themselves, so that you become my life, my heart, my happiness, by virtue of the fact that I describe you so.

If we talk of "decision" here, however, this too is a metaphor: an attempt to capture in words something that lies beyond our intellectual horizon. We are "drawn" to love by the mysterious transparency of a human body, and if we idealize the person who is there embodied, it is because we idealize ourselves. Everything that bears for us the mark of destiny we moralize into the expression of spirit. In our eyes, as in the eyes of our lovers, we are self-made men. The bodily presence of the one whom we desire is decked out for us in spiritual meanings, so that its allure—which in truth is irresistible—will seem like the allure of virtue.

29. The breaking up of the lines here, in order to expose the internal rhyme, is due to Ezra Pound: see Hugh Kenner (ed.), *The Translations of Ezra Pound* (London, 1953), in which the *canzone* is printed with a facing translation. Pound gives another, more beautiful and more personal translation in Canto XXXVI.

30. Robert Solomon, *Love: Emotion, Myth and Metaphor* (New York, 1981), esp. p. 48.

31. Ibid., p. 5.

The other's desirable body is made to seem no greater an assault on our freedom than is the appeal of virtue to our esteem. We speak of "soft" lips, "tender" expressions, "innocent" eyes, a "passionate" mouth, and so on; and while some of these descriptions foreshadow the delights of lovemaking, others bear the mark of love. We find ourselves, in the very beginning of desire, already seeing the body of the other in terms that suggest the possibilites of a fully justified union. And this is what makes our love seem like a decision.

Love and indolence

Love in all its forms involves a desire for another's good. But I too am implicated in that good; I identify myself with it, and act to secure it as though it were also mine. Implied in this motive is the overriding desire to be with you, profiting from your company, recognized by you as part of your good, as you are recognized by me as part of mine. Hence my project is intrinsically self-limiting. My desire for your good is limited by my desire to be with you, and to be received by you as an object of an equal love. This is the dual variant, so to speak, of a self-limitation that exists within my own self-seeking projects. All such projects are limited by what La Rochefoucauld called *"la paresse"*—by the desire to be undisturbed and at ease with myself, according to known and existing conditions. Love is intelligible only on the assumption that it too has a state of "rest": an unchallenging "being with," in which I know that you know that I know that you know that neither of us seeks from the other any more than he can willingly give.

Love is therefore essentially "interested," and never more so than when it is disinterested. If a conflict arises between your good and our companionship, I can sacrifice the second to the first only by forgoing the point of rest that gives purpose to our union. In self-defense—which in this case means defense of our shared self-building—I may destroy your good. I may fight against your career, your friendships, your activity —everything, in short, that gives you the chance to live happily without me. (This is what Blake meant by saying that love "joys in another's loss of ease.")

Hence, as we have seen, I may rejoice in your faults, since they may be the sign of your dependence. At the same time, these faults must be tolerable to me. I may be pleased that others find them disheartening; but even in erotic love I must be able to regard them, not as great moral failings, but as weaknesses, and as qualities which endear you to me. For I must be able to accept your weaknesses as part of my practical reasoning. I can make allowances for your laziness, your selfishness, your lack of essential refinements. For these do not place you outside the reasoning whereby I conduct my life. But can I make allowances for your cowardice, your viciousness, your character, say, as a murderer or rapist?

The answer is surely "no." But it is a qualified "no." If I cannot condone your vice, then it must inevitably erode my love for you, since it

introduces calculations that cannot enter my reasoning as they enter yours. (He who freely and happily loves a criminal is always capable of being himself an accomplice in crime.) If this does not seem to be so, it is because of the tension that is contained within the project of love. My desire to be with you may have formed habits and bonds that are too resistant to be easily sundered. In the case of erotic and filial love the relation always has this inevitable character. In such cases, the conflict between love and esteem—or rather, between the need to be with you and the need to "incorporate" your projects—may be severe, and could never be resolved without pain. Erotic love, like maternal love, may venerate a fierce internal conflict. And here too, where love wars with esteem, love may predominate.

The same considerations explain the phenomenon of "hatred in love." This is no more surprising a phenomenon than self-hatred: the conflict which ensues when my nature is recalcitrant to my purposes. In love —and especially in love of an erotic or filial kind—there is a core of attachment which resembles my attachment to myself: something given, unquestionable, rooted in my "empirical condition" as a dying animal. My devotion to you is nourished upon an idea of mutual aid. But my attachment remains, even when it enters into conflict with your disobedience to my idea of your good. I then rebel against the intolerable compulsion of this attachment; but it prevails, and, being forced to live in intimacy with it, I inevitably begin to hate it and wish for its destruction. Thus it frequently happens that erotic love, which begins in the idealization of the beloved, turns to a systematic disappointment. Because of the attachment against which it vainly struggles, this disappointment seems more like hatred than like friendship.

In love . . . there is a core of attachment which resembles my attachment to myself . . . .

The course of love

In chapter 4 I argued that the intentionality of sexual desire, like the intentionality of any other social attitude, involves several distinct stages of development, or "moments," to use the Hegelian term. The initial aim —sexual union—has to be defined in terms of "the course of desire." The further project which emerges from this aim—sexual intimacy—is one of which I have given an implicit description. But I have said little about the fulfillment of desire: about the condition which answers desire, as vindication and repentance answer anger. I have suggested, however, that this "moment" of intentionality must be described in normative terms. In delineating the fulfillment of a state of mind, one is recommending a long-term project, which will resolve the tensions, and fulfill the ancillary wishes and needs, that arise in the expression of the basic intentional structure. It is evident that I have already begun to identify this project as erotic love. Erotic love provides the lover with the justification of his desire, and, if reciprocated, with the inner peace that rewards the trouble of desire. Erotic love is, however, like desire, in that its aim must be described in terms of its "course."

One may describe the course of love as a kind of "mutual self-building,"

in something like the way that the course of desire is a "mutual arousal." I want you to be worthy of my love, behind which desire lies, always compelling me. And I too want to be lovable, so that you may reciprocate my affection. Hence we begin to enact a cooperative game of self-building. I identify you as something wholly free, wholly responsible, all of whose states, including your desire, express the unspoiled "self-identity" that is yours. And I seek to attain in your eyes the same integrity that I attribute to you. By virtue of this mythopoeic enterprise, our focusing each upon the other gains a special kind of coherence. Everything you do you do for my eyes, seeking to acquire by reflection the unity, virtue, and integrity which you attribute ineluctably to me. Thus, in the common metaphor, we become "involved." I build myself upon a conception of your perspective, and its transcendental continuity, from which all that is spirit in you flows. I cannot do without the sight of you; I need the renewed experience of your embodiment. This perception is the food of a necessary myth, and anything which threatens it threatens my existence. (Hence Milton's words, discussed earlier, "smiles from reason flow, and are of love the food.")

Such considerations help to explain the peculiar helplessness of the victim of erotic love. Everything that he is and wants has come to depend upon another's cooperation. With that cooperation he has everything; without it nothing. Love that is unrequited is therefore desperate, and love that is cut short by death is tragic. Such facts reflect a feature of human love that might be called "nuptiality."[32] Human love involves an inevitable tendency to seek out and be with the other, to involve one's destiny completely and inseparably with his. Love seeks, not a promise of affection, but a *vow* of loyalty. Vows are more than promises: they involve the complete surrendering of one's future to a present project, a solemn declaration that what one now is, one will always be, in whatever unforeseeable circumstances. This is the substance of Ferdinand's vow to Miranda:

> As I hope
> For quiet days, faire issue, and long life,
> With such love as 'tis now, the murkiest den,
> The most opportune place, the strongest suggestion
> Our worser Genius can, shall never melt
> Mine honor into lust.
> [*The Tempest,* IV.i]

Lovers are not always taken in by their own mythopoeia, nor do they necessarily imagine that their impetuous vows are to be literally interpreted. Often, even in the most powerful flux of love, a man may stand back from his own illusions, recognizing the intricate impossibility of the necessary myth which governs him. But in doing so, he only confirms the commitment that lies at the heart of love, while lamenting the fact that it will remain unfulfilled. W.H. Auden has captured the experience in lines which deserve quotation, since, while seeming to deny

32. Pope John Paul II has spoken of the "nuptiality" of the human body (*Love and Responsibility,* 1960, tr. H.J. Willetts, London, 1981). His words derive from Max Scheler, although I have not been able to locate the relevant passage.

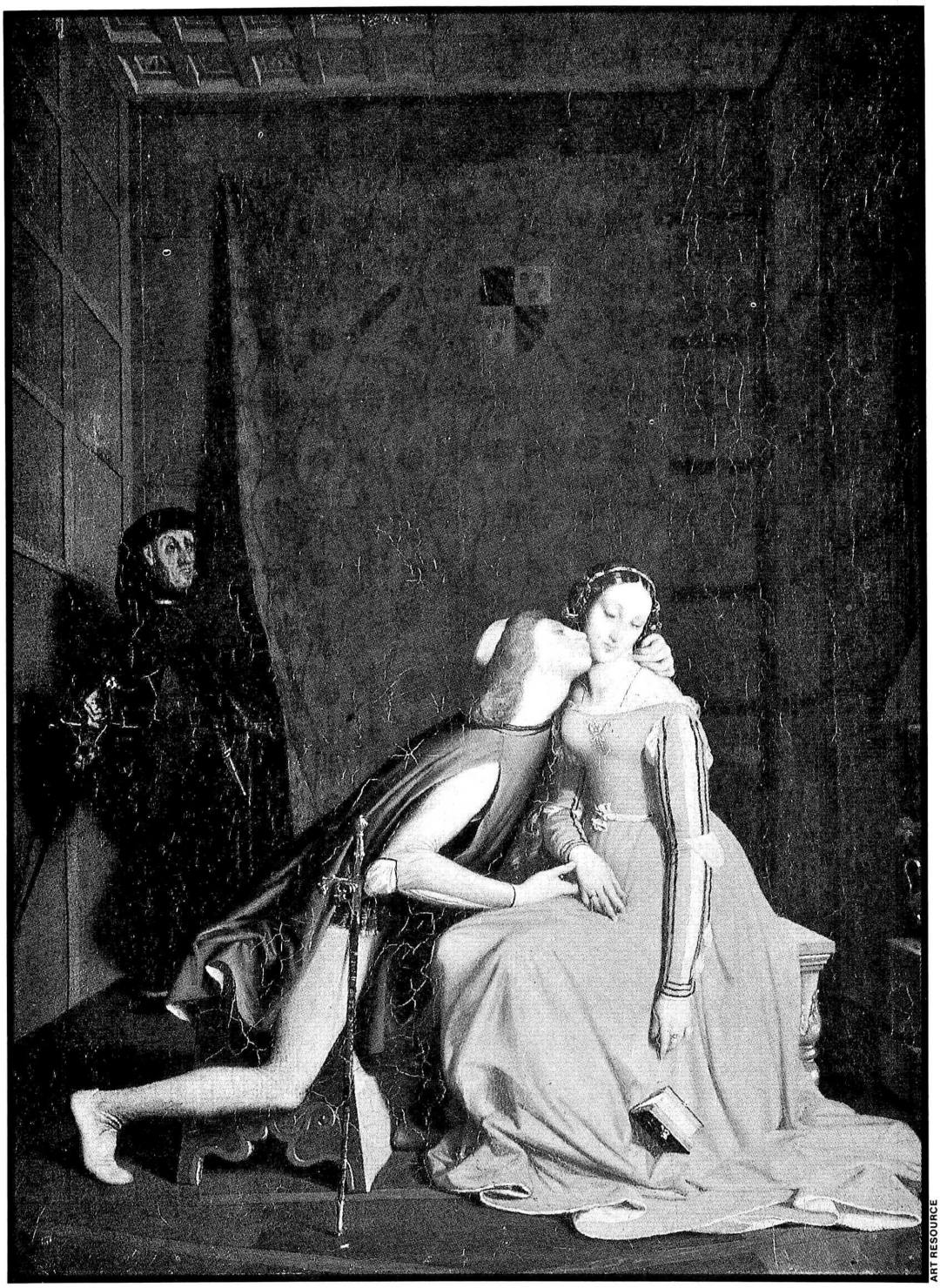
what I have said in this section, they elaborately confirm it, laying bare the acknowledged impossibilities toward which love itself propels us:

> Lay your sleeping head, my love,
> Human on my faithless arm;
> Time and fevers burn away
> Individual beauty from
> Thoughtful children, and the grave
> Proves the child ephemeral:
> But in my arms till break of day
> Let the living creature lie,
> Mortal, guilty, but to me
> The entirely beautiful.
> Soul and body have no bounds:
> To lovers as they lie upon
> Her tolerant enchanted slope
> In their ordinary swoon,
> Grave the vision Venus sends
> Of supernatural sympathy,
> Universal love and hope;
> While an abstract insight wakes
> Among the glaciers and the rocks
> The hermit's sensual ecstasy.
>
> Certainty, fidelity
> On the stroke of midnight pass
> Like vibrations of a bell.

Eventually desire is replaced by a love which is no longer erotic....

The existence of this vow—which is a hidden vector within the intentionality of love—helps to provide further explanation of jealousy. We can see why jealousy is an expression of love, even though it focuses, not on the love of another, but on his desire. Desire involves the beginnings of that exclusive intentionality which is transformed, in my own fictive enthusiasm, into the project of love. I build myself upon that love, and upon the idea of your reciprocal loyalty. I am therefore jeopardized by the discovery that this process, so necessary to me, is not necessary to you. You did not justify your desire in terms of an ideal of me. I then feel, not disappointed, but betrayed, since my love for you involved the thought of you as bound by a vow.

The course of true love perhaps does not run smooth. But it is not the course of desire. Love has a tendency to grow with time, while desire has a tendency to wither. The course of love, therefore, leads of its own accord to the state which the Platonists recommend to us. Eventually desire is replaced by a love which is no longer erotic, but based in trust and companionship. The trouble of desire is then at an end. The problem is, how to shut out the third party who will begin it again, how to prevent the calm love of nuptial union from being shattered by the turbulence of a new desire. Not only how, but whether. That question, which is a



Francesca of Rimini, and Paolo, Ingres.

fundamental question of sexual morality, must for the moment remain unanswered.

The expression of love in desire

Let us return, instead, to the more fundamental question. How can desire be an expression of love, and in what way is love modified by desire? We have already said something in answer to the second part of the question, but we still need to say something more specific in answer to the first.

The term 'express' is ambiguous.[33] It can mean "evince," "give evidence for," or "manifest." In this sense a cry may express pain, as silence may express anger. Alternatively, it may mean "capture" or "convey." In this sense, behavior expresses by virtue of its power to communicate a state of mind—to embody it, and to reveal it to another. This is something more than giving evidence: it is part of the *constitution* of the mental state in behavior. We need to consider, not whether desire provides evidence of love—for, taken alone, I do not believe that it does—but whether the characteristic gestures of desire can be "filled with love," in the way that a melody may be "filled with grief" or a speech "filled with anger."

A remnant of puritanism may persuade us that, while love is compatible with desire, and perhaps reinforced by it, it is nevertheless not expressed through it. To some people, it is strangely embarrassing to mingle desire and love so closely, and much of the "medicinal" language of the modern sex educationist and of the literature of Kinseyism can be seen as an expression of this embarrassment.[34] And yet who can doubt the sincerity of Héloise, who crowns her expression of a still warm love for Abelard, with the expression of an equally warm desire?

> How can desire be an expression of love, and in what way is love modified by desire?

> God knows I never sought anything in you except yourself; I wanted simply you, nothing of yours. I looked for no marriage-bond, no marriage portion, and it was not my own pleasures and wishes I sought to gratify, as you well know, but yours. The name of wife may seem more sacred or more binding, but sweeter for me will always be the word mistress, or, if you will permit me, that of concubine or whore.[35]

Pope, in his brilliant transformation of Héloise's letter, imitates this passage conscientiously, until he encounters the crucial word. His paraphrase of what Héloise means in this one word occupies for him for eight lines:

> Not Caesar's empress would I deign to prove;
> No, make me mistress of the man I love;
> If there be yet another name more free,
> More fond, than mistress, make me that to thee!
> Oh happy state! when souls each other draw,

33. See Virgil C. Aldrich, *Philosophy of Art* (Englewood Cliffs, 1963), ch. 1.

34. See the devastating critique of the literature of sex education, and its anti-love ideology, in Thomas Szasz, *Sex: Facts, Frauds and Follies* (Oxford, 1981).

35. *The Letters of Héloise and Abelard*, ed. and tr. Betty Radice (Harmondsworth, 1974), p. 113.

When love is at liberty, and nature, law:
All then is full, possessing, and possess'd
No craving void left aking in the breast:
Ev'n thought meets thought, ere from the lips it part,
And each warm wish springs mutual from the heart.
This sure is bliss (if bliss on earth there be)
And once the lot of Abelard and me.

Curiously, Héloise's word dimly survives in the rhyme of the line where it should have occurred. Perhaps Pope contemplated this:

Oh happy state! To be my lover's whore,
And love in liberty, by nature's law.

Héloise's words are not the words of flippant self-deception, but the plain truth about an experience in which love and desire have been inseparable, the second being the final expression of the first. How is that possible?

You might say that there is no problem here. For after all, does not desire express itself in glances, caresses, and kisses, and may not these be "filled with love" in just the way that our words are filled with love? But the problem lies deeper than that suggests. Looking, caressing, and kissing are voluntary actions, and may be filled with love, because the agent himself can *mean* love in them. Such actions can be given all the structure of intentional communication; I may gaze at you with the intention that you recognize my love, by recognizing that such is my intention. Sexual desire, however, is not voluntary, and its principal expression—sexual arousal—is not an intentional act. It is something suffered, not something done. If sexual desire could become an expression of love only by being expressed through voluntary gestures which are not themselves special to desire, then Plato's question remains. It is open to someone to argue that it is the gestures alone which convey love, not by virtue of, but in spite of, their association with desire. Hence the Augustinian condemnation focuses always on the taint of sexual arousal, in which I am *overcome* by my body, and my will is set aside.

The answer to Plato's question can be found, nevertheless, precisely in the nature of arousal. A kiss or a caress may become an expression of love through the epistemic character which it shares with sexual arousal. Although voluntary actions, kisses and caresses are also responses to the thought of another's perspective. In kissing him, I imprint on his flesh the sign of my own good feelings for him, and the pleasure lies in the immediate sense that he perceives me thus. For a moment, during the glance, caress, or kiss of love, our separateness is extinguished, and our perspectives invaded by the sense of another's desire. In a similar way, the experience of arousal may extinguish all the forces that divide us, so that, in this experience, your aims and interests are also mine.

To see how this comes about, it is instructive to turn again to aesthetics. Aesthetic interest, while it is based in sensory experience, is the prerogative of the "cognitive" senses—of the eye and the ear.[36] These

36. I argue the point in *Art and Imagination* (London, 1974), ch. 9.

senses present us with experiences whose sensory quality is inseparably bound to an epistemic content. The pleasures of taste, touch, and smell —at least those that we share with the animals—have a large sensory component. The pleasures of the eye and ear, however, are intentional pleasures—pleasures of contemplation. Hence "the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing."

The literature of love praises the sight of the beloved, as the symbol of his sensory presence. The neo-Platonist Renaissance philosopher Leone Abravanel argues that the senses of sight and hearing—unlike the "lower" senses whose pleasures stem from our animal nature—serve the interest of the individual, and not the interest of the species. These senses are the vehicles of knowledge and understanding; the lower senses, however, are the vehicles of desire. Abravanel recognizes in this contrast a crucial difficulty for the philosophy of love, and so responds to the resonance of Plato's question.[37] If sexual love were based in sight alone, there would be no difficulty in understanding the union of love and desire. It would be a special case of the intentional unity which consititutes the core of aesthetic pleasure. When I hear the melancholy *in* the music, a thought takes auditory shape before me, and at the same time accommodates itself to the intentional constraints of hearing: this, for me, is the *sound* of melancholy. In just such a way, the neo-Platonist seems to argue, the sight of my beloved conveys and restricts my thought of him. I see him as himself, and understand him in terms of what I see. Hence my love may reverberate in my experience, just as my experience displays the thought of *him*.

The literature of love praises the sight of the beloved....

However, sexual desire is not a matter of sight alone. Its ecstasies belong to touch, to taste, and to smell. To invoke these "lower" senses is to speak or write desirously:

How fair is thy love, my sister, my spouse,
How much better is thy love than wine!
And the smell of thine ointments than all spices!
Thy lips, O my spouse, drop as the honeycomb,
Honey and milk are under thy tongue:
And the smell of thy garments is like the smell of Lebanon....

My beloved put his hand by the hole
["of the door" (AV) but not in the Hebrew]
And my bowels were moved for him.
I rose up to open to my beloved:
And my hands dropped with myrrh,
And my fingers with liquid myrrh,
Upon the handles of the lock.
[the last three words no doubt also an idea of the AV]
[*Song of Songs*, 4:10-11, 5:4-5]

Such a concentration of gustatory, olfactory, and tactile imagery creates an intoxicating sense of the body's *Untergang* in desire, and of the true

37. Abravanel, *The Philosophy of Love*, p. 53.

meaning of "sensuality." At the same time, the familiar—but in truth extremely obscure—distinction that I have been rehearsing, between the cognitive and the noncognitive senses, enables us to understand what is required by the present enquiry. Plato's question would be answered, provided that we could show that the unity of thought and experience which occurs in aesthetic pleasure can also occur in the tactual experiences of desire. Can the experience of sexual contact be a vehicle of love, in the way that the sight of the beloved is a vehicle of love? Can I experience in my sexual organs the same synthesis of experience and thought that I experience in visual perception? And can this unity serve to unite my pleasure with my love for you, to bind them in the same intimate knot that binds my aesthetic pleasure in a work of art with my apprehension of its moral content?

The answer, I believe, is yes. Expression depends not on the experience of the one expressing, but on the experience of the other to whom his expression is addressed. Can this experience be *received* as an expression of another's love—can love be felt in it, as it can be seen in your eyes or heard in your voice? (Cf. the problem of expression in aesthetics: to show that music expresses emotion, for example, is to show, not that the composer is able to put his emotion into the work, but that the listener is able to hear it there.)[38] If the sexual experience can be received as an expression of love, it can also be used by the lover to express his love, since he can intend his love through it. This alone makes the experience into a vehicle of love. The experience of sexual arousal—which is the essential preconditiion of sexual pleasure—conforms to this requirement. Arousal is a form of openness to your perspective (cf. the words of the Shulamite quoted above). Love can be felt *in* the experience of arousal, so that love becomes the arousal, as love becomes the caress, the kiss, or the glance. That is what is meant by tenderness: the lover caresses and kisses his beloved, intending thereby to produce the perception of love. Such tenderness is an end in itself. The expressive gesture is a revelation of what I am and mean, and as such it is complete. All I can do is to repeat it—which may be exactly what you want:

> *da mihi basia mille, deinde centum,*
> *dein mille altera, dein secunda centum,*
> *deinde usque altera mille, deinde centum.*

The kiss of love, so pathetically evoked by Catullus,[39] is the resolution of the conflict in desire. Here the project of desire comes to rest.

This tenderness is so much a natural outcome of desire, and so obviously pivotal in forming our moral sentiments, that we react with shock to the suggestion that it might be absent. At the same time, its absence is a powerful object of obscene thoughts. To abolish tenderness is to create the image of a pure, impersonal desire, a pure lust, which by emphasizing the life of the species shields us from the dangerous intimacies of love. Such obscene thoughts are prefigured in a highly significant image of popular culture—the girl spy, who seeks to trap the

38 I have tried to establish this in "Understanding Music," in *The Aesthetic Understanding*, (London, 1983).

39. Catullus' lines are imitated by Josephus Secundus: "*Centum basia centies, / Centum basia millies, / Mille basia millies, / Et tot millia millies, / Quot guttae siculo mare,* / etc." The passage is quoted in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, part III, section 2.

hero (James Bond), and whose treachery must be circumvented, even in the sexual act. The total danger which the partners present to each other negates every possibility of tenderness. It makes a clearing around their desire, displaying it in all its imperious impersonality. For those who lack a serious understanding of sexual arousal, that fantasy describes, not the perversion, but the norm of desire. For such people, Plato's question exists in its most intransigent form, as an impassable barrier between "lust and love." This is one of the most important consequences, indeed, of the theories of desire espoused by the Freudian and Kinseyan sexologists, summarized in the following words by the neo-Freudian, Theodor Reik:

> Sex is an instinct, a biological need, originating in the organism, bound to the body . . . . It can be localised in the genitals and other erogenic zones. Its aim is the disappearance of a physical tension. It is originally objectless. Later on the sexual object is simply the means by which the tension is eased.
>
> None of these characteristics can be found in love . . . . [Love] is not a biological need, because there are millions of people who do not feel it and many centuries and cultural patterns in which it is unknown. We cannot name any inner secretions or specific glands which are responsible for it. Sex is originally objectless. Love certainly is not. It is a very definite, emotional relationship between a Me and a You.[40]

Two features of erotic love distinguish it from friendship . . . .

Plato may have deserved Byron's dismissive accusations: but how much more pernicious has been the puritan response to Plato's question, exemplified so vividly in that passage.

Beauty

Two features of erotic love distinguish it from friendship: the sense of compulsion, and the absolute focus on the physical nature of the other. These features are both contributed by desire, and both are in turn modified by the "course of love"—by the project of self-building. The components of erotic love stand in so intimate a relation to each other that the physical attributes of the other are "moralized" in the very act of perceiving him. And the compulsion of desire is also moralised; I feel it as a movement of sympathy toward the friend whose warmth will eventually console me. La Rochefoucauld has a cynical maxim, that there is no woman whose merit survives her beauty. His point is not that a woman's merit *consists* in her beauty; but rather that it persists just so long as others trouble to compel her to display it, and that they will do this just so long as they can *see* her merit in her countenance.

It is a universal habit to employ the idea of beauty in describing this intricate confluence of attractions. Does this use of the term involve an employment of the very same concept that is involved in the assessment

40. Theodor Reik, *Of Love and Lust* (New York, 1957), ch. I.

of art? It is worth saying something in answer to that question. It is necessary to dismiss all attempts at a "realist" analysis of the beautiful —an analysis which holds the adjective 'beautiful' to denote a property of the object that is correctly so described. No such analysis could do justice to the role of the term 'beautiful' in evaluation, to the range of its application, or to the "sincerity conditions" which govern its use.[41] 'Beautiful' is not a descriptive, but an expressive term, whose main function is to designate an item as the object of a certan kind of interest. In other words, the rules governing the use of 'beautiful' refer, not to material conditions of the object described, but to the intentional structure of the state of mind expressed. (The same must also be said of certain other adjectives—notably "affective" terms such as 'moving', 'disgusting', 'exciting', etc.) 'Beautiful' would be genuinely ambiguous were it habitually used to convey incongruent states of mind. Conversely, it would be univocal were the various states of mind conveyed by it to have a common intentional structure. Clearly the latter hypothesis is to be preferred, given the universal tendency to use the terms 'beautiful', *'beau'*, *'bello'*, *'schön'*, *'gözel'*, *'krásný'*, *'piękny'*, and so on, equally of the object of aesthetic pleasure and of the object of desire.

I have already suggested (chapter 5, pp. 108–9) that the 'beautiful' is the proper object of any attitude that is attentive, nontransferable and immediate. Aesthetic interest and sexual desire correspond to those conditions. But, it might be objected, if that is as far as the similarity goes, it could hardly offset the enormous difference between aesthetic interest and desire. The first is purposeless, the second purposeful; the first unrestricted in its object, the second interpersonal. To argue that the three common structural features are sufficient foundation for a unified concept of beauty is surely to detract from the importance of the resulting category.

However, we have seen that there is a further similarity which, added to the given three, sufficiently explains the need for a unitary concept of the beautiful. Although sexual desire is not reason-based, it lends itself to, and typically forms part of, another attitude, erotic love, which is. Erotic love sees *meaning* in the appearance of the other, and seeks to ground its existence in the meaning that it sees. At the same time it retains the immediacy of desire. Only what is revealed in your appearance can feed my emotion. It is the meaning that I hear *in* your words and tone of voice, and that shines *in* your movements and features, which provides the foundation for my erotic feelings. This exactly parallels the case of aesthetic interest, which is both immediate and reason-based, and which seeks to justify itself in terms of a "revealed meaning" that may be heard or seen in the aesthetic object. (Hence the principal objects of aesthetic interest are works of art, since works of art invite interpretative perception.)

That is only a sketch. But it points the way to important conclusions. In particular, we may suggest that erotic love, like aesthetic interest, is essentially evaluative. The object of the evaluation in question is not the character of the other, abstractly conceived, but the concrete embodi-

41. I have tried to defend this claim in *Art and Imagination*, parts I and II.

ment of that character in an individual human frame, the binding together, in the here and now of bodily presence, of the outlook and responsibility that constitutes the self-conscious person. Erotic love is therefore the most vivid reminder that we exist as centers of value *here and now,* in the condition of mortality. This recognition is, like erotic love itself, compelled from us, and we inevitably surrender to it. The object of *erōs* has a unique tutelage over us. Without it we should appreciate less vividly the fundamental premise of morality: that the repository of infinite value which is the other self, exists not in some Platonic supersphere, but here in the flesh. This infinitely precious thing actually *is* the animal: it is identical with the fragile body which bears the human attributes that I admire.

This experience of embodiment, under the exacting regimen of erotic love, is to some extent echoed in our experience of the beautiful fragility of children. But only in erotic love does it become clear to me that it is precisely the moral agent in you who is the object of my care toward your embodied form. This experience lies at the root of our awe at the human frame. Without that awe nobody could perceive the true horribleness of murder, torture, and rape. To defend with reasons the judgments that condemn those crimes is always to fall short of their true atrociousness. Only in the experience of erotic love is this atrociousness revealed to us, and made an immovable part of our moral intuitions. That is the principal reason, I believe, why we must finally reject both the Kantian view, which asks us to see *erōs* as lying outside the area of true respect, and also the Platonic view, which sees value as residing, not in the embodied individual, but in the discarnate universal. If my intuition is right, the erotic becomes fundamental to a full understanding of what it is for persons to be "ends in themselves."

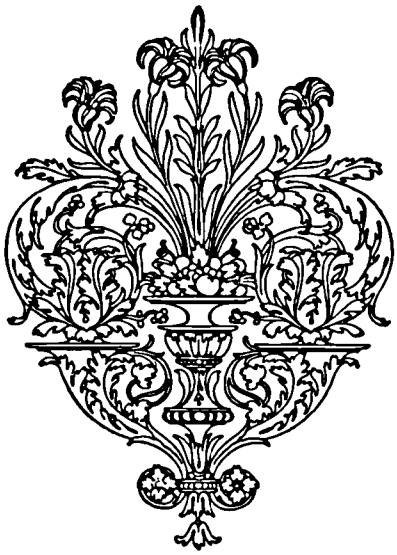
I have described a norm of human conduct, and it will naturally be argued that I have no right to this concept of "normality"....

New problems

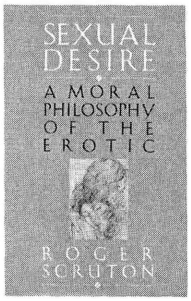
All that I have said concerning "the course of desire" and "the course of love" depends upon an idea of normality. I have described a norm of human conduct, and it will naturally be argued that I have no right to this concept of "normality"—even that I have committed myself to a way of thinking which, in these enlightened times, is morally unacceptable. I must therefore attempt to justify the idea of sexual normality, and to give a genuine philosophical basis to a concept which I believe we cannot avoid in our day-to-day understanding of sexual conduct—the concept of perversion. To this topic I turn in chapter 10.

But there is another and more urgent problem which now must be confronted. It may be conceded that, by linking sexual desire and erotic love in the above manner, I have solved Plato's problem. But only by creating another problem, equally serious, about the nature of sex itself. I have situated desire so firmly in the realm of the interpersonal as to close the gap between desire and love. But in doing so I have opened another gap, that between desire and sex, between the project of sexual union and the progenitive act. What has *sex* to do with the intentionality

of desire on my account? I have made desire a part of love, only by describing it in terms which make little or no reference to the procreative impulse. So perhaps what Plato *meant* may still be correct. It is still a problem, to understand how our nature as sexual beings—with sexual impulses, sensations, and equipment—enters into the workings of desire. Only if we understand that will we be able finally to close the gap, between the "spiritual" world of the interpersonal attitudes and the "animal" world of the human organism: the gap between the self and the body. It is to this problem that we now must turn.■



COMMENTARY ON SEXUAL DESIRE



The Human Face of Sex

BY DONALD W. LIVINGSTON

It is perhaps not without significance that philosophers have written very little about sexual desire and its relation to erotic love, and that most of what has been written has been overwhelmingly disappointing. For the most part sexual desire has been treated as a problematic intrusion of our "lower" nature into the higher orders of consciousness, as in Plato, Augustine, Kant, and Schopenhauer. Sartre has written brilliantly about sexual desire as a structure of human consciousness, but in the end finds it to be a desire incapable of fulfillment and the mark of human isolation. With few exceptions, the philosophical tradition has been either silent, wooden, or pessimistic about the meaning of sexual desire and erotic love. It is something of a surprise, then, to find a philosophical study of sexual desire that covers (as much as one book can) the whole range of the subject and that not only affirms in the highest terms the value and dignity of erotic love but finds in an analysis of it clues for solving some of the most perplexing philosophical problems of human existence.

Roger Scruton's *Sexual Desire* is very much a philosopher's book, and only trained philosophers can get through the whole without difficulty. However, the book is also written for a wider audience. To this end, the technical discussions in the philosophy of the mind are placed in two long appendices and in Chapter 3, which can be passed over without loss. Scruton does a good job of simplifying and explaining philosophical notions and of framing them in a lively and engaging style that at times achieves eloquence.

The work is methodologically cosmopolitan. Using the linguistic analysis of the analytic tradition as well as the intentional analysis of the phenomenologists, Scruton examines three fundamental expressions of human sexual feeling: arousal, sexual desire, and erotic love. The discussion is carried out with illuminating references from the philosophical tradition as well as from Greek, Latin, medieval, renaissance, oriental, and modern European literature. He explores the gender-laden nature of sexual existence from which these feelings arise and explains the meaning of expressions of sexual feeling in glances, caresses, sexual intercourse, and in modesty and shame. He examines the meaning of sexual

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organs themselves as well as the meaning of sexual phenomena such as chastity, prostitution, falling in love, jealousy, Don Juanism, Tristanism, sado-masochism, homosexuality, and masturbation. A theory of perversion is worked out, and Scruton uncovers the intentions behind such acts as bestiality, pedophilia, necrophilia, incest, and sado-masochism.

Throughout the discussion Scruton tries to show that a careful understanding of the inner quality of sexual desire dictates the outlines of sexual morality. In the last chapter, he explores the nature of the social and political institutions which serve to direct sexual desire down a virtuous rather than a vicious path. The whole is a defense of traditional sexual morality where "traditional" is not understood to mean "Victorian." Indeed, as Scruton says, the sexual order he is defending, making allowances for historical changes, is "the order defended by Aristotle in the *Politics*, by Shakespeare in *The Winter's Tale* and *Measure for Measure,* by Homer, Chaucer, Hesiod and Dante; by Langland, Goldsmith, Thackeray, and Dickens; by Joyce, Conrad and Lawrence — in short, by every writer who has seen the natural *telos* of desire in the creation of moral unity between persons" (p. 363). Scruton's defense of traditional sexual morality is not stuffy or prudish. It takes full account of the historical relativity of human nature and the spontaneous emergence of novelties which must be woven into the tradition. In his house of desire there are many mansions.

How theory alienates from common life

Scruton's book is much more than a far-ranging philosophical examination of sexual desire. It contains an important methodological approach to what may prove an acceptable scientific or philosophical theory not only of sexual desire but of any meaningful human experience. Since the book cannot be appreciated without an understanding of the methodological self-consciousness that runs throughout it, some discussion of the methodological issues is in order. In the comments that follow I present an interpretation of the issues that concern Scruton, though not always in the way he presents them.

The purpose of theorizing is to account for the items of common life of which we have direct experience: death, motives, tables, colors, pains, and so on. The paradox of theorizing is that, at its best, it both illuminates and obscures what it purports to explain. To illustrate: The table of common life which we immediately see to be of certain shape, color, and solidity is thought of by the physicist as being mostly empty space, composed of a swarm of particles which are devoid of color. It is these theoretical entities that explain the state of the observable table. There is a tendency to say that the theoretical entities are the *reality* and the item of common life is the appearance; thus in the present case, the table really is mostly empty space and in itself has no color—color and solidity being mere appearances of our consciousness. The colored and solid table of common life that we took to be a reality is now classed as an appearance, and to identify it with reality is now seen as an illusion. In providing a theory to explain the table of common life, we have somehow explained it away. The paradox is that the more our theoretical understanding of the items of common life increases, the more of these items are placed in the category of appearance and illusion. The paradox seems to be a feature of all theorizing whether scientific or philosophical.

Now many philosophers would say that theorizing need not be viewed in this way, that the paradox is itself an illusion. This may be. But it is a fact of our culture that many scientific and philosophical theoreticians have seen their work in this way. Thanks to the prestige of science and mass

He explores the nature of the social and political institutions which serve to direct sexual desire down a virtuous path.

higher education, among other things, our culture is saturated with the theoretical mode of reflection. If the paradox I described above is an error it is not an obvious one, and one cannot expect that the popular mind will easily detect it. The alienation from common life that theorizing naturally, if erroneously, brings in its wake is evident in the many projects of "demystification," "demythologizing," "unmasking," and "consciousness raising" that abound among the learned and the vulgar. In all such cases some item hitherto transparent in the customs and prejudices of common life has been relegated to the category of illusion and one has thrust upon one the cross-grained moral project of "raising one's consciousness" to be able to see as an illusion what one thought was a reality.

Nowhere is the alienation from common life to which theorizing is susceptible more evident than in the human sciences. For instance, Proudhon's theory of the origin of property entails the ringing conclusion that *property is theft.* That is, in explaining the property relations of common life, they are explained away as illusions having none of the normative force they are thought in common life to have. The same can be said of Marx's theory of property. In the end, all existing property relations are illusory and need to be unmasked: the expropriators must be expropriated.

The theoretician of the human sciences has a difficult time viewing whatever domain of common life he has undertaken to explain as an order in which he exists as a loyal participant. Rather, he tends to view it as an object to theoretical reflection which must lose its meaning and authority to whatever theoretical entities are postulated to explain it. The theoretician exists in an unhappy state. He is inevitably a participant in some domain of common life (say the order of property), but by virtue of his reason he is emancipated from the order, views it as an illusion and his own

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Autoritratto con Isabella Brandt, **Rubens.**

participation in it as bad faith. It is at this point that the alienated theorist is driven to consider the possibility of a total transformation of the domain of common life into the shape of the theoretical object. Hence the project of total unmasking naturally leads to the project of total revolution. This revolutionary task can be attempted through the method of persuasion where the theoretician attempts to "raise the consciousness" of others or through the method of force where, in Rousseau's words, he attempts to "force them to be free."

This alienated and revolutionary scenario is not the inevitable outcome of theoretical reflection in the human sciences, but

there is a tendency in all theoretical explanations to that end which enabled Hume to observe that: "Whatever has the air of paradox, and is contrary to the first and most unprejudic'd notions of mankind is often greedily embrac'd by philosophers as shewing the superiority of their science, which cou'd discover opinions so remote from vulgar conception." It is not surprising then that much theoretical activity in the human sciences has had politically revolutionary results and that the human sciences have served as rather natural instruments of the left.

The despiritualization of Eros

The tendency of theory to alienate from common life is manifest in attempts to understand human sexuality scientifically. Sexual desire is conceived theoretically as a universal animal instinct. In the words of the Freudian Theodor Reik: "Sex is an instinct, a biological need, originating in the organism, bound to the body.... It can be localized in the genitals and other erogenic zones. Its aim is the disappearance of a physical tension. It is originally objectless. Later on the sexual object is simply the means by which the tension is eased." Freud himself described the aim of sexual desire as "union of the genitals in the act of copulation, which leads to a release of the sexual tension and a temporary extinction of the sexual instinct—a satisfaction analogous to the sating of hunger." Such descriptions of sexual desire silence the satirist! But given the prestige of science, they are taken as having authority: as having uncovered the deep causal conditions of sexuality in the light of which ordinary moral sentiments (Hume's "most prejudic'd notions of mankind") must be transformed.

The case here is the same with the paradoxes of theoretical reflection mentioned above: the table we see really, in itself, has no color; existing property relations are really theft; John's desire for Mary is really an attempt to release tension in an organ. Here as elsewhere theory is not neutral but naturally leads to an ethic: the imperative to transform our traditional moral sentiments into the form of the theoretical order. The result is the ethic implied in the *Kinsey Report, Masters and Johnson,* the popular industry of the latest "sexologist's report," and the "gute sex" of Dr. Ruth Westheimer, namely that sex is a natural, healthy, medicinal release of tension.

Eros as an artifact

To those not caught in the grip of theory, this is all *schlock*, but it is easier to feel than to explain why. It is the latter that Scruton sets out to do: the project of unmasking the unmaskers. This is the most important project of the book and sets in sharp relief Scruton's philosophically careful and humane description of sexual feeling. I can give here only a rough idea of how Scruton deals with what I have called the paradox of theorizing, that theoretical explanations remove the item of common life to be explained into the category of appearance and illusion. The paradox is overcome by robustly embracing it. He grants that the theoretical scientist explores reality and that the world of common life, the world of habit, custom, tradition, and immediate experience is, if one likes, illusory. It is illusory in that it is a world of artifacts made by men for human purposes and thoroughly intelligible to men. Without men they would not exist. These artifacts include such things as language, morality, the self, government, erotic love; indeed, anything that has meaning for men. To understand these things is not to give a theoretical explanation of them, but merely to describe their "intentional" structure (to use an expression from phenomenology), which means, roughly, the state of mind expressed in the

The tendency of theory to alienate from common life is manifest in attempts to understand human sexuality scientifically.

artifact or what the artifact is *about*. Questions about the "intentionality" of human artifacts or the states of mind embedded in them are, from the scientific point of view, about the surface of things and are superficial. Scruton turns this criticism on its head by accepting it: "That such problems are (scientifically speaking) superficial should not lead us to discount them; still less should it lead us to look for a solution to them in the results of science. For persons too are superficial, as are their values, their projects, their griefs and desires. Better, however, the shallowness of persons than the unfathomableness of things" (p. 33).

Scientific "reality" then is not interesting for the world of common life which is constituted throughout by mental concepts and thus lived out on the surface of things. It is never a scientifically "neutral" fact that motivates us to act but only what that fact *means* to us. Likewise, human sexual arousal or desire cannot be understood merely as an appetite like the randiness of animals. It may be at least that, but its distinctively human character is always mediated by *thoughts*: "Sexual arousal is a response, but not a response to a stimulus that could be fully described merely as the cause of a sensation. It is a response, at least in part, to a thought, where the thought refers to 'what is going on' between myself and another" (p. 20). And again: "Underlying the woman's state of arousal is the thought: 'I, in my body am something for him,' and her response—the 'opening' to his approaches, and all that is entailed in that — must be understood in part as an *expression* of that thought, and of the interpersonal intentionality that is built upon it" (p. 26). Scruton does not, of course, mean that the woman in a state of arousal is silently uttering such propositions but only that if we are to describe what is happening in that state we should have to utter them.

Using this method of "intentional" analysis, Scruton describes the inner quality of sexual arousal, desire, and erotic love showing that they form a natural history of feeling which begins in sexual arousal, passes through desire, and ends in erotic love. This is not to say the earlier states logically imply or causally lead to erotic love but only that the fully developed forms of the early states intentionally "point" to the later states as fulfillment. Similarly, vindication and repentance are the fulfillment of the mental state of anger, but people may be and usually are in a state of anger that is not fulfilled. Sexual arousal can "point" to erotic love because it is a state of mind that can occur only between persons and is an artifact of their social condition. (We should recall here that persons for Scruton are also artifacts.) From this it follows that animals, though capable of sexual appetites or urges, are incapable of sexual arousal; to so describe them is to read into the mental states of animals the social artifacts which generate our actions.

The person encountered in sexual arousal is an embodied person. "Embodiment" and all that it implies is, perhaps, the central notion of the book. Scruton is not a Cartesian dualist. Indeed, he is a physicalist. I *am* my body, though the body is viewed as spiritualized through the artifact of person. To be seen as a person is to be seen as having a first-person perspective on the world, capable of rational choice, and responsible for one's actions. (Person is an artifact because there is no scientific way to prove that persons exist; they are the sorts of entities which if they did not exist or could not be known to exist would have to be invented.) "In arousal the unity between body and person is immediately experienced, and forms the living focus of an interpersonal response . . . . Arousal reaches through the body to the spirit which animates its every part" (p. 26). In arousal the sexual organ becomes the self: "he enters her," "she receives

Theoretical explanations remove the item of common life to be explained into the category of appearance and illusion.

him."

Two important consequences follow from this analysis: (1) Arousal is an avenue of *knowledge*, a fundamental way of experiencing our embodiment and understanding our nature as embodied beings. (2) Being an *interpersonal* relation of mutual discovery and cooperation, arousal contains the germ of *moral* significance: "In the first impulse of arousal, therefore, there is the beginning of that chain of reciprocity which is fundamental to interpersonal attitudes. She conceives her lover conceiving her conceiving him" (p. 26). If not cut short, sexual arousal may grow into sexual desire which aims at "union with the other" in sexual pleasure where the other is a particular person with a particular perspective of my actions. Sexual pleasure points to intimacy and intimacy to erotic love, to a feeling of being bound to the other by cords of mutual desire.

Since it is reprinted in this volume, I shall not go through the arguments in Chapter 8 on love which purport to show how the values of loyalty and the moral esteem of the higher forms of friendship are pointed to in erotic love and how desire enlivens and gives a special clarity to these values so that "Only in erotic love does it become clear to me that it is precisely the moral agent in you who is the object of my care towards your embodied form." But one observation should be made. If Scruton's analysis is correct, he has solved, in an interesting and unexpected way, an ancient philosophical problem. The problem is how to relate sexual desire to the moral life of a rational creature. Can there be erotic love? That is, can there be a love in which desire is an expression of the respect due to a rational being and where that respect is modified by that expression? If there can be such a thing, then erotic love can be the most *ennobling* of human passions. Kant would be wrong then to separate *eros* from the moral life and Plato would be wrong to direct *eros* from the world of morality to the timeless structures of reality. Without erotic love "we should appreciate less vividly the fundamental premise of morality: that the repository of infinite value which is the other self, exists not in some Platonic supersphere, but here in the flesh. This infinitely precious thing actually *is* the animal: it is identical with the fragile body which bears the human attributes that I admire" (p. 251). One would be hard pressed to find in the Western tradition a philosopher who gives erotic love the status in human existence that Scruton finds it to have.

Aristotelian vs. modern ethics

That a moral significance exists *in* the state of arousal which can be carried through sexual desire and perfected in erotic love will be flatly denied by those philosophers (such as William Earle whose commentary on Scruton's book is printed above) who affirm a categorical distinction between 'is' and 'ought': that one cannot logically infer from a description of what is that case as sentence commanding what ought to be the case. This is a deep issue which can only be touched on here, but two things need to be said.

(1) If by "what is" we mean the value-neutral "facts" of scientific description, the thesis is obviously true. You cannot infer from the mere fact that a fetus is in a certain biological state that one ought not to abort it. But if we may include in the category of "what is" descriptions about the intentionality of mental states, then on some occasions we may infer "ought" from "is." From the fact that a federal court is in session a host of inferences can be drawn about the rights and duties of those participating in the session. Of course, one could object that these are not the *deep* facts of theoretical science and are not to be thought of as a part of "what is." Being human constructions, they are facts only in a derivative sense and are to be thought

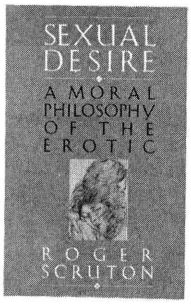
Arousal is an avenue of knowledge, and contains the germ of moral significance.

of as superficial features of the world. But it is just this surface or mental feature of the world (world of human artifacts which includes arousal, erotic love, persons, and morals) that Scruton is out to examine. One does not describe these artifacts correctly without mentioning the *aims* that are internal to them. Scruton finds that the artifacts of arousal, sexual desire, and erotic love frame *interpersonal* dramas demanding at different stages various sorts of fulfillment and satisfaction. And on anyone's theory, interpersonal relations are necessarily bearers of moral significance.

(2) The "is-ought" distinction is at the heart of modern moral theory, the aim of which is to discover a supreme moral rule which can be applied to the world. Two main contenders are the Kantian rule ("Treat persons as ends in themselves and never as mere means") and the utilitarian rule ("Do that act which promotes the greatest happiness for the greatest number"). The trouble with this approach is that whatever the supreme moral principle is thought to be, it must be purely *formal.* But then there will be no non-arbitrary way to apply the principle to the world; any moral practice may be viewed as rejected by it or in accord with it. To illustrate: One may know that a meter is composed of ten decimeters. But from this purely formal proposition one can have no idea of how *long* a meter is. This knowledge is provided not by the definition of metric length but by the iridium bar in Paris, or some other concrete thing in the world that is taken to be the standard meter. The lesson is that moral principles too must have a concrete embodiment in the world; otherwise moral thought is arbitrary and incoherent. But it is just this embodiment that is rejected by the modern "is-ought" distinction. There is a growing awareness among philosophers that modern moral philosophy is incoherent, and an increasing number of them have found in Aristotle's moral philosophy a position around which thought can rally. Alasdair MacIntyre, in *After Virtue*, is one of them; Scruton is another. Like Aristotle, Scruton sees morality not as a matter of applying a rule to acts or institutions but as a matter of living out a fulfilling life where fulfillment is determined by understanding the aims of one's passions and bringing order to them. The model of moral reasoning, in this view, is the practice of moral education, where in educating the child, one is concerned not merely with what he does, but with what he feels and with the formation of his character which will determine his motivations. The obsession of modern moral thought with the application of moral rules (which usually goes hand in hand with an inordinate concern with the obsession to know what my "rights" are against you and society) leaves little room for a discussion of character and virtue, topics which are curiously absent from contemporary moral philosophy and from public education. Scruton shows how to resurrect this important Aristotelian outlook on morals. Unlike Aristotle, however, he places erotic love, not philosophical contemplation, at the heart of moral education. He also rejects Aristotle's dismal biologistic metaphysics. Aristotle had rooted moral education in an ultimate view of the cosmos itself. Scruton is thoroughly modern and he stands in the skeptical tradition of Hume and Kant in trying to avoid metaphysics. His analysis begins and ends in the fragile world of human artifacts, bound by mortal cords, which passes on the surface of things. ■

There is a growing awareness among philosophers that modern moral philosophy is incoherent.

COMMENTARY ON *SEXUAL DESIRE*



To Sex, with Love

BY WILLIAM JAMES EARLE

Roger Scruton considers eros, philosophy, and the moral foundations of sexual love.

Roger Scruton's book, *Sexual Desire: A Moral Philosophy of the Erotic,*[1] is interesting and important, but it is also annoying and disappointing. Intrinsically interesting are the passages of careful conceptual analysis, pages that show the author is aware of, and has fresh insights about, problems that the analytic, Anglo-American mainstream of philosophy has been worrying about for the past fifty years or so. Interesting as well, but more as a symptom of misplaced moral energy and dialectical skill, is Scruton's attempt (he would not call it an attempt) to *glue together* two existing pairs of things that these days are mostly thought to fall into quite separate logical categories. The first pair is constituted by "is" and "ought," or fact and norm, or description and recommendation. The prevailing tendency in philosophy, at least since David Hume, is to deny that we can correctly derive statements about how we ought to act from any description of how things are. Scruton returns us to an older tradition, associated with Aristotle, in which a description of human nature yields a rationally defensible set of recommendations about how humans should live. The second pair of things Scruton wishes to glue together is constituted by sexual desire and erotic love. They are presented as two phases of a single complex process or two aspects of what is at bottom (and "normatively") a single piece of human business. This is, evidently, a major theme, one that we shall have to consider carefully.

Scruton's book is important because almost no one with a commitment to careful analysis and to clarity of statement has tackled the problem of sexual desire and written about it at such length. Existentialists, such as Jean-Paul Sartre and other "continentals" tackled the topic, but they wrote dramatically and darkly. Analytic philosophers up to the present have simply avoided the problem, despite—some would say *because* of—its human interest and importance. Why should philosophers have something important to say about sexuality? Scruton certainly assumes that philosophers do have something important to say about it. Can that idea be challenged?

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1. New York: The Free Press, 1986.

Problems of Method

It is much more difficult to say in a few words why the book is annoying and disappointing. Perhaps a good place to start is with the question of method. Discussions of method and methodology, particularly in the social sciences, are famously abstract, formalistic, and—in a word—arid. Nevertheless, we are all methodologists, even if we don't all know it. When someone utters, "It is raining," we believe him partly because we have adopted the perfectly reasonable policy of believing unless we have a reason not to believe, but partly because we know, or can easily imagine, how our informant found out about the weather. That is, we credit our informant with an effective method of finding out what he is informing us about. If we cannot imagine how our informant could possibly have found out, we suspend our general policy of conversational trust; indeed, when this happens, our informant is demoted to "alleged" or "so-called" informant. Unfortunately, there are many places where Scruton grievously strains our conversational trust (we do after all enter into a kind of conversation with the authors we read), and we are left perplexed about the basis, any basis, any possible basis, for what he rather glibly asserts.

For example, Scruton says that arousal "is a response to the thought of the other, as a self-conscious agent, who is alert to me, and who is able to have 'designs' on me" (p. 23). In arousal, Scruton continues, "I am excited precisely by a cooperative enterprise, in which I and the other gradually evolve within each other's perspec-

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tive, changing for each other and through each other, with a constant and reciprocal anticipation of our mutual intentions" (p. 30). Although Scruton uses the first person, he is not intending to offer a possibly idiosyncratic, possibly atypical, autobiographical account of arousal. Even as autobiography, we would like to know what steps he has taken against self-deception—*ex post facto* prettying up, improvement in the telling. He is really making a general point about all cases of arousal. But how does he know this goes on in all cases of arousal? In his remarks about methodology, Scruton indicates a reliance on two approaches: "Conceptual analysis" and description of the *Lebenswelt* (life-world) or, in other words, description of "the world of human experience" as distinct from "the world of scientific observation" (p. 4). Analyses deconstruct complex ideas into simpler ones, and philosophers are supposed to be, and often are, quite good at this, particularly when the ideas under analysis—for example, person, physical object, cause, or effect—are constitutive of our core understanding of the world. What an analysis looks like might be shown—trivially—by the deconstruction of "bachelor" into "male," "adult," "unmarried," "not a priest"; and—perhaps less trivially—by the decomposition of "knowledge" into "belief," "truth," and "justification." Analyses of this sort are possible when, and only when, we can reasonably expect that all competent speakers of English, all competent participants in our form of life, will recognize the analyses as unproblematically capturing their understandings of the analyzed terms. 'Arousal' is not a term that operates in our core understanding of the world, and I doubt it is subject to unproblematical (or uncontentious) analysis. But perhaps Scruton's remarks about "arousal" are not analytic in this sense but descriptive, focused not on an item in our vocabularies, but on a characteristic structure of our lives. But then we shall have to ask exactly how the description has been constituted and on what it has been based. 'World of human experience' is a serviceable, indeed densely evocative, phrase, but actual experience is distributed without remainder over individuals; that is, had (and had only) by individuals. So we are again led to wonder how many people described their "arousal experiences" to Scruton. But to raise this question, Scruton would surely claim, entirely misses his point, wrongly assimilating his philosophical enterprise to vulgar, American Kinseyism. At bottom, what saves Scruton from anything so vulgar as data collection and shields him from the question of how he knows that what he says goes on in arousal does go on in arousal is that he is not describing actual cases of arousal (many of which are doubtless "perverted" or otherwise defective), but describing a norm. He is providing us with a kind of model of arousal at its best; and, if our behavior deviates from his model, the onus falls on us to modify our behavior, not on Scruton to scrap, or fix up, his model.

It must be admitted that philosophers will divide in their evaluation of Scruton's procedure, here, precisely because they do not agree on how "is" relates to "ought" or description to recommendation. According to Scruton himself: "A description of human experience may—for all that has been written concerning the 'naturalistic fallacy' and the 'is-ought gap'—have prescriptive implications. The reader may doubt this, but he must recognize that his doubt is dogmatic" (p. 34). I am one of those doubting readers, and (overlooking Scruton's slight impoliteness) all I can do is expose the dogmas on which my doubt is based. Philosophers speak of something called *onus of fit* that can be illustrated, borrowing a story of Elizabeth Anscombe's,[2] this way: Between the list in a shopper's hand and the items in her basket, the onus of fit is from list to world; the items in the basket are supposed to match

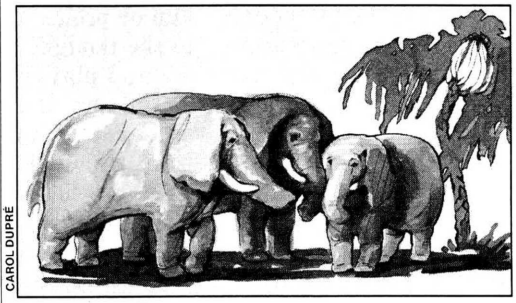
Almost no one with a commitment to careful analysis has tackled the problem of sexual desire.

2. G.E.M. Anscombe, *Intention* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957), p. 56.

(by the end of the shopping) the items on the list. In the case of a list being composed by a detective shadowing the shopper and detailing her purchases, the onus of fit is the reverse, from world to list; the items on the detective's list are supposed to match (when he has done his job) the items in the shopper's basket. Real descriptions, I claim, are always like the detective's list, an attempt to match reality. Norms that —strictly speaking—cannot be described are like the shopper's list, something designed to be followed. One can make an experiment, at least a thought experiment, to see whether anyone or anything can simultaneously combine list-to-world-world-to-list fit. I shall not prejudice the outcome of the experiment, though I know how it came out in my own case.

The Position of the Author

Related to inadequacies of method is an extreme insensitivity to problems generated by what might be called "the position of the author." Much of the time Scruton is simply composing an essay with the time-honored "method" of *saying how things seem to him*. There is nothing wrong with this, but when the result is supposed to be not a personal essay that pays its way with local insights and charms, but a universally valid statement about the nature of arousal, sexual desire, love, or perversion, we may wonder whether our author has not confused and conflated the limits of his point of view with the limits of the world. This can be seen in crude and relatively harmless forms in the area of politics and ideology. Christopher Norris, in his essay "Aesthetics and Politics: Reading Roger Scruton," tells us "Scruton is one of the 'Salisbury' group of younger right-wing intellectuals who have set out to revive the 'conservative' tradition of political and philosophic thought."[3] Let us suppose there is something, call it "Salisbury sexuality," that really is better, more person-focused for one thing, than much of the depersonalized, permissive sex indulged in elsewhere. Surprisingly, in our age of "curious pleasure,"[4] Salisbury sexuality is always incipiently nuptial and, having set up a lifetime marriage (on the model of the elephant), remains entirely content within its narrow but highly fecund field. Given this state of affairs, there are a number of things one might legitimately do, but there are also a number of things one has to watch out for—at least if one wants to stay intellectually honest. One might set up Salisbury sexuality as an ideal—even an ideal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for everybody—and propagandize for it very hard. But even within the propagandizing, it will be inadmissible, intellectually, to confuse *what seems natural*—as Salisbury sexuality doubtless will to the folks at Salisbury—and *what is natural*. An example, not involving sexuality, may help make this clear. To the Japanese industrial manager, it will seem natural that workers start early and on time, take few sick days, short breaks and lunches, and stay late on demand. The Japanese "ideal" might certainly be recommended to Americans, but it is deeply obscurantist to say that the Japanese work *ethos* is natural. If it is natural, then it is also natural for the American work force—that is, what they would do spontaneously if certain impediments, blocks, perversions, were swept away. Another move that is illegitimate is simply to deny reality status to all the phenomena that don't measure up to the prof-

3. Christopher Norris, *The Contest of Faculties: Philosophy and theory after deconstruction* (London: Methuen, 1985), p. 127.

4. "Curious pleasure" is the term Scruton uses, always abusively, for experience-, sensation-, or pleasure-oriented, nonperson-focused sexuality, a lower order of "excitement" characteristic of "childish sexuality" and "the sexual strategems of paedophiles." (p. 87).

fered ideal—yet which are, by ordinary standards, perfectly real. Scruton does have a strong tendency to speak of real desires, real arousal, real erotic love, when he is thinking of their preferred, or Salisbury, versions, and to cast the rest into the category of the "not real." This is comparable to denying that American factories are real factories, American workers, real workers, and the cars they produce, real cars—a very unhelpful way of saying the factories, workers, and cars leave something to be desired.

I turn now to a more subtle problem, or nest of problems, associated with "the position of the author." Authors have, though the blank neutrality of print may tend to disguise this, a real-life, or existential, position. Scruton is a subtle, highly trained, widely read analytic philosopher—more specifically, an English don[5]—who is immersed in the tradition of European high culture. I intend no irony in this description: it is a straightforward compliment. Yet authorial position, which in itself elicits esteem, has various mixed effects. I wouldn't, to mention an irrelevant example, hire Scruton to decide what movies should be made for the American mass market. To return to our subject, I fear that the descriptions of sexual phenomena produced by Scruton (or anyone occupying a comparable authorial position) will be more complicated, with many more twists and turns of reflective mirroring, and, in general, much more highly intellectualized and explicit "thought" than anything likely to be found among the commonality of mankind. This is true, I think, of the remarks about arousal, and of passages such as the following. Scruton is describing the "caress of desire": "It aims to fill the surface of the other's body with a consciousness of one's interest—interest not only in his body, but also in him as embodied, in his body as an integral part of his identity as a self" (p. 23). I regard this as a piece of "high table silliness," but you can judge for yourself. Think of occasions when you caressed someone you desired sexually. Did you have these thoughts—thoughts seeming to require explicit reference to embodiment and self-identity? If you did not, you might also want to consider whether you are willing, on that account, to regard yourself as a defective, and possibly even perverted, human being.

One passage reflects not so much an intellectualized but an aristocratic/leisure-class perspective on our sexual lives. Scruton refers to orgasm: "Although the experience is all-important, it is not part of the aim or project of desire. For it has no root in the thought upon which desire is founded, and plays no part in the continuation of the aim of union. In a very important sense, it is an *interruption* of congress, from which the subject must recover, as and when he can" (p. 91). Later in the same passage, he speaks of orgasm as if it were something Americans, in their typically crude way, invented as a quick technical fix for desire. Now it is certainly true that humans don't desire orgasms *period.* I can't imagine anyone—even at the antipodes to Salisbury—having a desire completely expressed by "I desire an orgasm." This, however, doesn't show that people don't desire orgasms. Like everything else, they desire orgasms under complex constraints, parametric limitations, procured this way but not that. Expressions of desire are ordinarily elliptical, but that does not make them false. It is a fact that some people masturbate to orgasm precisely because they wish to terminate the play of desire. It is a fact that people who have to work regard themselves, through orgasm, as obtaining temporary respite from desire. Whatever our views about the person who masturbates (so that he can get back to the trigonometry problem), it seems harsh and implausible to hold in contempt the hard-working couple who simply want to get sex out of the way as quickly as

Philosophers will divide in their evaluation of Scruton's procedure.

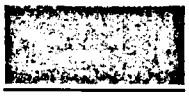
5. "Don" is what the English call what we call a college professor. It might not be unfair to picture him as (up to the present) a bit more cloistral than his American counterpart, living in college, eating with his fellows at "high table," with the rough-and-tumble world, and the working classes, safely *extra murem.*

possible, knowing that discontinuity of desire does nothing to impeach the continuity of their love.

Sexuality as Human

We cannot, however, correctly appraise the role Scruton assigns to orgasm, or to sexual pleasure and sexual experience generally, unless we say something about his fundamental conception of human life. A human may be an animal, but he is an animal with consciousness, with a first-person perspective: he is, in short, a person in the sense of a being who is rational and responsible, open to persuasion by reasons and accountable for his actions. It is a great virtue of Scruton's account that he sees that our "higher faculties" aren't just deployed to solve geometry problems, construct bridges, or think about God or the good life; instead they enormously complicate, indeed constitute, our sexuality. Animals, for all their biological affinities with us, have nothing worthy of the name 'sexuality'; that is why "human sexuality" is a careless pleonasm. Sexuality is, as we might succinctly express it, a *cultural* rather than a *biological* phenomenon. This is not to deny that sexuality has an anatomo-physiological infrastructure; 'sexuality' simply does not name the infrastructure: it names what we make of it. Scruton and I would probably agree that the constitution of sexuality explains why no one is interested in having an electrode implanted in the orgasm center of the brain, why even people who masturbate don't count masturbation as "having sex," why people refuse sex with others who are only a shade-of-difference away from their hearts' desires, and why, in general, it is naively reductive to think about sexuality in terms of *friction at an interface.* I understand all these lacks of interest and reluctances through the radically transformative power of consciousness on the raw materials of human physiology. Not everyone, even of those who acknowledge it, understands this tranformative power in the same way. The most obvious way, though not Scruton's, is through the concept of fantasy. So one might say that what counts, sexually, is not aptness to stimulate batches of nerve endings clumped in so-called "erogenous" zones, but resonance with fantasy. For those who believe in the centrality and indispensability of fantasy, a number of questions press: What makes a fantasy sexual? How do items enter, and leave, a person's repertory of fantasy? Are there "unconscious" or other areas that make fantasies difficult to access? What is meant by "resonate"?

None of these questions belongs to Scruton's research program or any research program he could embrace. In fact, he dismisses fantasy as a kind of internal, self-generated pornography, a marginal temptation in the direction of "curious pleasure" (p. 318). And it is certainly true that nothing in the way of moral guidance can be extracted from a consideration of fantasy. There is much fantasied in the best of souls that, for a variety of reasons, should not be done.

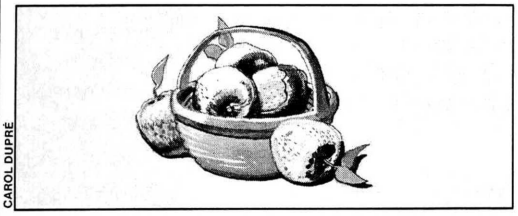


Scruton does have a strong tendency to speak of real desires when he is thinking of their preferred, or Salisbury, versions.

The Intentionality of Sexuality

Scruton, in any case, bases his whole account of sexuality on what philosophers, using a term of art, call 'intentionality', by which is meant (in Scruton's words) "the quality of 'reference beyond' which is contained in human consciousness: the quality of pointing to, and delineating, an object of thought" (p. 8). Scruton makes a good case for the intentionality of arousal, desire, and erotic love. Indeed, only arousal could, with any degree of plausibility, be regarded as subintentional, a local change in the body's physiology. It is much more difficult to argue, as Scruton is committed to arguing, that arousal and sexual desire have whole human persons—and, in each case, a particular human who could be properly

named—as intentional objects. According to the American philosopher C.S. Peirce, "A desire is always general; that is, it is always some *kind* of thing or event which is desired; at least, until the element of will, which is always exercised upon a particular object upon an individual occasion, becomes so predominant as to overrule the generalizing character of desire."[6] Peirce is thinking of homey and down-to-earth examples. If I desire to eat an apple, I desire to eat a thing of a given kind, and many instances of that kind will do—even if, as could be, my desire is very "picky" and apple-rejecting. Of course I can't eat a kind, only a particular and concrete apple. This fact, as my desire translates into action on the individual occasion of eating, means that my desire zeroes in on, and is operationally individualized to, this particular apple. Still, the individual apple eaten was wanted as an instance of a kind, and



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it would be folly—bizarre superstition—to suppose the eaten apple irreplaceable, that is, to suppose that if it hadn't come into existence, my desire would have been doomed to perpetual dissatisfaction. I think all this is true of sexual desire. Scruton thinks not.

Deciding About Desire

Let me mention some things that ought to be thought about in the course of deciding. *First*, there is no use reading into the description of desire the moral vision one wishes to champion. Desires may be vagrant and unstable; they may indeed be subversive of institutions—marriage, for example—that we regard as precious. If this is true, it is something we have to cope with. "Whatever the institutional forms of human sexual union," Scruton writes, "and whatever the range of permitted partners, sexual desire is itself inherently 'nuptial': it involves concentration upon the embodied existence of the other, leading through tenderness to the 'vow' of erotic love" (p. 339). This might count as another example of strain on conversational trust, but what I am worrying about, more particularly, is how Scruton can detect the "inherently." And I am worrying about this passage's coming from someone who wishes to defend the institution of marriage from a consideration of sexual phenomena themselves. This is not a matter of bad faith or special pleading: it is a matter—maybe—of the ideal's inadvertently coloring the actual. Scruton says, "Clearly, sexual desire, which is an interpersonal attitude with the most far-reaching consequences for those who are joined by it, cannot be morally neutral" (p. 337). But how does moral commitment (or non-neutrality) get built into the desire itself? People make moral commitments; and the actions that desires lead to, like all actions, are subject to moral appraisal. Sexual desires, again like all desires, lead to actions that are morally permissible, morally impermissible, or morally obligatory. This morality isn't *immanent* in desire, but then this leads us back to the old question of whether, and how, 'ought' is, or could be, immanent in 'is'. *Second*, when claims are made, the appropriate intellectual procedure is to hunt around for counterexamples.

You say that *all X's are Y's* and I come up with a counter-example: *an X not a Y*. Scruton says, "All sexual desires are nuptial," and we say, "I know a guy whose sexual desires ain't so nuptial." It would seem, in other words, that some of Scruton's central claims are immediately vulnerable to the strategy of counter-

6. *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*, edited by Hartshorne and Weiss (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1965), 1.205, i.e., vol. I, section 205.

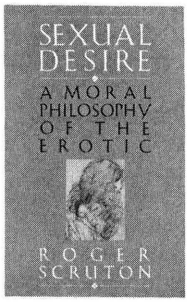
exemplification. In the rough-and-tumble —and maybe rather sleazy and selfish —world outside of Salisbury (and outside the walls of Birkbeck College, London, where Scruton teaches) one would think his claims constantly counter-exemplified. We must remember, however, that Scruton is describing a norm; so if we give Scruton a case where desire seems to be concentrated not on an embodied person but on a person's bodily parts, Scruton will not be dismayed: "An excitement which concentrates upon the sexual organs, whether of man or of woman, which seeks, as it were, to bypass the preliminary interest in face, hands, voice, and posture, is perverted. It seeks to focus on the culminating act of gratification, while voiding that act of its distinctive intentionality —of its direction towards the embodiment of another perspective" (p. 70). I couldn't agree with Scruton more about the unfortunateness of the cases he just described: such persons' collections of fantasies must be abstract, decontextualized, schematic, and fragmentary; and there naturally arises the therapeutic question of why they are so. But these unfortunate people are feeling real desire and can't be plausibly interpreted as "bypassing" or "voiding" anything actually, or intentionally, present in their experience. Whether we should call such people "perverts" finally depends, I think, on how much good we think is done by the rhetoric of stigmatization.

Love

Finally, a word, all too brief, about love. Scruton thinks that "Desire involves the beginnings of that exclusive intentionality which is transformed, in my own fictive enthusiasm, into the project of love" (p. 243). So much is built into sexual desire by Scruton that it can be easily glued onto "erotic" or "romantic" love. Scruton thinks sexual desire is anyway incipiently loving; so it is not surprising that he thinks love can be desiring. If we are skeptical about the "description" of desire (as there is some reason to be), we will tend to conceive of love and sexuality in rather stark separation. If sexual desire seeks intensely pleasant experiences that can be procured indifferently with the temporary cooperation of diverse persons, and if love seeks the permanent, objective good of another and must prove itself in the unceasing promotion of that good, it is hard to imagine the magic that will fuse sexuality and love. Fortunately, neither a sane morality nor a just politics needs such fusion.■

One might say that what counts, sexually, is resonance with fantasy.

COMMENTARY ON *SEXUAL DESIRE*



An Interview with Roger Scruton

BY GREGORY WOLFE

The sexual revolution of the 1960s extended the notion that morality could be excluded from our private lives. Roger Scruton disagrees.

As I traveled to Roger Scruton's office at the University of London to conduct this interview, I couldn't help reflecting on the irony of its location —especially in light of his recent book *Sexual Desire.* The office is situated in the heart of Bloomsbury, a part of London characterized by elegant Georgian squares and made famous by the group of intellectuals and artists, including Virginia Woolf and Lytton Strachey, who dominated British cultural life during the first three decades of this century. It was the Bloomsbury Group, more than any other set of "progressive" intellectuals in this most progressive of centuries, who legitimized and celebrated the modern ethic of "free love" and the cult of bisexuality. And it is precisely this Bloomsbury ethic that Scruton attacks in *Sexual Desire.* Indeed, he believes that the heavy cloak the Victorians threw over the intimacies of our sexual nature indicated a saner and more realistic attitude than our modern sexual libertarianism. Several generations after its heyday, it appears that the Bloomsbury group has found a formidable antagonist.

Gregory Wolfe is the publications director at the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. He is currently working on a book about the religious vision of the British journalist and Christian writer, Malcolm Muggeridge.

'Formidable' is a word that comes easily to mind in describing Roger Scruton's many achievements. At an age when most writers are only beginning to make their mark, Scruton has ten books to his credit, and is already an established presence on the British political and intellectual scene. He has been praised for his "independence of mind"—a conservative critic of socialism who has maintained a stance that is far from identical with that of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

At Cambridge University, where he received both his bachelor's degree and his doctorate, Scruton began by studying natural sciences. But a passion for literature led him to an interest in aesthetics, which in turn spawned a commitment to philosophy. Scruton's doctoral dissertation at Cambridge was later published as *Art and Imagination,* and was soon followed by *The Aesthetics of Architecture, The Aesthetic Understanding,* and *The Politics of Culture and Other Essays.*

Scruton's interest in philosophy has also resulted in several books, including a history of modern philosophy, *From Descartes to Wittgenstein,* and a volume on Immanuel Kant in the *Past Master* series published by Oxford University Press. He is currently professor of aesthetics in the philosophy department at the University of London.

For all his scholarship in art and philosophy, Scruton has never been far from social and political controversy. After studying for the bar at the Inner Temple, he is now qualified as a barrister—an English term for a certain type of lawyer. He is one of the leaders of a vigorous revival of conservative thought among a younger generation of scholars and writers. As editor of *The Salisbury Review,* a quarterly journal of ideas, Scruton has provided conservatism in Britain with an intellectual respectability it lacked for many decades. His fortnightly column for *The Times* (London) has given him the reputation of being a skilled debater. His books in this area are *The Meaning of Conservatism, Dictionary of Political Thought,* and the forthcoming *Thinkers of the New Left.*

To round off this brief portrait, it is worth mentioning that Scruton has published a novel, *Fortnight's Anger.*

I began the interview by asking Scruton about his interest in philosophy. He spoke of his early interest in literature and how this literary dimension influenced his particular brand of philosophical thought. "I am unlike most modern analytical philosophers in that I regard philosophy at its best as continuous with literature and criticism—in fact, as an indispensable part of criticism in the broad sense made familiar in the last century, especially by the Germans." Scruton insisted on the need for "informed and cultivated comment on the human condition," and continued, "I am increasingly moving away from the narrow 'technicism' of analytical philosophy and back into the broader cultural approach to things."

After hearing Scruton speak of the literary dimension of philosophy, I asked him what he thought of the "rage for theory" which was making literary studies increasingly more philosophical—and more abstruse. "I'm unhappy with what you call the 'rage for theory' if what you mean by that is the development of all these pseudo-

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theories in literary criticisms—structuralism and post-structuralism and so on," he said. "I think, on the contrary, there are areas in which theory is both superfluous and inappropriate. I think Aristotle summed it up by saying that you shouldn't look for any more exactitude in any particular discipline than it is capable of offering. There has become an increasing tendency to try to import methods which have a spurious scientific exactitude into areas where there is no subject matter that would yield to it."

In many of the hostile reviews of Scruton's *Sexual Desire,* critics have called attention to the conservative worldview Scruton and the contributors to *The Salisbury Review* espouse, even to the extent of using the term "Salisbury mentality," to characterize their thinking. I asked Scruton whether there was an identifiably conservative community developing among British intellectuals. "I would like to think that there is," he said. "*The Salisbury Review* would never have had the modest, but definite, success it has had if it hadn't attracted the support and even the loyalty of such a group of young dedicated writers and readers. We are very much out of the mainstream of current debate. We do not defend the free market as the ruling principle of social and political order. We are anti-socialist, but perhaps more vehemently anti-socialist than it is now normal to be. We are, on the whole, defenders of traditional Burkean conservatism."

Moving on to the subject of his book, *Sexual Desire,* I questioned Scruton about his reasons for tackling the subject at this time. Though he has indicated in his introduction to the book that the subject of sexual desire has rarely been discussed by modern philosophers, I asked him about his more immediate motivations for writing *Sexual Desire.* "First of all," he responded, "I am interested in some of the metaphysical and moral questions that underlie the book—questions about the self, the person, and the relations between persons. The other reason was the growing sense that sex had been misunderstood—not by philosophers because they have not written much about it—but by the pundits. It has become *the* great modern theme—the theme on which we have to have a view. I suppose my interest is of a piece with my feeling that the libertarian ethos of the 1960s is at the root of much that has gone so radically wrong with Western civilization in the last ten or twenty years. That libertarian nonsense, although it expressed itself in politics in utopian fantasies, had as its moral core the notion of sexual liberation. I wanted to give some of the philosophical reasons for thinking that sexual liberation is a form of slavery."

Scruton agreed with my suggestion that a philosophy of sexual desire and erotic love should be more central in ethical and political thought. "Under the influence of liberal theory," he noted, "especially John Stuart Mill and all who have come after him, there has been a tendency to locate the area of moral choice outside the personal, private life." The belief that as long as people "consent," anything is permissible, Scruton argued, has denied that morality applies to our private behavior. Consequently, morality has been seen as a matter of the public realm and has been applied to ultimately trivial issues. The result is a politicization of "morality." "The big questions that are debated nowadays," he continued, "are about discrimination and equality—questions that are peripheral to the moral life of the individual. I believe that the moral life of the individual is of fundamental concern in ethics and that it is primarily to do with his way of conducting himself toward others in his most intimate encounters. That's where morality begins and probably where it should remain."

I asked Scruton what he thought of the criticisms leveled against him, such as the one William Earle raises in his commen-

'Formidable' is a word that comes easily to mind in describing Roger Scruton's many achievements.

tary, that the "norm" of sexual desire and erotic love he sets up in *Sexual Desire* reflects an "aristocratic leisure class" perspective, thus lacking a truly universal applicability. He responded, "No doubt William Earle is a greater expert on the mass of mankind than I am, but my instinct is to say that what I am talking about is what ordinary human beings experience. I think of the libertarian morality that I am attacking as the morality of the leisured class. In fact, that this leisured class does not consist of aristocrats any more, but of pampered university professors, doesn't change the point. What I defend in my book is what has been universally recognized throughout our history. I would need a great deal more persuading to be convinced that it isn't the norm."

Another of the attacks mounted on Scruton's methodology in *Sexual Desire* is the refusal of most modernists to accept that there is any moral structure discernable in nature. In addition to holding to this "fact-value" dichotomy, Scruton's critics, including William Earle, also refuse to believe that human nature can be objectively established. I asked Scruton whether this separated him from the mainstream of philosophical debate. "It wouldn't worry me if it did," he said, "but I don't think that it does. It's William Earle who is out of date, not me. Philosophers are increasingly coming to see that the argument for this so-called 'is-ought' gap is shoddy and premature. As I try to show in the chapter on sexual morality, whatever we think of that question, there still is a question remaining about the objectivity of practical reasoning. It has never been established that there is no such thing, and I give some consideration for saying that there is such a thing. It is quite wrong to think that the is-ought gap is a proven result of modern philosophy. Almost all moral philosophers now doubt it in one way or another. It is interesting that the people who invoke this always invoke it against the moral views of others, but in order to establish their own moral views."

Picking up on Scruton's belief that a change away from relativism has been going on in ethical philosophy, I asked him whether he felt that there was renewed interest in moral phenomena like character and virtue. He agreed. "Obviously my book is about virtue and character. That is the heart of ethics. There is an increasing recognition that the truth about this subject was more nearly approached by Aristotle than by anybody else."

When I suggested that the relativism entrenched in the schools today consisted of teachers encouraging students to choose their own "values," rather than to cultivate virtue, Scruton characterized his own intellectual mission: "In my case it is a reaction against the expressivist libertarian conception of what man is, [as] exemplified in philosophy in its purest form by Sartre. The emphasis on character and virtue is a roundabout way of acknowledging the social nature of man, and the fact that our moral character is an accomplishment, that moral norms are acquired through the process of education and not just generated spontaneously."

Scruton emphasizes that the argument in *Sexual Desire* is rigorously philosophical, and that he has eschewed any shortcuts by resorting to religious doctrines or professions of faith. I asked him whether, in light of his defense of traditional moral principles, he felt somewhat like the astronomers whose discoveries have recently seemed to confirm the ancient sayings of the scriptures and theologians. "You could say that," he replied. "It's a long way around of coming to the view that the moral life of man is meaningless without the sacred." When questioned as to his definition of the sacred, he said, "The sacred is that before which one stands in awe, about which there is an illimitable mystery."

In his book, Scruton claims that the recovery of the sacred cannot be accom-

Scruton: "I wanted to give some of the philosophical reasons for thinking that sexual liberation is a form of slavery."

plished by political means; to attempt to impose religious principles from above would be divisive and counterproductive. Though he hesitated to offer practical solutions, he did point to one way of recapturing a sense of the sacred. "How has it ever been done in the past? It's only been done by religious teachers taking seriously their vocation. They can only do that if there is some receptiveness on the part of the mass of mankind. People have got to lose a lot more before they can regain the simplicity which is necessary for them to once again feel the proper religious instinct." I asked Scruton whether he felt that some form of crisis had to occur before people recognized what they had lost. "I think the crisis is on us in a way," he responded. "People are frightened of what they see around them. They need to lose a lot more of their security before they'll wake up."

Scruton again hesitated to suggest political reforms, but he did admit that institutions such as marriage and the family had to be defended in legislation and the courts. "Although things can't be restored from above, they can be destroyed from above. Foolish legislation in all sorts of areas—liberalization of laws on sex and abolition of the fiscal privilege attached to marriage—these things have slowly eroded the traditional forms of sexual union. People are learning the hard way because of AIDS, but they could have known that anyway."

I questioned him about the notion that by living in such a pluralistic society, any attempt to conserve inherited institutions and mores is hopelessly antiquated. "There is a media-induced myth about pluralist society," Scruton answered, "something that Americans are always saying. But nothing strikes the visitor to America more vividly than the uniformity of American society. Their values are more or less in common, including liberal, but not too liberal, sexual values, based on the norm of family union, but diverging in this or that way. It's only in cities and universities that you get this myth that society is completely fragmented."

The final question I put to Scruton concerned the larger continuum in which sexual desire and union exists. If erotic love is seen in context of maturation, marriage, and childbearing, aren't there other issues as well as the laws concerning sexual union that are important—issues dealing with life itself, such as abortion, or the education of children? He responded, "I do argue in the book that what goes on between two people in the sexual act is itself a kind of rehearsal in miniature of the impact of two complete social worlds, and all the experience that goes into the building of those worlds. And of course all-important is the idea of gender and the way in which gender distinctions are perceived. This is inseparable from educational practices, peoples' attitudes toward children, and the rest. That's one reason I was interested in the topic: it lies at the focal point of almost all our social aspirations."■

The belief that as long as people "consent," anything is permissible, has denied that morality applies to our private behavior.

The Hegelian Shadow

BY WILFRED M. MCCLAY

The intellectual forefathers of the postwar conservative movement were imbued with a profound historical consciousness that today's conservatives would do well to remember.

THE SEARCH FOR HISTORICAL MEANING: Hegel and the Postwar American Right
Paul Edward Gottfried
Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986.
Cloth. $27.00. 170 pp.

Wilfred M. McClay will be joining the history department at the University of Dallas in September.

The fifteen years between V-J Day and the inauguration of John Fitzgerald Kennedy as president have come, in the surprising light of retrospect, to take on the appearance of a golden age of cultural vitality in American history. Ironically, the suggestion of such a judgment would have been greeted with shock, or more likely with a snigger, by the most respected American intellectuals of the time. To borrow the deathless words of Newton Minow of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), they beheld not vitality, but a vast wasteland when they contemplated the spectacle of America in the 1950s. They were disgusted by Americans' excessive and increasing conformism, by the plodding and uninspiring "modern Republicanism" of Dwight David Eisenhower, by the cancerous growth of huge sprawling suburban tracts like Levittown on Long Island, by the emergence of a vulgar and voracious "consumer culture," by the numbing emptiness of television programming, and, in general, by an American way of life that, in the words of John Kenneth Galbraith, opted for "private splendor" at the expense of public squalor. Needless to say, a society so mired down in the muck of material preoccupations, and so relentlessly and mindlessly egalitarian in its tastes and prejudices, could never sustain the sort of lofty and serious qualities of mind that made for genuine achievement in the realm of high culture.

Viewed from the perspective of the 1980s, though, through the dark prism of the intervening decades—years of military humiliation in an unpopular and badly bungled war, of chronic economic stagnation and inflation, and of the ignominious retreat of lofty and serious qualities of mind from the world of high culture—those postwar years have slowly acquired a sheen that their contemporary chroniclers would never have granted them. Nowhere is this more evident than in the life of the mind. The decrepit state of the contemporary American novel, for example, stands in striking contrast to the many fine novels of the 1950's, when American literature reaped the benefits of an

extraordinary efflorescence of Jewish and Southern fiction, embodied in the likes of Saul Bellow and Flannery O'Connor. Poets like W.H. Auden and Randall Jarrell, literary critics like Lionel Trilling and Edmund Wilson, historians like Richard Hofstadter, sociologists like David Riesman—all were at the peak of their powers in those years, and the fresh currents of modernism in the visual arts that transformed New York into the art capital of the world had not yet degenerated into empty trendiness and publicity-mongering.

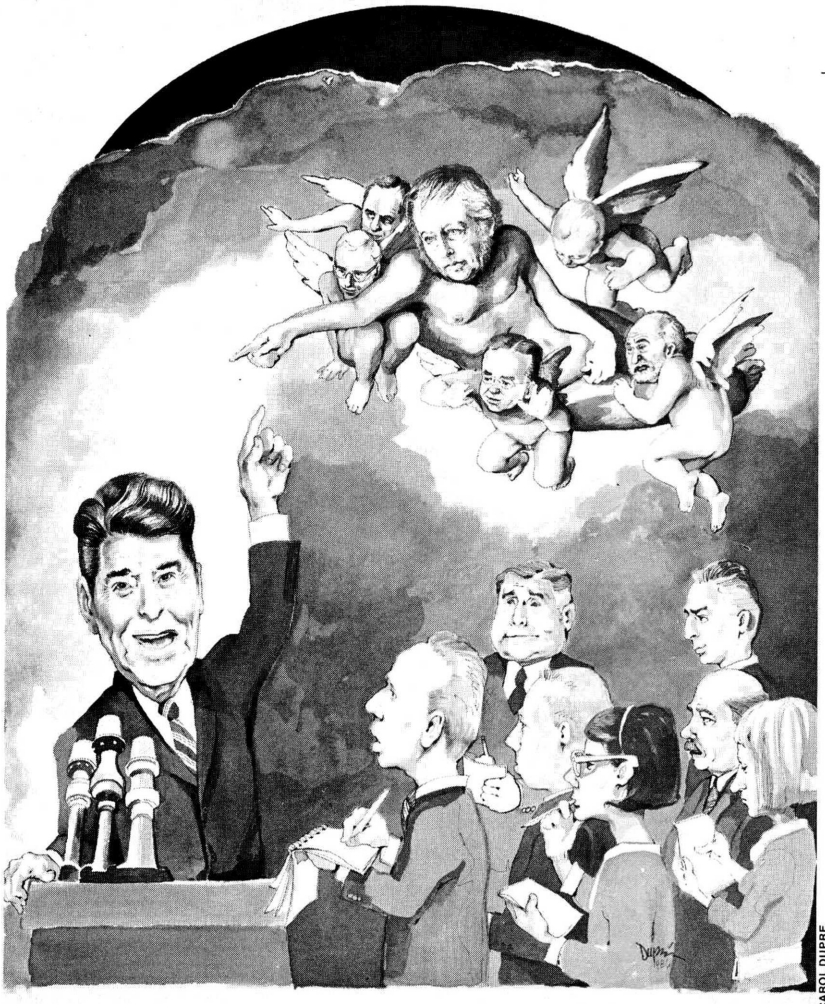
All of the names mentioned above were affiliated, in varying degrees, with the political and cultural Left. Indeed, historiographical convention leaves little doubt that the intellectual history of these years can be summarized precisely as the historian Richard Pells did in the title of his recent study of the period: *The Liberal Mind in a Conservative Age.* But, as Paul Gottfried argues in his stimulating study *The Search for Historical Meaning,* we should add the names of some of the most venerable founders of the postwar conservative intellectual movement to the list as well. For conservative intellectuals no less than liberals, the 1950s were an extraordinarily fertile decade. Contrary to the view that Pells' title embodies—and, true to form, his book discussed almost none of the men in Gottfried's book—the liberal mind was not the only mind functioning in these years.

It is frequently assumed, even by avowedly conservative thinkers, that the conservative intellectual movement did not come of age until fairly recently. Gottfried argues that it had already been endowed with admirably penetrating intellectual leaders at birth —and that more recent developments, which have coincided with the movement's rise to political power, have represented not an improvement but a decline. Such men as Will Herberg, Karl August Wittfogel, Eric Voegelin, Frank Meyer, and James Burnham —some of whose names and works are virtually unknown among younger conservative intellectuals —offered a challenging brand of intellectual conservatism that differs sharply from much of what passes by that name in our time. It is part of Gottfried's intention to highlight those differences, and to persuade his readers that the older tradition of American conservative thought represented by his subjects deserves to be revived and reappraised.

A key element that makes the conservative thinkers of the 1950s superior, in Gottfried's estimation, is their frank acceptance of the importance of historical consciousness in any mature and civilization-sustaining conservative thought. Their heightened historical awareness is in turn, he argues, attributable to the profound influence that the work of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, either directly or through the mediation of others, exerted over both the form and the content of their reflections. Hence, Gottfried's book is an ambitious attempt to accomplish two goals in one monograph. First it attempts to document, as best it can, its claim that the five thinkers mentioned above, as well as several others, were shaped in crucial ways by Hegelian thinking. Then the work attempts, in a fascinating and challenging final chapter, to explain the obscurity into which these five thinkers, fallen as a result of the lapse of American conservatives into antihistorical or ahistorical modes of thought.

It is also an implicit defense of Hegel against his detractors, who have been loud and influential, beginning with Hegel's most important disciple, Karl Marx. Throughout the book, Gottfried is intent upon scraping away the conventions that over the years have attached themselves, like so many barnacles, to our conception of Hegel. It is sometimes said, for example, that the clash between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union was a clash between Right Hegelians and Left Hegelians. Although a testament of sorts to Hegel's enduring historical importance, this conceit turns Hegel into the very font of all wrongheadedness, reduces his thought to certain "tendencies" which may be made sinister by being drawn out of context (Hegel as proto-fascist, Hegel as proto-Marxist, Hegel as secularizer of Christian eschatology, and so on), and forces him to take responsibility for those who misunderstood and misappropriated him. Gottfried wishes us to see Hegel afresh and to rediscover those aspects of Hegel's thought which remain powerfully suggestive, in the hope that such an appreciation may feed a reconsideration of conservatism's current direction.

In this monograph Gottfried



CAROL DUPRÉ

has set for himself several quite different tasks that require him to operate simultaneously in two different spheres: that of scholarship and that of intellectual politics. The mixing of scholarship with political engagement often operates to the detriment of scholarship. But in this particular case the dangers are minimized because Gottfried has been honest —in a way few scholars are —about his intentions and about the way in which the questions animating his scholarship came to pose themselves to him. Indeed, it is precisely because of his desire to revive a historically informed conservatism in the United States that questions about Hegel's influence came to interest him—although it is clear that an interest in reviving the fortunes of Hegel, who has become something of a dead issue among non-Marxists, also figures into the book's plan. Gottfried has produced an exceedingly rare kind of book: a critique of the contemporary intellectual Right *from within*. The appearance of such a book has to be counted as a mark of that movement's coming of age, even as it also betokens the considerable intellectual confusions that now have emerged into the open with the achievement of political power.

The Problem of Influence

Probably no major thinker resists paraphrase better than Hegel, a fact which is due partly to his notoriously opaque language and partly to the vastness of his philosophical undertaking. Still, the Hegelian genius has several facets that ought to be stressed, and that Gottfried finds insinuating themselves into the thinking of his subjects. First, and perhaps foremost, is his invention of the dialectic—an intellectual tool that has, to be sure, immense potential for abuse but which provides an unforgettable insight into the processes of history, once it has been grasped. The concept had been anticipated in part by thinkers from Heraclitus to William Blake, but the notion that the nature of things realizes itself through the progressive interplay of opposites belongs rightfully to the Hegelian legacy. And for Hegel, as the quintessential German idealist, the identical dialectical process took place both in the individual mind and in the doings of world history; both, indeed, were merely different expressions of the same intelligence.

Hegel believed that the dialectic, as it operated in the individual, powered a steady advance towards self-realization and freedom as the individual achieved self-knowledge through labor, art, politics, and other efforts to

create a determinate reality. A fully realized, "free" human being was an achievement, not a given —and such a being, Hegel asserted, could be the product only of a Western civilization. World history followed a comparable path toward the self-realization of the Spirit, and it was in the State that the highest expression of man's freedom became embodied, for in loyalty to the State all prior and conflicting claims were resolved by being transcended and placed in their proper relation. As Gottfried points out, Hegel was profoundly disturbed by the French Revolution and sought "an alternative vision of modernity to what the French Revolution had so dramatically but brutally tried to realize." For his alternative he looked to the Protestant countries that emphasized deference to established legitimate authority, even as they continued to preserve the respect for individual conscience that had been the Reformation's great achievement.

It would seem, then, a relatively simple matter to identify the instances of Hegelian influence in postwar American thought. But in fact, influence is the slipperiest of forces to demonstrate convincingly. How, for example, does one establish the degree of influence that, say, Harry Hopkins had over Franklin Roosevelt, or Henry Kissinger over Richard Nixon? This is the sort of problem that routinely faces the intellectual historian in acute form, for he is by profession a genealogist of ideas and a mapper of influences. It is nearly impossible for a historian to know precisely where a thinker gets his ideas; indeed, it may be exceedingly difficult for the thinker himself to disentangle such a conundrum. A writer may be influenced by any number of things in the intellectual environment that surrounds him: the "climate of opinion" in his intellectual circle, the ideas then being read and discussed by *tout le monde,* a chance reading of something in Plato, or Boethius, or a stray essay by Sainte-Beuve, or a novel by D.H. Lawrence, or any number of scraps of unconnected and eclectic thinkers. He may be deeply influenced by events in the larger world—wars, revolutions, politics, and the like—or riveted by events that are purely personal and idiosyncratic. A thinker may even be totally unaware of, or unwilling to acknowledge, key influences—indeed, he may vehemently deny their existence. In short, many of a thinker's most significant influences may not do the intellectual historian the courtesy of showing up in the writer's texts or his footnotes.

For conservative intellectuals no less than liberals, the 1950s were an extraordinarily fertile decade.

Given the unavoidably dicey business of tracing influence, one cannot expect a Euclidean standard of demonstration from an intellectual historian. To attempt any such proof, one would have to violate the nature of the evidence. Alas, there is no royal road to a determination of influence; as Gottfried rightly admits, such assertions must rest to a large extent upon intelligent and sympathetic guesswork. In fact, he has had to contend with the especially difficult problem of demonstrating the Hegelianism of thinkers who either expressed indifference to the Hegelian legacy or denounced Hegel explicitly. Yet, in the end, one cannot deny the suggestiveness of the links Gottfried points out, and one must wonder, once again, at the enduring impact of Hegel upon the way we have come to view human history.

The postwar conservatives Gottfried discusses shared a sense that the time in which they lived was a *kairos*, a critical juncture in the history of all that had come before, a moment of truth for Western civilization and all it represented. Given the number of disillusioned leftists in the postwar Right, it is hardly surprising that most acquired the Hegelian elements in their thinking through an earlier adherence to Marx. Will Herberg, for example, had been a communist during the 1920s and 1930s; James Burnham had been a Trotskyist writer and editor; Frank Meyer had been an active Communist Party member; Karl Wittfogel had been imprisoned at Dachau for his membership in the German Communist Party and had been affiliated with the Marxist *Institut für Sozialforschung* in Frankfurt. Even

though these men would eventually soundly reject Marx—and Hegel with him—Hegelian ways of thinking still loom large in their post-Marxist work. Herberg for example, partly under the influence of Reinhold Niebuhr, turned to a "value-centered historicism, which combined moral absolutes with faith in the rhythms of history."

Equally influential, in Gottfried's view, were Central European refugees who brought with them the Hegelianism in which they had been brought up. Gottfried's treatment of Eric Voegelin is particularly suggestive in this regard. Although Voegelin denounced Hegel for his "immanentizing" of the deity, and thus for unleashing a modern version of the recurrent gnostic heresy, Voegelin's thought nevertheless would be inconceivable without the agenda that Hegel had established for him; indeed, Thomas Altizer went so far as to speculate that "Voegelin's hatred of Hegel" was "an attempted Oedipal murder of his father." Voegelin, like Hegel, conceived of history broadly, as the progressive unfolding of order, a process mediated, as in Hegel, by certain world-historical figures. But, more importantly, his thought bears the Hegelian impress in negative form, for it was precisely in furious opposition to the Hegelians' immanentist error that Voegelin deployed many of his key concepts.

Gottfried's point, then, is that the Hegelian influence manifested itself in ways both negative and positive, subtle and self-evident. Hegel still loomed as a potent presence to these thinkers, one whose influence they were bound to feel, even if they sought to evade that influence, even if they were not at all conscious of it. All the book's subjects shared the conviction that a profoundly historical perspective upon the problems of conserving Western civilization was indispensable—and none of the great thinkers in the Western philosophical tradition addressed himself with more vigor and comprehensiveness to the elaboration of that perspective than Hegel. Indeed, Gottfried argues, the post-war Right was eager to adopt Hegelian perspectives—whether or not they were willing to identify them as such by name—precisely because a profoundly developed sense of the living past had been, at least since the time of Burke, one of the fundamental pillars of sound conservative thinking.

Retreating to the Present

Today, as Gottfried laments in his final chapter, "A Conservative Farewell to History," matters stand very differently. Conservatism underwent "a cultural narrowing," he argues, "with the discovery of politics as vocation." Many who call themselves conservatives now have little interest in historical perspectives but rather are addicted to the same sort of present-minded abstract universalist thinking that was at one time the great bane of conservatism. The influential foundations that bankroll much of the intellectual activity among conservatives have preferred to focus their resources upon immediate issues of public policy and have done little to support the theoretical studies that would help revitalize the roots of conservative thought and lend them the coherence they so sorely lack. The presence in the White House of a "conservative" president who repeatedly invokes Thomas Paine's call to "begin the world over again" speaks volumes about the confusions that have beset American conservatism, confusions heightened, one must suppose, by the enormous temptation to speak only what is opportune when one is in the precincts of power.

Even among the dwindling number of conservative intellectuals who have continued to apply themselves to theoretical issues, the situation looks little better for those who uphold the historical tradition Gottfried favors. Among the most influential conservative intellectuals of our time, for example, are the radically antihistorical followers of the German émigré scholar Leo Strauss, a formidable group of thinkers who decry the "historicization of truth" and the moral relativism that, they believe, are the inevitable result of such historical-mindedness. As Gottfried observes, their position is an antitraditional one, for it replaces the traditional conservative virtue of *pietas*, a virtue grounded in reverence for the particularities of an individual's concrete existence, with a rigid ideological adherence to abstract notions of "the good" and "the just," ideals derived from an ahistorical way of reading certain prescribed texts. Such antitraditionalism,

however, has not stopped them from achieving great influence within the conservative and neo-conservative movements. Indeed, one could argue that their success reflects just how neatly their movement dovetails with certain unfortunate habits of the American mind: its radical disdain for history and its Protestant-legalistic obsession with the interpretation of canonical texts. American conservatism is doomed, it seems, to struggle forever against the temptation to be ersatz, to ground itself in something other than the concrete realities of American life.

For all the considerable virtues of *The Search for Historical Meaning*, its scope is so great—disproportionate, indeed, to its brevity—that many fascinating questions are provoked and left unanswered. I was moved to wonder how much *truth* the author believes there is in the thought of Hegel. This is not a question intellectual historians are accustomed to pose, let alone answer, but, given the prescriptive implications of Gottfried's argument, it is a question that begs to be treated. Certainly Hegel does not entirely deserve the ill repute into which he has fallen. Hegelianism, if believed in, can conceivably serve to promote certain conservative social and political ends that conservatives ardently desire. None of these considerations, however, can make men and women accept as *true* the Hegelian vision of history as the dialectical march of Absolute Spirit, however impressive the edifice of Hegelian thought may be.

This reservation applies to conservatives in particular, many of whom are die-hard partisans of lost causes and cordially detest any progressive "Whiggish" interpretation of history that consigns history's losers to the dialectical ash heap and perches the winners upon the pedestal of world-historical validation. Hegel, after all, conceived of his philosophy of history as a theodicy, a justification of the ways of God to man, a cosmic affirmation of the direction of history, a vision of the present as a *culmination* of the past. Very few conservatives, and few thinkers of any other persuasion for that matter, could endorse such a view today. We live in a time when our understanding of God's plan resembles Hegel's less than it does Job's. We find it easier to believe in the cunning of *un*reason than in Hegel's cunning of reason. It may well be true, as Robert Nisbet has argued, that the Western world desperately needs to revise and revive its belief in progress if it is to survive; but Hegel seems an unlikely source for such renewal. Indeed, the Hegelian conception of history can hinder our full appreciation of the past's inescapable differentness by causing us to view each era tendentiously—"world-historically"—rather than make a scrupulous effort to understand the past on its own terms, in its full specificity.

Gottfried wishes us to see Hegel afresh and to rediscover those aspects of Hegel's thought which remain powerfully suggestive.

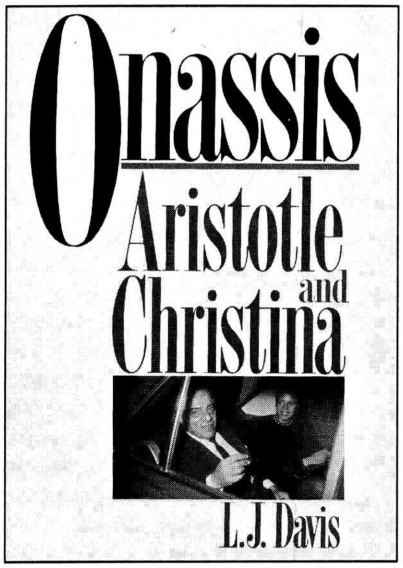
In short, although the writers of the post-war Right certainly deserve to be read by the current generation of ahistorical conservatives, it may be argued that the kind of historical consciousness that needs to be fostered in the years to come ought not to be drawn from Hegel, but instead, from less systematic, more concrete approaches to the past. One may even entertain the hope that the implacable foes of "historicism" can be persuaded that history is not the same as History, and that values are not rendered relative and ephemeral by the mere fact that they are, necessarily, the accretion of many generations' labors. But then again—to give credit where it is due—this last point was one Hegel understood surpassingly well. He was inspired by the dialectic of Christ's life-and-death-and-life to believe that the transcendent always realizes itself in the flesh by an analogous process and that each moment in history contained, suspended within it, the differentiated past and the yet-to-be-differentiated future. Gottfried deserves our thanks for this stimulating effort to rescue Hegel from his distorting successors and to remind us how fine and capacious a mind he was—and how long a shadow he has cast.■

Idols of the King

BY ANDREI NAVROZOV

Aristotle Onassis reigned over a shipping dynasty that was "larger than most navies." But while the public splendor evoked the luxuriant court of the Sun King, it concealed the flotsam of a maritime aristocracy, the death of a son, and the confusion of a daughter.

ONASSIS: ARISTOTLE AND CHRISTINA
L.J. Davis
St. Martin's Press, 1986
$16.95



Andrei Navrozov is editor of The Yale Literary Magazine *and a contributing editor of* Harper's.

Biographies of great tycoons are difficult to write and nearly impossible to read. Caught in a maze of dry and ostensibly unimpeachable yet in reality often distorted and tendentious business information, writers can rarely find the literary fulcrum they need to turn the didactic world of Horatio Alger into a truth as entertaining as F. Scott Fitzgerald's fiction. A highly readable specimen of this genre should command our attention, and L.J. Davis' new biography of Aristotle Onassis does just that.

Onassis: Aristotle and Christina is the story of a business empire built by one man whose autocratic management style and misplaced dynastic ideal would be the undoing of both his enterprise and his family. The setting for this drama is literally the world's stage. The spectacle it provides is fascinating.

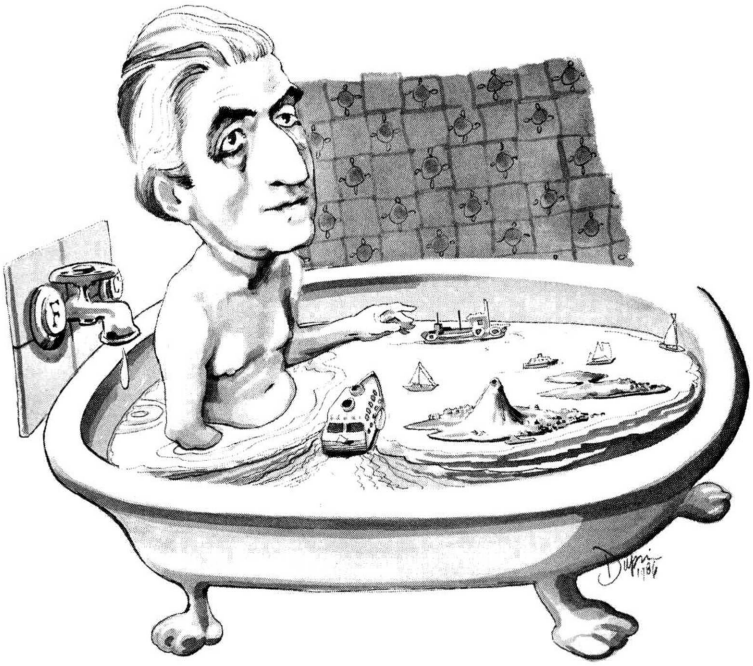
"These ceremonies and shows," wrote an observer, "may be condemned by philosophy and ridiculed by comedy . . . . Yet the common sense of mankind has never adopted the rigid decrees of the former, nor ever sincerely laughed with the latter." The writer here is not L.J. Davis but John Adams, describing in his *Autobiography* his visit to Versailles in 1778. His words epitomize the Onassis story. Perhaps this is so because the very language we use to describe someone's great success—replete with unconscious metaphors such as "empire," "dynastic," "spectacle"—seems to have absorbed the salient concepts of absolutism. The incongruous existence of such metaphors in an environment of economic and political freedom may be partially the cause and partially the effect of the tycoon mentality exhibited so perfectly by Aristotle Onassis. In his successes as well as his failures, Onassis invariably reminds the reader of the subject of another Davis book, *Louis XIV, the Sun King,* whose Versailles, some sixty years after his death, made such an impression on John Adams. In the West, the ghost of Onassis promises every businessman: "you can be king." That may

be so, Davis replies judiciously. But is it good business?

Scholars agree that at the beginning of Louis XIV's reign his court was small and mobile, in the tradition of his Capetian ancestors who had moved about for centuries looking after their lands. So, too, it was with the Sun King of L.J. Davis' story. "As a Greek, I belong to the West," he once told *Fortune.*

> As a shipowner, I belong to capitalism. Business objectives dictate the details of my operations. My favorite country is the one that grants maximum immunity from taxes, trade restrictions, and unreasonable regulation. It is under that country's flag that I prefer to concentrate my profitable activities. I call this business sense.

Indeed, early in his career Onassis put his venture capital where his libertarian mouth was. On his yacht, *Christina,* "a three-hundred-and-twenty-five-foot hull of dazzling indifference to the outside world," he always found time for his grand illusions. He had the stools of its bar "upholstered with the scrotums of whales" and the fireplace in the smoking room "inlaid with lapis lazuli."It was personal and corporate mobility, not a public-relations image, that he pursued aboard the yacht he named for his daughter. As he moved between his private island Skorpias and his residences in New York, Paris, and Monte Carlo, he kept track of a tanker fleet "larger than most navies" which flew Panamanian and Liberian flags at his convenience. Onassis—the Greek from Smyrna, the Argentinian citizen who made his first money selling neckties in Buenos Aires, the shipowner who learned the business in London and bought his first ships in Canada—seemed a Ulysses, not a Croesus, a character from an Ayn Rand novel, not a figure in a court portrait by Hyacinthe Rigaud. Unfortunately, the imperial myth he gradually created while pursuing his entrepreneurial objectives was too tantalizing for him not to believe in it.



CAROL DUPRÉ

The French historian Philippe Erlanger has noted, "The error made by the Sun King was in breaking with the nomadic tradition of his ancestors . . . . Gradually he ceased to know his people, and in the long run he became a stranger to them." The Davis' description of Onassis' corporate Versailles (as distinct from the private one he had by this time established on the Ionian island of Skorpios, complete with "lavish, almost sensual plantings brought in from all over the world" and even a pavillion some "likened to the Petit Trianon") is strangely consonant:

> [I]t was for his company, now named Olympic Maritime, to pass beyond the heroic entrepreneurial days of its founding, when the writ of its owner was law and all decisions emanated from his desk. A new corporate structure was called for, with authority delegated and clear lines of communication established.

Instead, "the main characteristics of the organization," Davis quotes a longtime associate of Onassis as saying, "were spying, intrigue, and accusation." As for the boss, observes Davis, once "he displayed elaborate drawings at each of his launchings, depicting the new vessel's specifications"; now he operated "without accurate information, sometimes with no information whatever, and occasionally with information that was patently false." The king, wrote Erlanger,

> had become appallingly quick to take offense, and could not stand the slightest hint of contradiction or criticism . . . . Like an ark that kept the past above water, Versailles resisted the rising tide of demands and ideas.

What went wrong? What was the nemesis that according to Greek wisdom, followed hubris?

If Louis XIV were an entrepreneur building Versailles in a twentieth-century democracy, he would doubtless proclaim that he was engaged in the pursuit of "economy of scale." That was precisely the rationale Onassis used to build up his fleet until it resembled a navy. The tankers were his principal assets—the self-made monarch's splendid dominion in the world of commerce. After Onassis' death in 1974, his financial affairs in an impenetrable tangle, the journalist Lewis Beman remarked in *Fortune* ("The Reality behind the Onassis Myth," *Fortune,* October 1975): "Onassis always operated in a grand—if not grandiose—manner."

In 1967 the closing of the Suez Canal swelled the demand for crude carrier capacity because oil from the Persian Gulf had to be hauled an additional 6,000 miles around the Cape of Good Hope. Onassis seized the opportunity to expand his fleet dramatically, placing orders for ten 215,000-ton VLCCs (Very Large Crude Carriers), a type of ship he had never before operated. Likewise, after the worldwide economic boom in early 1973, one of the best years ever for Onassis and the oil industry, he contracted to enlarge the fleet again, this time by one-third, at an estimated cost of $360 million. Two of the new ships were to be ULCCs (Ultra Large Crude Carriers), weighing 426,000 tons each and costing $80 million apiece. Onassis, commented Lewis Beman,

In the West, the ghost of Onassis promises every businessman: "you can be king."

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> was stuck with a fleet that represented a huge amount of what was literally deadweight tonnage, and he had to face the fact that these ships might never pay their way. . . .

Then in late 1973 came the Arab embargo. The increase in oil

prices and the subsequent fall in demand suddenly threw the tanker market into the worst depression in its history. The cancellation of the ULCCs alone would cost Onassis $12 million. Assessing the situation, Beman made a prediction about the fleet he called "a herd of white elephants": "The only way to avoid ... a cash drain," Berman wrote, "is to scrap the ships, which is probably what will happen to most of them." And so it did. The Onassis empire ended up, quite literally, in the scrap heap.

Onassis did not live to see the ultimate unraveling of his empire. But he had witnessed other fiascoes, all brought on by his will to power—or, more accurately, will to *glorie*. In business, his troubles began in 1953 when he "bought" Monaco—along with a titular monarch, His Serene Highness Rainier III, his 2,000 subjects, and the legendary casino—by taking over the Société des Bains de Mer (SBM), whose shares were traded on the Paris Bourse. To Onassis, writes Davis, Monte Carlo was "a usable past." Whether or not its legends were Onassis' motive for the acquisition, his error lay in leading himself to believe that his power over "his" principality was as absolute as a crowned king's, and when, in 1967, Rainier regained control by watering SBM stock, the $10 million settlement satisfied neither his vanity nor his business sense. He protested that he had been "gypped."

He was "gypped" by the Greek government in roughly the same way in 1974, when he lost control of Olympic Airways. The ruling junta fell that year and the new government of Constantine Karamanlis refused to honor the deals Onassis had made with the deposed colonels. Because Karamanlis was the very politician who arranged for Onassis to take over Olympic as a government concession in 1956, it is easy to see why the buy out, at $50.6 million, exclusive of the aircraft —again a meager reward for nearly twenty years of careful investment and profitable management—seemed more like an expropriation. "Onassis was not a modern businessman," a friend who had been an Olympic executive remarked. "He was a hero of our times without accepting the truth or principles of modern business. It was why he lost Olympic, and with it his courage."

It is Onassis' first business defeat that best shows him to us as a "hero of our time." In 1953, with the Republicans newly installed in the White House, Onassis became entangled in financial dealings with several prominent Democrats; the need to settle some old scores, combined with the administration's interest in the "Red trade" of Onassis' father-in-law, led to arbitrary enforcement of a shipping regulation and Onassis' indictment by a federal grand jury. Onassis could not have expected such a turn of events, because his lawyer, who had ap-

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Christina Onassis

proved the transaction for which he was being prosecuted, was now the U.S. attorney general. "Like many people before and after," notes Davis, "he expected the government of the United States to honor its deals, obey its own laws, and play fair."

Eventually the U.S. government relented and Onassis was off the hook, but the affair exposed his secret negotiations with Saudi Arabia. As he was later to do with the SBM and Olympic, Onassis was trying to avail himself of a monopoly, a commercial kingdom he could rule absolutely. The arrangement, known as the Jiddah Agreement, would allow Onassis to monopolize the transportation of Saudi oil in exchange for developing that nation's maritime activities. ARAMCO, the consortium of U.S. oil companies doing business in Saudi Arabia, responded to this interesting idea with a boycott of the Onassis fleet. "His failed monopoly," writes Davis, "had become the very occasion for his undoing." The boycott continued until 1956 and in Davis' view Onassis, by then only fifty years old, was a broken man, "a genius no more ... content to tend his cash flow and obediently follow the market." The nemesis that caught hubris was stasis.

The royal dream, however, continued to grow, finding its most spectacular expression in the domain most people know as "private life." Needless to say, Onassis would have thought the qualifying adjective meaningless. His first wife, the younger daughter of Stavros Livanos, a prominent member of the Greek maritime aristocracy (Onassis' archrival in business, Stavros Niarchos, would marry Livanos' other daughter), may have suited the king in his seafaring days; as a plutocrat, "a sort of Croesus surrounded by a court of notables," he cast about with an even more establishmentarian eye. Jacqueline Kennedy, now Onassis, would spend $1.25 million on clothes during their first year of marriage. It was a case, remarked a friend, "of the greatest social climber of all time meeting the greediest woman of all time." In general, no Kennedy-hater's library is complete without the Davis book.

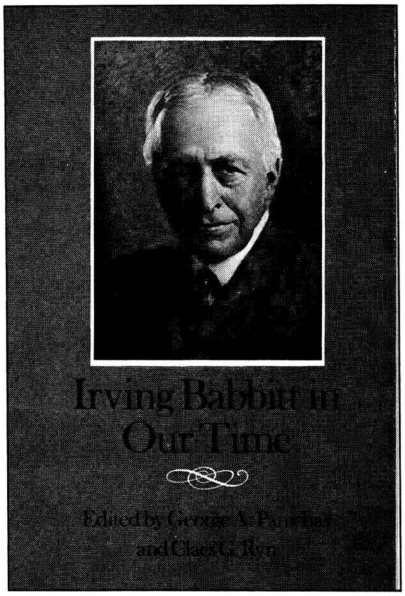
Onassis did not live to see the ultimate unraveling of his empire.

Equally unhappy and impersonal was Onassis' relationship with his children. His son, the dauphin, misunderstood and bullied by his father for most of his life, died in a tragic accident, leaving only Christina who, in Onassis' patriarchal eyes, was incapable of ruling his empire. Christina's story makes up the least convincing part of Davis' book as he attempts to argue in defense of her business ability. The fascinating element of Christina's story is her catastrophic innocence, bringing to mind every anecdote about the suicidal naiveté of the French aristocracy. Suffice it to say that in her own mind this daughter of the palace saw her first marriage—to an American millionaire businessman—as roughly equivalent to her childhood plan to run away from home and work at the docks in Piraeus. Another brief marriage, shortly after her father's death, had at its heart an equally romantic notion: the groom was one Sergei Kauzov, a Paris representative of Sovfracht and undoubtedly a KGB officer. She could at last experience the docks of Piraeus, at least metaphorically, as she looked out on Red Square from the windows of her Intourist Hotel suite or visited her fiancé's "small flat, with its paintings and antique mahogany furniture." The Soviets, meanwhile, were studying Western petroleum movements and eyeing Skorpios as a potential base in the Mediterranean. In short, Davis' attempt to vindicate Christina Onassis as a businesswoman is crushed by the evidence of her abnormal inability to see herself objectively and to distinguish between reality and illusion. Ironically, in view of her father's reluctance to allow her to rule his empire, this was an abnormality she had inherited. The princess who longed to be a pauper was a true daughter to the tycoon who would be king. As for Onassis, no matter what became of his empire and why, Davis's verdict faintly echoes Saint-Simon's final tribute to Louis XIV: "This is what is meant by living and reigning."■

Babbitt Rising

BY W. WESLEY MCDONALD

The present-day effort to renew and augment Irving Babbitt's ethical thought may well lay the foundation for a reinvigorated intellectual conservatism.



IRVING BABBITT IN OUR TIME
Edited by George A. Panichas and Claes G. Ryn
Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1986.
Cloth, 256 pp.

WILL, IMAGINATION AND REASON:
Irving Babbitt and the Problem of Reality
Claes G. Ryn
Chicago: Regnery Books, 1986.
Cloth, 222 pp.

W. Wesley McDonald is associate professor of political science at Elizabethtown College in Pennsylvania. His forthcoming book is The Conservative Mind of Russell Kirk *(National Humanities Institute Press).*

Is conservatism destined to be the dominant force in American politics for the foreseeable future? At the height of their power and influence, a few leading conservative intellectuals paradoxically are openly expressing doubts about the direction of conservative political thought, characterizing it as "adrift" and "in trouble." If the economy were suddenly to turn for the worse, some fear liberal ideas will once more become fashionable. Others feel that the very success of conservatism will be its own eventual undoing. In the pursuit of power and influence, fundamental principles will be compromised and the conservative identity lost.

Are such self-doubts premature? Is the present ascendancy of political conservatism merely an ephemeral political phenomenon, a momentary blip on the political screen brought about wholly by the unique charms of an unusually popular president, only to vanish the moment he exits from the political center stage?

As we approach the last half of the last term of the Reagan administration, conservatives and certainly Reagan office holders are mulling over these issues as they strive to anticipate what the future holds for them. Perhaps the unease felt within the conservative intellectual ranks reflects a realization that a cultural revolution must precede a revolution in political values. If indeed Americans are to be permanently inoculated against the shibboleths of the liberal Left, then merely increasing the doses of money poured into the coffers of public policy institutes, libertarian "freedom schools," or the campaigns of right-wing political candidates will not suffice. Unless conservatives are able to displace liberal collectivist values with sound ethico-aesthetical doctrines, then their political achievements may well be erected on sand, doomed to vanish with the shifting winds of politics.

Irving Babbitt (1865–1933), social critic and sage, would have understood well the futility of seeking a purely political solution to problems that are at base moral. He knew that true reform can-

not be the mere product of the outer manipulation of the environment in the absence of the concurrent inner reform of the soul. Nowadays, many conservative intellectuals are turning to Babbitt whose work, although now more than fifty years old, seems to speak more than ever to contemporary problems and challenges. Troubled by the apparent moral relativism of the libertarians and equally relativistic doctrines of the Fafnir ("Let me rest, I lie in possession.") standpat conservatives, and seeking to distinguish themselves from the so-called neoconservatives, who are singularly obsessed with the excesses of the left-wing of the Democratic Party, some conservative intellectuals are seeking to build a body of modern conservative thought upon a moral epistemology that until now has received scant attention even in conservative circles. These two books constitute a rather considerable movement in that direction.

Born in Dayton, Ohio, Babbitt was reared in New York and New Jersey. As a young man, he worked as a cowboy in Wyoming for a short period before attending Harvard where he received his degrees and for most of his life would teach Romance languages. He and Paul Elmer More (1864–1937), a thinker of nearly equal stature and influence, at the beginning of the century formulated jointly a body of moral and aesthetic ideas, the so-called New Humanism, critical of the inroads that pragmatism and other naturalistic doctrines were then gaining in American life and letters. Among Babbitt's most influential and enduring books are *Literature in the American College* (1908), in which he defended classical standards in education against the onslaughts of scientific naturalism and sentimental humanitarianism, *Rousseau and Romanticism* (1919), in which he attacked the moral basis of romanticism, and *Democracy and Leadership* (1924), in which he applied most directly his cultural and ethical principles to the questions of politics.

As an opponent of the sentimental humanitarianism then dominating intellectual circles, Babbitt's ideas were held in considerable disfavor during the 1920s and 1930s. He was subjected to such vituperative and intemperate abuse that a calm, sober consideration of his ideas has only recently become possible. Ryn even suggests that many admirers came to feel that it was "dangerous even to mention his name." This conspiracy of silence was so powerful that major figures such as T.S. Eliot, Walter Lippmann, Gordon Keith Chalmers, and Peter Viereck rarely acknowledged their obvious indebtedness to Babbitt. The beginning of the end of the period when Babbitt appeared to have been nearly successfully purged from respectable intellectual consideration occurred in 1953 with the publication of Russell Kirk's *The Conservative Mind*, one of the seminal works that helped to shape the substance of resurgent post-war intellectual conservatism. "It was through Babbitt that I came to know Edmund Burke," acknowledges Kirk in this contribution to the *Irving Babbitt in Our Times* volume, "and Babbitt, as much as Burke, animates my book *The Conservative Mind.*" The appearance of the two volumes reviewed here, along with the recent publication of Thomas Nevin's *Irving Babbitt: An Intellectual Study* (University of North Carolina Press, 1983) and J. David Hoeveler's *The New Humanism: A Critique of Modern America, 1900–1940* (University of Virginia Press, 1977) provides further convincing evidence of what Ryn describes as a "renewed and growing interest in Babbitt."

Cultural revolution must precede a revolution in political values.

Irving Babbitt in Our Time is a collection of nine essays in which various themes in Babbitt's social and ethical thought from a variety of perspectives are examined. Most of the contributions to this volume are revisions of papers originally read at an interdisciplinary conference, "Irving Babbitt: Fifty Years Later," held at The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., November 18–19, 1983, and jointly sponsored by the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, the Marguerite Eyer Wilbur Foundation, and CUA's Department of Politics. Several of the essays, though, were especially written for this collection, and one, by the late Dr. Folke Leander (1910-1981), the

Swedish philosopher and longtime student of Babbitt's and More's moral thought, was reprinted from an essay previously published in Sweden in 1954. Among the most notable contributors to this volume are Russell Kirk, George A. Panichas, professor of English at the University of Maryland and editor of *Modern Age*, Peter J. Stanlis, professor of humanities at Rockford College and author of *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law*, and J. David Hoeveler, Jr.

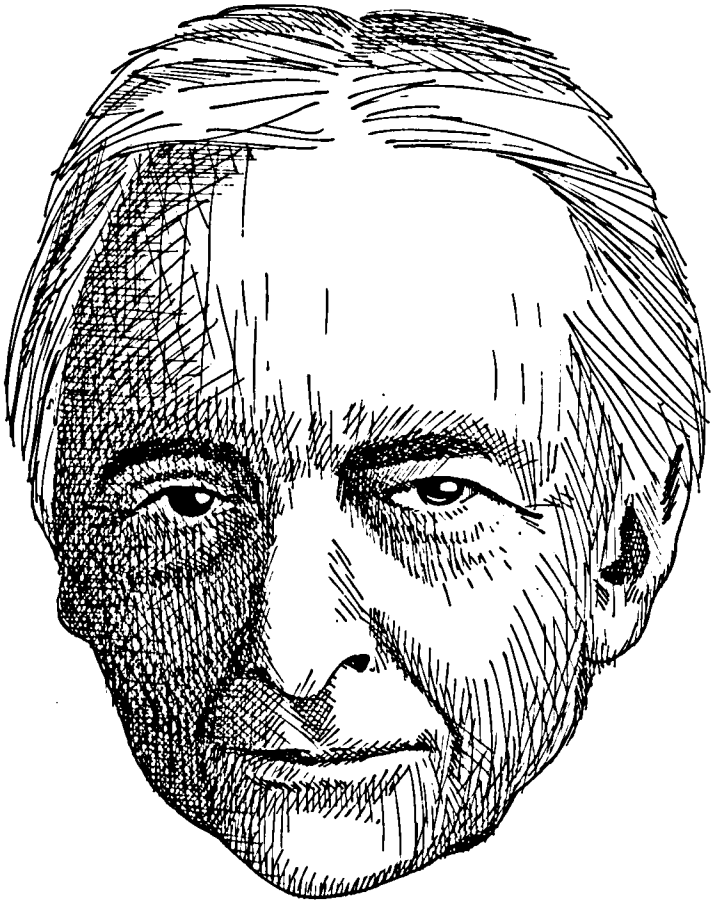
Will, Imagination and Reason is a critical assessment of Babbitt's moral principles and an effort to apply his position to contemporary issues in ethics. Claes Ryn is a professor of politics at The Catholic University of America and a former student of Leander. Much of the critical analysis that runs through this study parallels arguments first introduced in Leander's many articles and monographs on Babbitt and More. More than merely explicating Babbitt's ideas, Ryn seeks to supplement and criticize Babbitt's work by rectifying what he perceives to be its weakest part—an inadequate consideration of a philosophic logic to support his ethical insights. The idea of the book, Ryn recalls in his prefatory note, was first conceived over a decade ago, when Leander and he had concluded that a thorough examination of the "relationship between Babbitt's ethical and aesthetical ideas and the implications of that relationship for how we understand reality and the knowledge of reality" was needed. The central thesis of the book, explains Ryn in his introduction, "is that knowledge of reality rests upon a certain orientation of will and upon the corresponding quality of imagination (intuition) that will begets." Although the book was originally conceived as a cooperative project, after Leander's death, it went through such substantial revisions and enlargements that Ryn now assumes full credit for its final form.

A highly original and provocative analysis of some of the most troublesome issues facing modern philosophy, this work will likely establish Ryn as not only one of the premier scholars of Babbitt but an important philosophical mind in his own right. But despite the unquestioned significance of this work as a contribution to contemporary ethical philosophy and Babbitt scholarship, I am forced to conclude that it will likely have only a limited readership. While Ryn's scholarship is an intellectual *tour de force* of the first order, he has also written a book that is immensely difficult to read. He makes a few concessions to readers not as deeply versed as he in the works of such diverse thinkers as Kant, Coleridge, Schiller, Hegel, Emerson, and F.H. Bradley. Because of the detailed and exhaustive complexity of his analysis, I find it difficult to imagine that the book will have much direct influence outside the circles of professional philosophers directly involved with issues of moral epistemology. These comments are not intended to diminish the importance of Ryn's impressive labors here, but only to give fair warning to the layman.

Babbitt's work, although now more than fifty years old, seems to speak more than ever to contemporary problems and challenges.

In his life's work, Babbitt assailed naturalism in all its various modern manifestations. Naturalism is any body of ideas that rejects the reality of an ethical ultimate and strives to describe the behavior of man wholly in terms of the physical laws of nature. Pragmatism, Marxism, or Social-Darwinism are all doctrines that would fall within this category. Babbitt felt that all the varieties of naturalistic thought could be placed into two groups: the Rousseauistic romanticist, who places his main emphasis upon the sentimental temperament of man, and the positivists and utilitarians, the origin of whose ideas Babbitt traced back to the positivistic doctrines of the Renaissance thinker, Francis Bacon (1561–1626). The scientific naturalism of Bacon and the sentimental humanitarianism of Rousseau "represent between them," Babbitt maintained, "the main tendencies that are present disintegrating the traditional disciplines, whether humanistic or religious."

The "greatest happiness principle" of the utilitarians involved the



DAVID CANTRELL

belief that actions are right insofar as they promote the happiness of the individuals while concurrently diminishing their pain. The ultimate standard for the good of society then is the happiness of the people, quantitatively calculated. A wholly hedonistic system of ideas, the ultimate sanction for morality becomes no more than the subjective feeling in our own minds. Since no external standard of conduct exists by which moral controversies could be resolved beyond the immediate impulses of individuals, Babbitt feared that society, insofar as such doctrines gain sway, would sink into hopeless moral and social anarchy.

Rousseauistic sentimental humanitarianism presents a threat of a different sort. Babbitt considered this school of thought to be the greater challenge to present social and moral standards and subsequently devoted most of his work to examining its pernicious influence on the modern mind. According to this vision, the source of man's woe results from the fact that there once existed a natural man in a pre-political state of nature into whom artificial society by way of its inhibiting restrictions ("man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains") has introduced an artificial man. Artificial man is unhappy man, burdened with guilt and frustrations associated with society's moral strictures. He can only escape from the pain that artificial society has inflicted on him by letting himself go to flow with his natural, momentary impulses.

With the triumph of this naturalistic doctrine, a transformation in the first principles of moral thought has occurred. The battle between good and evil that exists in the breast of every individual has shifted to society. If man fails to live up to his potential for natural goodness, to be the "beautiful soul" of the Rousseauistic vision, then it follows that society has "perverted" him. The responsibility for evil action then rests not with the individual, as classical and Judeo-Christian doctrines affirm, but with society. The possibilities for moral reform come not, then, through the difficult, arduous, and the often painful task of individual self-reformation, but only from a transformation of society as a whole. Sentimental humanitarians prefer the task of reforming others, the uplifting of mankind in a lump, to the Christian obligation of self-reform. Eager to point out moral defects in others and society, they are themselves strikingly lacking, Babbitt charged, in moral self-awareness. "Inasmuch as there is no conflict between good

and evil in the breast of the beautiful soul, he is free to devote all his efforts to the improvement of mankind, and he proposes to achieve this great end by diffusing the spirit of brotherhood. All the traditional forms that stand in the way of this free emotional expansion he denounces as mere 'prejudices,' and inclines to look on those who administer these forms as a gang of conspirators who are imposing an arbitrary and artificial restraint on the natural goodness of man and so keeping it from manifesting itself." Innumerable examples of precisely this sort of mentality in modern life and letters come readily to mind.

Babbitt warned of the destructive consequences of such moral confusion upon social order. "Ugly things" happen, he cautioned, when an individual inspired by the "beautiful soul" vision of Rousseau's idyllic imagination flatters himself with the notion that his passions have been illegitimately restrained by custom, habit, religious sanctions and social authority. "To make society the 'universal scapegoat' while professing an uncritical faith in man's natural goodness" is, according to Babbitt, "a constant encouragement to evade moral responsibility." He called this desire to be released from all society's restrictions and responsibilities "eleutheromania." "Everyone is becoming tinged with eleutheromania," he felt, "taken up with his rights rather than with duties, more and more unwilling to accept limitations."

The moral position of these naturalists stands at direct antipodes with that of the classical and Judeo-Christian ethical tradition upon which the order of Western civilization has depended. Babbitt understood, though, that the defense of endangered ancient truths must be reformulated to meet these modern challenges. He recognized that the long-standing norms of society could not be successfully defended by mere appeals to traditional or divine authority. Modern man, influenced by Cartesian and Lockean epistemology, will not accept moral principles unless they have been submitted to the test of experience. Babbitt was willing to accept this challenge.

Major figures such as T.S. Eliot, Walter Lippmann, Gordon Keith Chalmers, and Peter Viereck rarely acknowledged their obvious indebtedness to Babbitt.

But modern philosophy, informed by naturalistic assumptions, has failed miserably to take into account the totality of man's experience. Confusing "the Law for Man and Law for Thing," the naturalists treat man not as having a law of his own, but "as entirely subject to the same methods that have won for science such triumphs over phenomenal nature." What is characteristic of man, placing him above the animals as more than a mere object propelled by the forces of nature, is his capacity to control his immediate impulses—his will to refrain. Naturalistic doctrines such as Marxism, pragmatism, behavioralism, Freudianism, and Social-Darwinism, neglect the reality of this inner life that Babbitt described as the "recognition in some form or other of a force in man that moves in an opposite direction from the outer impressions and expansive desires that together make up his ordinary or temperamental self." By concentrating on the external forces to the exclusion of the inner life of man, the naturalists are "incomplete positivists," not fully aware of the full range of human experience and, hence, posit a distorted conception of human nature. The "incomplete positivists" ignore one of the basic facts of man's self-awareness—his intuitive perception, as an immediate datum of his consciousness, of the conflicting promptings of two orientations within his soul. Human existence can be described as a dualistic tension between the universal good, or the ethical ultimate, and all that thwarts its purpose in the world. Babbitt affirmed that man possesses both a higher and lower self. Our higher self refers to that aspect of our being that pulls us in the direction of our true humanity, or ultimate spiritual purpose, while the lower is distinguished by our selfish, temperamental, arbitrary desires. Man is pulled between these two simultaneously existing potentialities.

The ethical life, understood in these terms, requires not the surrender to the impulse of the moment, in a Rousseauistic manner, but rather the exercise of a disciplining will. In relation to man's merely selfish inclinations, it is experienced as the inner check. In relation to impulses that are in conformity with the higher good, such as would be found in an individual of virtuous character, the higher will becomes a directive sense of moral reassurance. If a virtuous person desires that which is not in accord with his ultimate spiritual purposes, then the will to refrain will block him from satisfying that desire. By exercising this will, he thwarts disturbing and destructive impulses bringing himself into conformity with his ultimate spiritual purposes.

Part of the higher self, Babbitt affirms, is the moral imagination by which man is able to apprehend intuitively that which is the source of his enduring good and happiness. A uniquely human faculty, not shared with the lower forms, it represents man's power to perceive intuitively ethical truth—to grasp the abiding One (the universal) out of the continuous flow of flux (the particular). The synthesizing power of ethical perception allows man to work up the myriad fragments of human experience into intuitive wholes, or moral universals, which embody the truths of human nature and inform him of his potentialities and limitations. By perceiving what he holds in common with others through imaginatively seeing things from the perspective of those unlike himself, man becomes aware of himself as a member of a community. What bonds civilized people together into a genuine community is this common ethical intuition of what life ought to be like. Babbitt, however, is not at all confident in the power of private rationality to provide the abiding standards by which men live together harmoniously in true community. For him, it is the non-conceptual and non-definitional power of the moral imagination, not the faculty of reason, which is the source of ultimate norms.

***Will, Imagination and Reason* is a critical assessment of Babbitt's moral principles and an effort to apply his position to contemporary issues in ethics.**

Although Edmund Burke (1729–1787), the father of conservatism, first coined the phrase, the "moral imagination," and intuitively grasped its importance as a means of ethical insight, Babbitt and More raised this intuition to the level of a philosophical concept to be adopted more to the twentieth-century discussion. Babbitt conceptualized the imagination as a check of man's lower impulses. Against the utilitarian imagination, which is incapable of rising above the mundane, and the idyllic imagination of the Rousseauist, which evades the moral conflict in man and leaves the appetites unchecked, Babbitt proposed the imagination disciplined by the veto power of the inner check. Central to this position is belief that the perception of ethical norms in an imaginative vision is an indispensable guide to civilized existence. Man must "do an inner obeisance to something higher than his ordinary self, whether he calls this something God, or, like the man of the Far East, calls it his higher self, or simply the Law. Without this inner principle of restraint, man would oscillate violently between opposite extremes . . . —from anarchical individualism to utopian collectivism."

Advocates of various legalistic and intellectualistic views of morality assume that the moral ultimate is a precept of reason to be applied to particular cases from an outside position. But moral law cannot be applied in advance of experience. Man's limited knowledge is incapable of grasping all the infinite possibilities that will emerge. Therefore, the act of making a moral decision is an art of applying creatively the universal good to ever-changing situations. In Babbitt's moral epistemology, the primary emphasis is placed upon the quality of the will rather than reason. Insofar as an individual is inspired by his higher will, he will prefer ethical action. Volumes of moral teaching will have little effect upon an individual corrupted by hedonistic, selfish impulses.

Socrates was wrong; virtue is not knowledge. As we know from experience, to know the right thing is not always to do the right thing. As an ethical dualist, then, Babbitt stresses that if we seek the good we must act in a particular spirit—to put our expansive, lower selves under the disciplining influence of the inner check. The continuous striving to discipline the impulses to accord with the dictates of the moral universal brings forth eventually a transformation of character. The morally disciplined individual prefers virtuous activity, having experienced the peace and happiness it brings. Here, the virtuous quality of particular acts is tested by the direct experience of life, not simply on the basis of intellectual deliberation.

Are acts of courage, charity, or honesty to be preferred to cowardice, greed, and mendacity? Such a question cannot possibly be answered in the absence of experience acquired either directly or indirectly, by observing in some manner acts that typify these various qualities of will. Reasoning about alternative moral choices in an experiential vacuum would be a fruitless endeavor indeed.

In an intuitive way, the moral imagination brings to bear upon a particular moral problem all the accumulated wisdom and experience of civilization from which are derived our standards and norms of action. By bringing to bear on a particular situation the "wisdom of the ages" that the individual has worked up into intuitive ethical wholes, he is able to check his immediate impulses, his expansive self, with reference to his essential destiny as perceived by their inspiration. While the good is eternal and universal, it is not in the form of singular precept or definition, nor can it be pre-defined since it is always emerging. Each new situation presents a unique set of circumstances. The individual, hence, must be open to what it would entail in particular circumstances. Nothing in Babbitt's moral philosophy would suggest that man's moral choices are in any fashion pre-determined. Implicit in his position is a strong endorsement of free will. Man not only has the power to freely choose alternative courses of action, but he also must bear the moral responsibility for them.

In his life's work, Babbitt assailed naturalism in all its various modern manifestations.

This strong emphasis that Babbitt placed on the role of sheer intuition, metarational or sub-rational, in preference to the role of reason, which he considered to be secondary and instrumental, for insights into the human condition, strongly suggests that Babbitt had unduly deprecated the role of reason. Reasoning that excludes the facts of moral experience, he justly condemned as having distorted the full range of human experience. But Ryn accuses Babbitt of failing to adequately consider a philosophic logic by which he could have defended the insights of his intuitions. He argues that Babbitt was not fully aware of the existence of a type of reason, which he unwittingly used when developing concepts such as the inner check and ethical dualism, that exists as an alternative to the narrow rationalism he rejected.

To examine this possibility requires that Babbitt's understanding of the role of reason be explained. According to Aristotle's law on non-contradiction, A=A, and not non-A, a belief that is shared by many formalistic logicians. A concept, therefore, cannot be both simultaneously itself and not itself. But "human thought," observes Ryn, "does not conform to the formula 'A=A, and not non-A,' which assumes a static, tensionless conceptual self-identity." Our experience violates this principle. We experience ourselves, for example, as both the same and not the same person we were ten years ago. The country is both the same and not the same as it was a decade ago. Numerous changes have occurred, but the basic essence has remained. We instead, to use Babbitt's words, experience life as "a oneness that is always changing." Formal logic, though, according to Babbitt, appears to be incapable of grasping this tension between the One and the Many. He called this inability of reason to explain the duality of experience

"the scandal of reason."

But Ryn replies that Babbitt would have had no reason to flee from reason, opening himself up to the charge that he is a mere intuitionist, if he had troubled himself to examine the dialectic logic of Benedetto Croce (1866–1952) that permits "conceptual accounts of life that are faithful to actual experience." Ryn augments Babbitt's insights on the governing power of the imagination and will with Croce's logic. In an innovative fashion, Ryn uses Croce's insights to support and supplement Babbitt. This creative synthesis of aspects of the two thinkers' thought amounts to an original contribution toward enhancing and enlarging the teaching of both.

Genuine philosophical reason, maintains Ryn, "works on the basis of intuition" enabling man to grasp the most important things in his experience, "the paradox of dualism"—the reality of unity existing within diversity. The bankruptcy of modern thought has resulted from a misapplication of the wrong sort of reason to the problems of moral epistemology. "When formalistic-pragmatic reason interferes with and attempts to replace genuinely philosophical self-knowledge," writes Ryn, "it tears elements out of context, reifies what is dynamic and living, and juggles the resulting abstractions." Words such as 'become', 'develop', and 'grow' lose any meaning once purely pragmatic understanding deals with reality as if it were composed of unchanging solids. The products of this sort of reason treat man as if he were a mere object propelled by external forces—an entity to be shaped by society.

Dialectical logic, by contrast, rejects all forms of reification and "accepts the mutual implication of unity and diversity." Its proponents recognize that abstract unities, for example, "capitalism," "government," "society," "liberty," considered outside of their actual historical circumstances, are fictitious. The structure of reality takes on a dynamic quality. Thought is a continuous activity. Ideas are not static, divorced from the flow of history, as an abstract, a historical reason suggests, but can be forever improved in the direction of greater clarity. No system of thought, therefore, can claim to have provided final answers to the fundamental questions of existence. As circumstances change, new insights will always be required.

Babbitt recognized that the long-standing norms of society could not be successfully defended by mere appeals to traditional or divine authority.

Ryn's complicated and sophisticated answer to the logic of naturalists and reifiers of all types, insofar as it can be understood and appreciated, has enormous implications for modern ethical thought. We are urged to avoid both the Scylla of moral intolerance of those who arrogantly assert final answers to all problems, and the Charybdis of moral nihilism of those who deny the reality of any truth beyond the subjective feelings in our minds. We are cautioned against the pitfalls of both moral fanaticism and cynicism. Ryn's moral philosophy breathes the spirit of humility and moderation.

In his history of conservative ideas, *The Conservative Mind,* Russell Kirk observes that conservatives "have a talent for reexpressing their convictions to fit the time." In an ideological age in which a post-Christian morality has largely supplanted the old truths upon which the social order of Western civilization has depended, a reaffirmation of man's transcendent moral purpose is needed in order to avoid social disintegration. Yet, appeals to mere intuition, tradition, or the sanctions of religion are not sufficient when custom is challenged. Ryn has addressed himself to such a crisis. He is doing battle with the naturalistic opponents of "the permanent things" on their own grounds, proving that their complacent views of the nature of man and reality are incomplete and faulty. The conservative argument has thereby been strengthened. I believe that this effort to renew and augment Babbitt's ethical thought may well lay the foundation for a reinvigorated intellectual conservatism.■

Making Sense of Stalin

BY ALEXANDER SHTROMAS

Neither irrational nor ideologically incoherent, Stalin climbed to power in Russia in order to ensure the survival of Bolshevism.

STALIN AND THE SHAPING OF THE SOVIET UNION
Alex de Jonge
New York: William Morrow & Co., 1986
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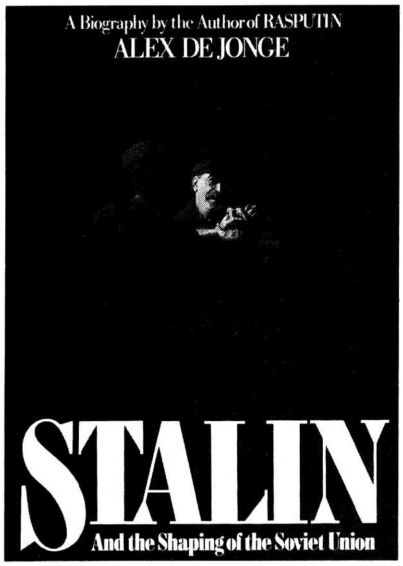

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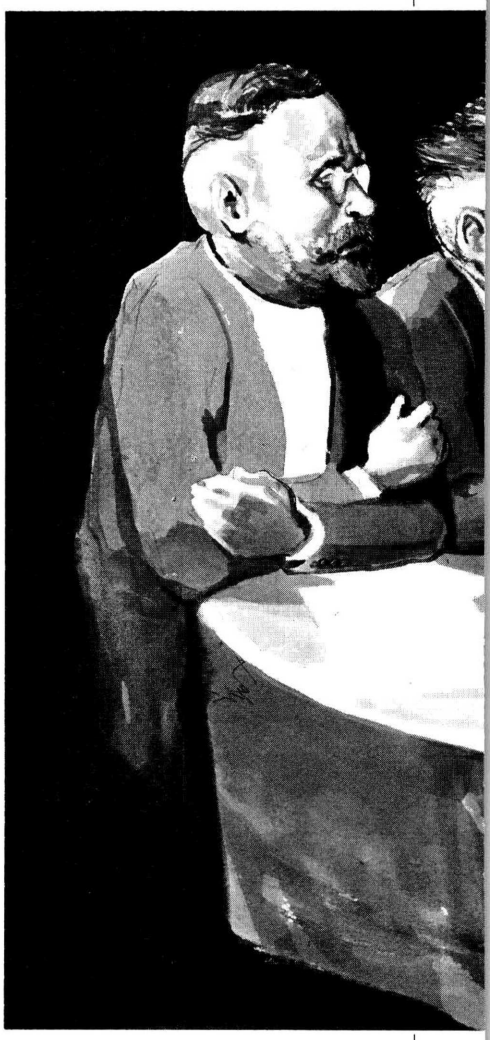
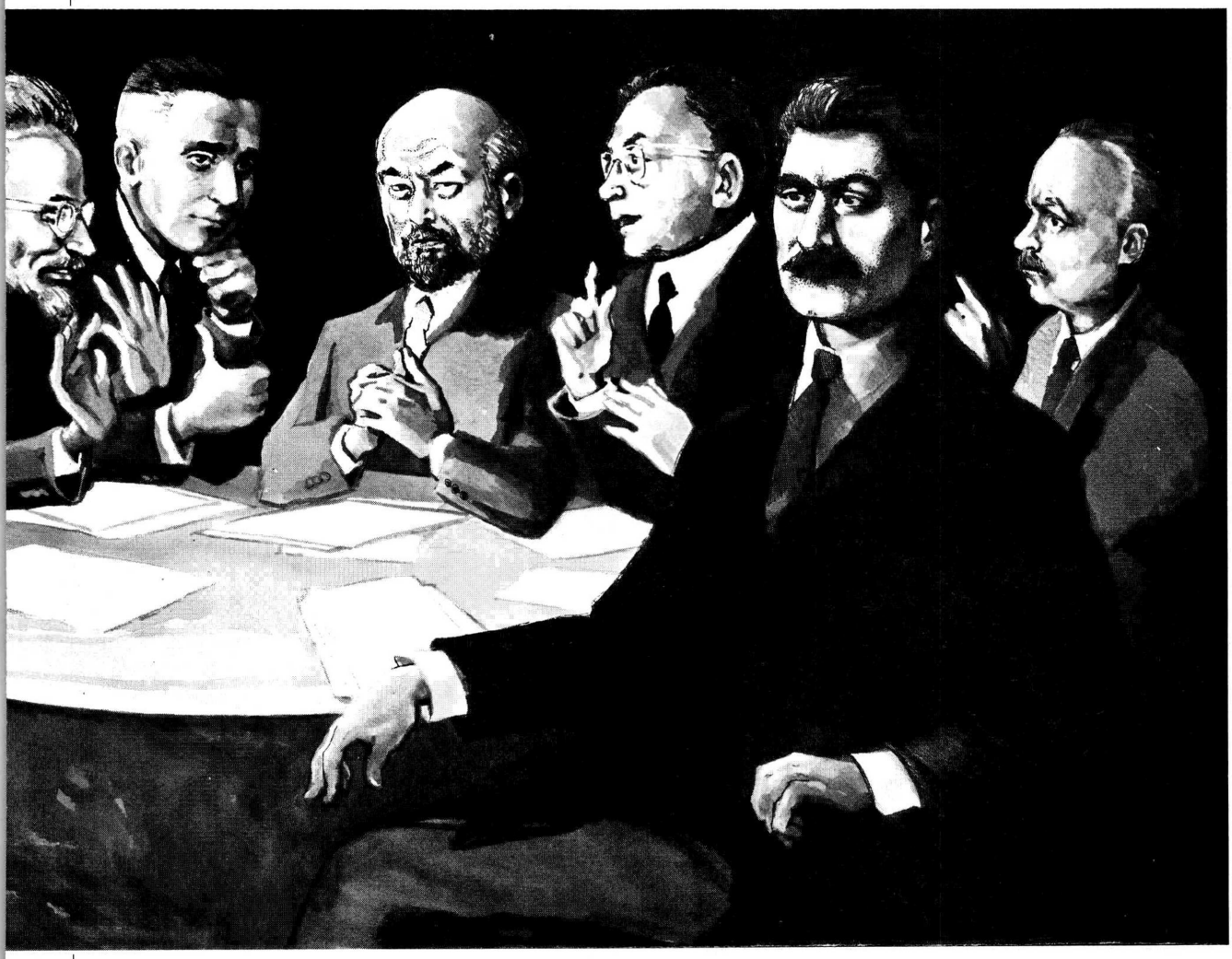
Many traps await anyone bold enough to undertake a study of Stalin. One is easily tempted to treat him as a paranoiac whose acts were both unnecessary and irrational from any politically or ideologically coherent point of view. One could accept uncritically the influential views on Stalin of his former associates, Trotsky, and Bukharin as the prominent historians Isaac Deutscher and E.H. Carr have done. Trotsky thought that Stalin was "the outstanding mediocrity in the Party,"[1] and Bukharin claimed that Stalin was "not interested in anything except power."[2] He achieved that power, Trotsky argued, through his domination "of an impersonal bureaucratic machine . . . which had 'created him,'"[3] and used him as a champion of a thus newly created privileged caste of bureaucrats.[4]

Alex de Jonge has happily avoided these temptations. His Stalin is a rational and careful Bolshevik politician, who knew exactly what he wanted and who pursued his goals with remarkable farsightedness and consistency. De Jonge demonstrates that Marxism gave the Bolsheviks "a monopoly upon the truth" which meant that for them "everything was permitted." They saw themselves as an "enlightened minority acting on behalf of the majority ignorant of its best interests . . . . It behooved them, in the interests of humani-



1. See: *My Life* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), p. 534; also *Stalin: An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence*, vol. 2, (London: Panther, 1969), p. 215.
2. Quoted in A.B. Ulam, *Stalin: The Man and His Era* (London: Allen Lane, 1974), p. 308.
3. In *Stalin*, vol. 1, p. 16.
4. In *Stalin*, vol. 2, pp. 205–207.



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ty, never to relinquish their grasp. There could never be any question of 'consensus politics' . . . . [T]here could and can be no question of permitting a diversity of political opinion or seeking a popular mandate . . . . The party could never expect popular support, and it recognized that given the chance, an unenlightened populace would tear its leaders limb from limb; hence the need for the tightest of controls."[5] All this was supposed to be a temporary malaise, lasting only until the Bolshevik Party, in accordance with its scientific Marxist vision, could eventually build the "radiant future" for all the people to enjoy and, with hindsight, also to appreciate the party's once unpopular efforts to bring it about. "In the meantime," therefore, "for the party to relax its powers would be to betray a trust."[6] Within this frame of reference, de Jonge rightly notes, "readiness to kill for the cause was a sign that one was a good Bolshevik, free from bourgeois morality and ready to sacrifice the means to the end."[7] And in this sense, as in others, Stalin was indeed a perfect Bolshevik, in no way different from Lenin and Trotsky, both of whom "from the outset held terror to be a crucial instrument of government."[8] De Jonge approvingly notes Angelica Balabanoff's description of Stalin's later crimes as "links in a chain that had already been forged by 1920."[9] To

5. pp. 127–128.

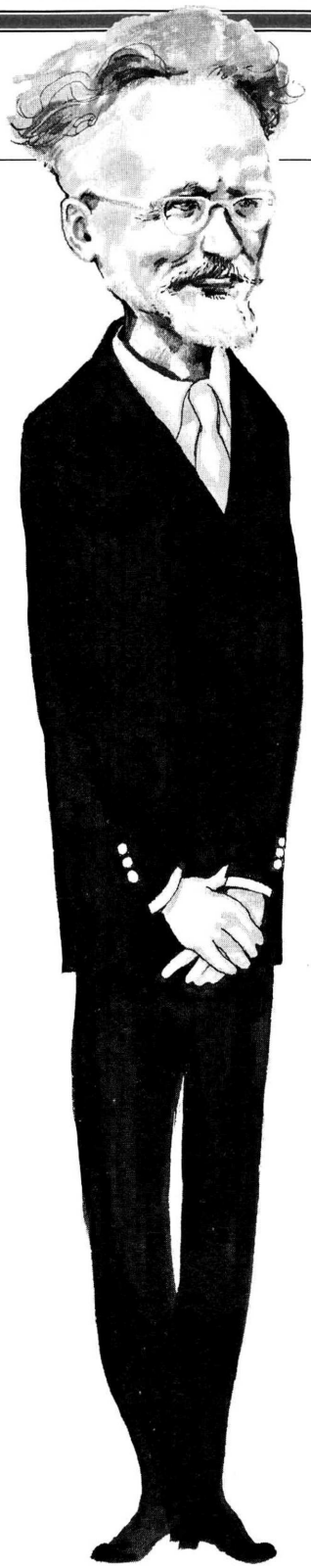
6. p. 128.

7. p. 129.
8. p. 130.
9. p. 132.

that one could only add that Stalin's determination to pursue the Bolshevik cause by whatever means in his power was much more unbending and vigorous than either Lenin's or Trotsky's. Unlike these typical members of the Russian intelligentsia, Stalin was not an intellectual, but a practical "simple man" who would not allow any "abstract" moral scruples or humanistic considerations to interfere with his business. Stalin, therefore, was much more of an ideal Bolshevik than Lenin could ever have aspired to be. Ronald Hingley writes that "it is Lenin, rather, who emerges as a somewhat ineffectual Stalin-in-embryo."[10]

This observation provides an immediate glimpse of the rationale of Stalin's annihilation of the Old Bolsheviks who were predominantly members of that *myagkotelaya* (flabby) intelligentsia. According to de Jonge, "in terms of personal strategy Stalin was right to mount an attack upon the older generation of party members. It was there that a potential opposition might yet be found, and their removal would create vacancies for the Stalin generation to fill."[11] Stalin indeed was right in mounting that attack against the Old Bolsheviks, but not only in terms of personal strategy. There was much more to it. The justified fear that always haunted the Bolsheviks, de Jong stresses, was "the fear of splitting the party and bringing it down, at which point no one's head would be safe."[12] Stalin realized better than anybody else that in this sea of popular hostility, nothing short of total subordination of the party's personnel to one sole leader, endowed with absolute authority, would be able to keep the party united, save Bolshevik rule, make it achieve its goals, and function properly. The Old Bolshevik intellectuals, quite good at subordination to one man's military-type command when launching risky attacks against entire sections of population entrenched in traditional social structures, would hardly agree to relinquish their role as policymakers and reduce themselves to the position of simple cogs in the party machine in the day-to-day running of the established socialist order that they felt was their collective creation. This is to say that after the collectivization of agriculture (and, with it, all the other active revolutionary tasks) was accomplished, the Old Bolshevik intellectuals had to go. There was simply no place for them in the ruling stratum of a routinely functioning socialist state—with the exception of those few on whose unswerving loyalty and submissiveness the sole ruler could entirely rely.

Simply to relieve these people from positions of power and authority was clearly not enough. Most of the Old Bolsheviks had established political names, hosts of supporters, friends and sympathizers both within and outside the party—assets that they could use in self-defense even more effectively when out of office than within the self-disciplining appar-



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Leon Trotsky

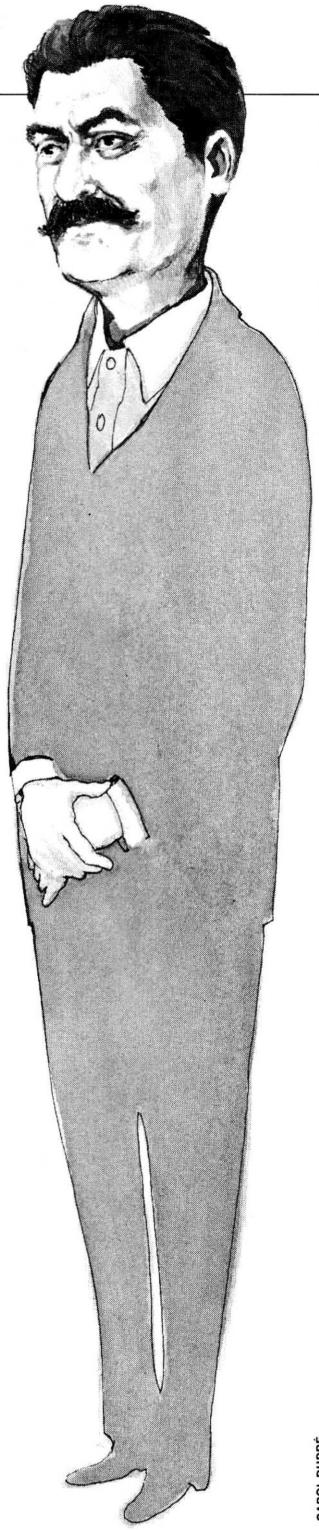
10. See his *Joseph Stalin: Man and Legend* (London: Hutchinson, 1974), p. 434.
11. p. 315.
12. p. 191.

atus of rule. Hence, they had to be eliminated from society altogether —to relieve them from their offices and leave them at large would create more problems than it would solve. It was the logic of the system, not the peculiar character of Stalin, that demanded the relegation of the Old Bolshevik intellectuals and their supporters to the gallows and labor camps. An entirely new flock of fully obedient administrators, handpicked by Stalin and owing their promotion "from rags to riches" solely to him, were readily available to replace them in the party and state establishment. This is what the Great Purges of 1935–1938 did indeed accomplish. "The system," as de Jonge rightly indicates, "created a form of natural selection, the survival of the most ruthless,"[13] and, one should add, of the most servile. In another place he concludes that "among Stalin's many achievements, by no means the least remarkable is his bringing on a generation of party men able enough still to be governing the Soviet Union nearly half a century later."[14]

When Stalin was so sternly and persistently promoting himself to the position of sole and supreme ruler of the USSR, his motives were not altogether selfish either. He knew only too well that no other member of the ruling Politburo was suitable for that role and that if any of them achieved supreme power, the whole Bolshevik enterprise would be fatally wrecked.

Indeed, under Trotsky, with his dogmatic reliance on the proletariat and his naive belief in inner-party democracy, the party would have degenerated into a semiparliamentary body not only lacking both the determination and will to implement his own radical policies, but inevitably becoming a vehicle for capitalist restoration; moreover, Trotsky's romantic commitment to world revolution would have forced the USSR into a major conflict with the leading capitalist powers before it was prepared to do so. This might have proven lethal to the Bolshevik cause. Bukharin, on the other hand, by tolerating private enterprise and making constant concessions to it, would most certainly have ensured the restoration of capitalism and the subsequent degeneration of the Soviet Party state into a bourgeois one. Unlike the theoretically "abstract-minded" Bukharin—who genuinely, though unrealistically, believed that in conditions of free competition, socialism, as a system generating higher productivity, would naturally beat capitalism—Stalin concluded that in the Russia of that time the only way in which capitalism could be beaten by socialism was through political coercion and terror of mass proportions. As for the other potential contenders—Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Pyatakov—they so obviously lacked the qualities necessary for leadership that they were not even worthy of being seriously considered. Hence, it was not so much Stalin's personal ambitions as it was the best interest of the Bolshevik cause that demanded that he assume total power. As a true Bolshevik, in order to prevent his competitors from ruining the socialist experiment in the USSR, he

13. p. 280.
14. p. 354.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Joseph Stalin

had to do so, whether he really wanted to or not.

The supposition of de Jonge that Stalin was naturally defiant of any authority[15] and was bound by his character to seek unlimited power contradicts his own evidence. In fact, de Jong had convincingly demonstrated that for many years Stalin unreservedly accepted the authority of Lenin and, in Lenin's absence, during the first few months after the February Revolution of 1917, the authority of Kamenev. He knew his place in the party hierarchy and had never broken these rules of subordination. It was only after a few years of close collaboration within the Soviet power establishment with the other Bolshevik leaders, none of whom he knew well before 1917, that he took their proper measure and gradually came to the conviction that none of these high-minded intellectuals, including Lenin himself, were sufficiently strong and realistic to provide the kind of leadership that could assure the victory of the Bolshevik cause. It was only then that he defied the authority of the party with his insubordination.

From de Jonge's detailed analysis of Stalin's conflict with Lenin over the Georgian question in 1922, we learn about the first instance of Stalin's drastically and openly challenging Lenin.[16] Stalin upheld his challenge until he was formally defeated by the majority of the party's Central Committee, who supported Lenin. Stalin's dismissive attitude toward Lenin was expressed in his spontaneous reaction to the late leader's *Testament,* in which Lenin refused to invest with sole authority any of the remaining members of the Politburo, including Stalin, and opted instead for a weak collective leadership that, in Stalin's view, threatened the very survival of the Soviet state: "Couldn't even die like a *real* leader," he was heard to mutter.[17]

From at least 1922 Stalin was firmly convinced that the cause of Bolshevism could be saved, and could triumph, only under his rule. It is difficult to deny that he was right. There was hardly another Bolshevik that could do the trick. Even Lenin could not. Ronald Hingley asks, "Was J.V. Stalin—were the 'phenomena' associated with his cult—really necessary?" He answers without hesitation: "Yes, if Leninism was to survive."[18]

Convincingly and in sufficient detail, de Jonge shows how skillfully Stalin eliminated all contenders for leadership and consolidated absolute power. With Zinoviev and Kamenev, he disposed of Trotsky. Then, by associating with Bukharin's moderate policies of gradually building "socialism in one country," he smashed Zinoviev and Kamenev, together with the whole "Left opposition" that at a later stage again included Trotsky. Having done that, "Stalin ele-

15. p. 30.
16. Once before, during the revolution of 1905, he took a stance different from that of Lenin on the agrarian question; but immediately after having heard Lenin's view abandoned his own position and joined Lenin's. De Jong has omitted to mention this episode.

17. p. 191. According to Antonov-Ovseenko's story, to whom de Jong here refers, Stalin addressed this remark to Sokolinov who was sitting next to him when the *Testament* was read. The translation used by de Jong is not precise either: Stalin said, in fact, "Ne mog umeret' kak *chestnyi* vozhd'", which means, "Couldn't even die like an *honest* leader" (see Antonov-Ovseenko, *Portret tirana* [A Tyrant's Portrait] (New York: Khronika Press, 1980), pp. 58, 385, n. 66).
18. op. cit., p. 436 (n. 10).

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Nikolai Bukharin

gantly assumed their policies as he moved against Bukharin and the right."[19] By 1929 Stalin's victory over all his rivals was complete and needed only to be firmly consolidated by the Great Purges of the later 1930s.

Again de Jonge rightly concludes that such seemingly devious tactics do not mean that Stalin was seeking power for power's sake only. "Anything but a mere opportunist, he had a vision of the Soviet state, not only one which he would succeed in realizing but also one which endured long after his own death, serving to determine the shape of the country as we know it."[20] As a true Bolshevik, Stalin was indeed more than a mere megalomaniac; he was a firm and ardent believer in Marxism, in the bright socialist future of mankind. If he had a personal ambition, it was that he go down in history as the pioneer of that bright future, the man who first attained the radiant goal of socialism in one huge, continent-like country—setting the model for all the others. Maybe this personal ambition can explain the urgency with which he launched his "revolution from above" that enabled him, by 1936, to declare "the full victory of socialism in the USSR."

To sum up the arguments about Stalin's ideological convictions, de Jonge refers to a memo that he discovered in the British Foreign Office Archives. It was dictated by Gavrilovic, the Yugoslav ambassador to London: "Stalin has a fanatical belief in Marxist doctrine as resting on scientific laws which it is necessary to discover, elucidate, and follow carefully in order to succeed. He believes himself to be presiding over the vastest experiment in human history; he sees it as the birth of a child and dismisses the terrible birth throes as inevitable and certain to be forgotten after the child is born . . . . Stalinism . . . may be regarded as the pure and concentrated essence of a virtually infallible doctrine."[21]

This, I believe, provides the key to understanding all the otherwise irrational policies that Stalin pursued both in domestic and foreign domains with such ardor and zeal—beginning with the super-industrialization and collectivization of the 1920s and early 1930s, and ending with the anti-cosmopolitan campaign of the late 1940s and the "Doctors' Plot" on the eve of his death in 1953.

Stalin was much more of an ideal Bolshevik than Lenin could ever have aspired to be.

Colonial Inferiority Complex

Although the above picture of Stalin is based on arguments used by de Jonge, it reflects my own views to a much greater extent than it does his. His Bolshevist Marxism notwithstanding, de Jonge's Stalin is first and foremost one of those Georgians who assumed a Great Russian identity and, as is typical of colonials aspiring to assimilate with the imperial nation, became "more Russian than the Russians."[22] From 1917 onward, he steadfastly pursued policies "based on Great Russian dominance"[23] and, in time, even gave free rein to "blind Russian chauvinism."[24] Although de Jonge does not say so directly, it appears that in his view Stalin adopted Bolshevist Marxism only insofar as it provided him with an adequate ideological and political instrument for furthering the most ambitious Russian nationalist-imperial goals. First, Stalin intended to create a powerfully monolithic Russian state. Then he hoped to include the rest of the world in his ideological, political, and imperial design.

I, for one, find that to view Stalin as, at heart, a genuine Russian patriot is profoundly and dangerously erroneous. Stalin's colonial inferiority complex, from which de Jonge so heavily draws his arguments, in fact testifies against the author's thesis. Stalin was one of those colonials who, because of his "incurable" heavy accent and apparent "foreignness," could never have even aspired to become an organic part of the Great Russian ethnic milieu. Being unable to adjust to Russia, Stalin embarked on the course of adjusting Russia to himself, that is, to his globally conceived Bolshevik cause. And this is what he did with such staggering success and with total dis-

19. p. 218.
20. pp. 200–201.
21. pp. 397–398.
22. p. 439.
23. p. 109.
24. p. 447.

regard for Russia and her best interests.

Similarly misleading in my view is de Jonge's claim that Stalin had by 1904 "[turned] his back upon Georgian culture" and identified himself "with the Muscovite heartland."[25] Indeed, de Jonge admits that "Stalin's admiration for Great Russian values never extended to the intelligentsia."[26] What then were those supposedly Great Russian values that commanded his admiration? Were they proletarian or peasant? At the time, Russia was industrially backward and contained few proletarian values worthy of admiration. Stalin himself prevented these values from ever developing. The Russian peasantry, whom Stalin destroyed, along with all their values, bestowed on him the nickname of *muzhikoborets,* the "murderer of peasants."[27] The great poet Osip Mandelstam attributed the name to him, and it will remain connected with his name as long as it is remembered. Perhaps the subject of Stalin's admiration was the czarist imperial state or the Russian aristocracy? But these were exactly the forces he wished to destroy. He also intended to destroy Orthodox Christianity, which he had so vehemently rejected in his seminary days.

Stalin felt nothing but hatred and contempt for Russia and all her national values. As an ardent Georgian nationalist,[28] he had learned to hate Russia and her imperial state in his early youth. He learned to despise Russia later, when as a Marxist revolutionary, he spent many years in the ethnic heartland of the country, mainly as an exile but also as a professional party worker. Here he acquired an intimate knowledge of the clumsiness and ineffectiveness of both the Russian people and the czarist state machine. Stalin's hateful and contemptuous attitude about Russia never changed. It only hardened. After all, Russia was the most difficult stumbling block in his endeavour to build "socialism in one country." It was the Russian nation with its imbued conservative outlook that he had to fight and defeat in order to achieve his great goal. In 1946, when Harold Wilson was a junior British trade minister, he recalls an exchange between Stalin and Mikoyan (an Armenian). Disturbed that something was not being properly handled, Stalin concluded by exclaiming, "To hell with the bloody Russians!" It was also typical of Stalin to say, when shaken in June 1941 by Hitler's sudden attack on the USSR and fearing his country's defeat in the war, "Now all Lenin's work will be undone forever"[29] without even mentioning the likely fate of Russia and her people should Hitler succeed. Stalin expressed his profound contempt for the Russian people most derisively at the end of the war. He raised his glass in a mock toast to the "great Russian people" and thanked them for the enormous patience with which they had endured his government.[30]

Stalin recognized, however, the immense power that was inherent in the sheer size of Russia, the vast number of her people, and the enormous wealth of her natural resources. With his appreciation of these facts, Stalin acknowledged the futility of the Georgian nationalist struggle and sought an alternative revolutionary course powerful enough to subvert the Russian Empire as a whole. He found this course naturally enough in revolutionary Marxism, and wholeheartedly embraced its universal call for a socialist revolution. At that time all Marxists believed that Russia was on the eve of a revolution but only a few, among them Lenin and the Bolsheviks, thought her ready for a socialist transformation. Stalin was one of these few. He thought that Russia was uniquely suited not only for carrying out that coming revolution to its socialist conclusion, but also for sustaining socialism for as long as it would take to transform the rest of the world to socialism.

For Stalin, the possibility of building socialism in one country, if that country was as huge, as self-sufficient, and as socially lax as Russia, was the very substance of revolutionary Marxism and on that score—as far as the principle, not its implementation, was concerned—there was between him and Lenin no discrepancy whatsoever.

25. p. 57.
26. pp. 37–38.
27. The translation of *muzhikoborets*, literally "the peasant fighter," as the "murderer of peasants" is de Jong's (p. 304).

28. Among the evidence of the boy-Stalin's Georgian nationalist zeal, his poetry published in 1895 by the Georgian-language magazine *Iveria* is peculiarly interesting since it reveals one of the least obvious facets of Stalin's character and ability. One of his typical Georgian nationalist poems is rendered by de Jong in a free English translation (p. 30).
29. p. 376 (with reference to Khrushchev).

30. p. 439. The real meaning of this toast escapes de Jong who is using it as an example of Stalin's Russian nationalist orientation.

In this scheme Georgia, or for that matter any other small nation, did not have a separate role or place. All of them were destined to follow the same path and, if it was for Russia to lead the way to socialism, it was to Russia that these smaller nations had to look. In this sense one could say that Stalin indeed turned his back upon Georgia, although in his own view this was not so—the liberation of Georgia had now simply become a constituent part of a qualitatively larger liberation plan for all nations. It was the global cause of socialism that he embraced instead, not that of Russia's greatness and glory for which he could not care less.

This is not to deny the fact strongly stressed by de Jonge that Stalin, especially during and after World War II, gradually incorporated some elements of the Russian statist and xenophobic tradition into the official ideology and policies of the Soviet socialist state. There was, however, nothing in these moves that could have undermined or weakened the Bolshevik substance of Stalin's Soviet Party state. On the contrary, Stalin sought to strengthen the foundations of this sectarian state by luring the Russians into believing that it was their own national institution. By elevating anti-Semitism to official policy, he aimed at dispelling the conviction, common among the Russians, that the Soviet Party state was a Jewish imposition upon their country. At the same time, by associating the "Jewish wreckers" with the capitalist West, he sought to exploit the deeply ingrained anti-Semitism of the Russians in order to rally their support for his Bolshevik anti-Western policies. Stalin presented the policies as a defense against foreign enemies who were nurturing plans to attack Russia. Having been forced by the

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extreme circumstances of the war to rehabilitate a great part of the Russian state's historical legacy, after the war Stalin tried to use this legacy as best he could for reinforcing his own brand of sectarian, globally conceived Bolshevik policies that had nothing in common with authentic Russian national interests and goals.

Playing with the idea of Russian nationalism, Stalin induced many people, within the party as much as without, to proclaim their true national aspirations and to press the regime to incorporate them into its policies. These attempts, aimed in fact at transforming the Soviet Party state into an authentic government of Russia, were indeed extremely dangerous to the Bolshevik cause, and Stalin treated them accordingly. For this kind of nationalism Stalin had no concessions to offer, only swift and merciless repression. The mass arrests and executions of 1949 aimed at destroying the Russian nationalist opposition in embryo are known in Soviet history as the "Leningrad Case," a term that is misleading: many of those arrested and shot in that case were leading figures of provincial party organizations. Among these were N. Voznesensky (a Politburo member and Gosplan chairman formerly from Leningrad) and the chairman of the RSFSR's Council of Ministers, M. Rodionov. De Jongé mentions this new purge only in passing and fails to recognize its true nature. For him, as indeed for many other researchers, this purge was merely the result of the feud between the Zhdanov and Malenkov factions in the party, in which the former, based in Leningrad, was thoroughly defeated.[31]

Even more disturbing than Stalin's branding as a Russian nationalist are, in my opinion, de Jonge's continuous assertions about the Russian nation's willing assent to Bolshevik rule in general and to Stalin's leadership in particular. Defying the contrary evidence amply available in his own book, de Jonge boldly asserts that the Bolsheviks in Russia "enjoyed widespread support from 1917 onwards."[32] The hard evidence shows that at the very highest peak of their popularity, in November 1917, the Bolsheviks were able to get only somewhat less than 25 percent of the popular vote.[33] According to de Jonge, Stalin's atrocities did not affect this situation at all. In his view, the Soviet people easily assented to Stalin's terror from the late 1920s to the early 1930s,[34] as well as through the Great Purges of the second half of the 1930s[35] and all the other outbursts of Stalin's mass exterminations and repressions, seeing them as justified and necessary "as long as they were happening to someone else."[36] Apparently, to de Jonge's Western mind it is inconceivable that a government could operate freely and ruthlessly for several decades without enjoying or even caring for getting substantial popular support, so inconceivable that, whatever the evidence, he would regardless have come to the conclusions that "Stalin could never have succeeded had he gone against the grain of his nation's culture"[37] and that "He enjoyed a nationwide support at every level because he and his style of government were popular; he was truly a dictator of the people."[38]

Under Trotsky, the party would have degenerated into a semiparliamentary body.

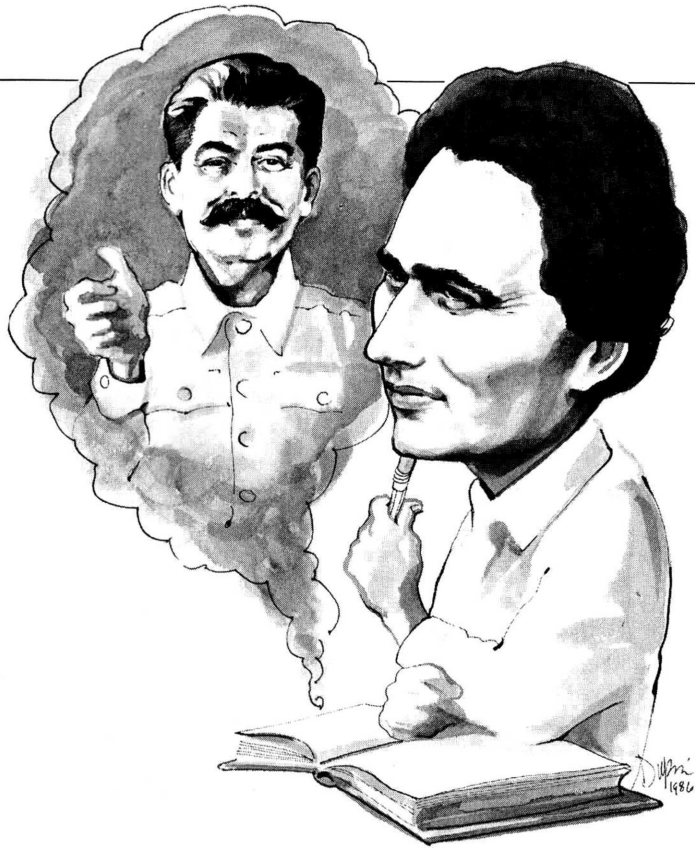
What de Jonge apparently fails to realize is the fact that the Soviet Party state by its very nature is bound to be the state of a self-serving clique determined to assert itself and to promote its sectarian interests and goals at all costs and, if necessary, in direct confrontation with the whole nation under its imposed rule. This strikes me as especially strange because in many other places in his book de Jonge quite explicitly expresses that same idea.

In trying to explain this peculiar "assent" of the Russians to the indiscriminate terror waged against them, de Jonge rightly and convincingly invokes the extreme atomization of Russian society achieved by Stalin and the Bolsheviks during the years preceding the collectivization of agriculture.

31. pp. 460–461.
32. p. 107.
33. p. 110. While mentioning this figure here, he does not relate it, however, to the extent of popular support for the Bolsheviks at all.
34. p. 274.
35. p. 312.
36. ibid.
37. p. 13.
38. p. 491.

Had he stopped at that, there would be no need for him either to use the word "assent" or to look for any other explanations. But it is "assent" on which he insists and because of that he has to stretch his arguments in such a way that they could provide some substantiation for his indefensible thesis that Stalin won the Russians' "universal love through fear."[39] For example, he maintains that the Russians have, throughout their whole history, relished in reporting friends and neighbors to the authorities and that they therefore were delighted when Stalin elevated this activity to the level of a mass national sport.[40] Such passages as these, aimed at denigrating the Russians as a nation, permeate the whole book. The cumulative effect of all this is that the Russian people are depicted as belonging to a species different from that of normal human beings. All this leaves the reader somewhat bewildered, to say the least.

In fact de Jonge renders a somewhat schizophrenic picture of both Stalin and his people. On the one hand, Stalin the Bolshevik, confronted by the wrath of the overwhelming majority of his people, squelches this wrath by means of mass terror. On the other, Stalin the Russian chauvinist enjoys the enthusiastic support of that same overwhelming majority. These two pictures of Stalin do not square. However much the author tries to present a consistent portrait, it remains confused, contradictory, and, ultimately, unconvincing. This is a situation to be applauded rather than deplored, for it will certainly help the readers of the book to reject de Jong's utterly false message that the *true* monster, the *real* implacable enemy of the West lurking behind the villainy of the Stalinist system, might be the Russian nation itself.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Crude Reductions

Among de Jonge's explanations of the peculiar character of the Russians, his concept of "geoalcoholics"[41] is particularly crude. His explanation is that Russia's main problem was a "geoalcoholic" structure within which there was no place for a beer belt; as a result of this lack of a beer belt, the Protestant work ethic, allegedly evolved only by beer drinkers, failed to develop. Since only the use of compulsion, characteristic of the Soviet style of government, could "take the place of a nonexistent work ethic,"[42] de Jonge believes that the Soviet regime in Russia was indeed "necessary," though he disclaims any adherence to theories advocating historic necessities. Moreover, it would have evolved much along the same lines, with or without Stalin.[43] To be sure, "without Stalin the Soviet Union might have boasted fewer untimely deaths, but it is unlikely that it would have been less brutal . . . . Russia could never have be-

39. p. 462.
40. pp. 272–274.
41. pp. 19–20.
42. p. 114.
43. pp. 490–491.

come a superpower without a coercive regime."[44] This is being seriously contended in spite of the commonly known fact that Russia turned in its best economic performance (as did all other nations) during those relatively short periods of time when it possessed, at least in part, a liberal, market-based economy—that is, at the turn of this century (prior to the outbreak of World War I) and under the New Economic Policy (NEP).

I also find grossly inept the paradigm of a large Western corporation that de Jonge uses for explaining the substance of the Soviet regime. Operating as it does in a competitive market and coexisting in one political order with other similar bodies, such a corporation simply cannot be compared with the total Soviet state. Even a paradigm based on the *Cosa Nostra,* although much closer, would suffice only with the proviso that this body had assumed political power, had become the sole legal authority of the land, and had managed to eliminate all other groups and autonomous enterprises.

Beside such dubious concepts, de Jonge's work is also full of various inaccuracies.

Indeed, one would have to be completely ignorant of the true nature of Georgii Plekhanov, the founding father of the *European* moderate Marxist tradition that prevailed in the Socialist International until World War II, to accuse him of "intellectual brutality"[45] and brand him, together with Chernyshevsky and Lenin, as a typical Russian radical.[46] De Jong seems to believe that telling the reader Plekhanov was a *Russian* Marxist is enough, since he is very certain that no *Russian* Marxist could ever have been a figure which was considered moderate and enlightened.

De Jonge's description of Soviet Russia's intervention in Georgia in 1921 is totally inaccurate and flawed insofar as its comparison with Hitler's Anschluss of Austria is concerned.[47] He even fails to mention the local Bolshevik uprising in Borchalin, stage-managed in Moscow, that had set the scene and provided the justification for the invasion, which was launched in support of a socialist revolution allegedly started by the Georgian proletariat. Instead, the author alleges that Lenin tried to justify this invasion by claiming a need to stop the Georgian-Armenian war —something he never accomplished, for the simple reason that this war had taken place three years earlier (in 1918, when Lenin had, indeed, appealed for a cessation of hostilities, but had not even remotely suggested intervention) and was soon ended by the British.

Stalin felt nothing but hatred and contempt for Russia and all her national values.

Having missed the main point about the Soviet invasion of Georgia, de Jonge does the same when describing Soviet invasions into the three Baltic states and Finland, which started in 1939. He compresses the description of developments in the three Baltic states over almost two years into a few sentences—completely distorting the reality by doing so, and also by referring to events such as, for example, the wholesale shipment to the *gulag* of the Baltic armies,[48] that had never taken place. Having wrongly dated the Soviet invasion of Finland as having started on November 3 (in fact it began November 30), 1939,[49] he then misjudges the role of the Allied Powers in preventing Soviet occupation and Sovietization of that country.[50] It is true that the Swedish government declined to let the British and French troops through, but Norway agreed to do so, making the possibility of Soviet confrontation with Allied troops real. Only after having realized this, did the Soviets agree to stop the war and sign the March 12, 1940, peace treaty with the same Finnish government they had pledged by their invasion to destroy.

One also wonders how de Jonge arrived at the conclusion that the collectivization of agriculture in the USSR claimed only "a little more than 5 million victims".[51] He refers to the Soviet official popula-

44. ibid.
45. p. 129.
46. p. 40.
47. p. 157.
48. p. 365.
49. ibid.
50. p. 366.
51. p. 287.

tion figures, but I suspect that he used the analysis of these figures given by Sergei Maksudov. Maksudov, however, admits that the limited data used in his study (together with a number of interfering factors that are incalculable), did not allow him to arrive at any definite conclusions, and that the real death toll could easily be twice, or even more, as high as his calculations show. Indeed, most of the existing professional estimates suggest that the death toll exacted by the collectivization was between 10 and 15 million persons.

It is also rather strange to hear de Jonge say that Stalin was careful to spare the lives of the Russian artistic intelligentsia,[52] when only among the members of the Writers' Union more than 600, or about 50 percent, were exterminated in 1937–1938 alone. Not less strange are his arguments to prove this contention. Stalin, he says, erased from the death list the name of Mayakovski's widow, but this could not have been the case—Mayakovski died an unmarried man. If it was Lilya Brik, Mayakovski's mistress, whom de Jonge had in mind, there were many other reasons for keeping her out of the death list, not the least being the fact that her sister, Elsa Triolet, was the wife of Louis Aragon, and also a prominent French communist writer in her own right. As for Yevgenii Zamyatin, he was indeed allowed to leave the Soviet Union, but this happened in 1927, long before the purges, and at a time when cases of pushing dissidents out of the USSR were as yet not uncommon.

One could go on citing instances of de Jong being out of his depth when dealing with certain aspects of his subject, but I would like to conclude with one that seems to me quite typical. It has to do with de Jonge's attempts at answering the question of why Stalin's interrogators so adamantly sought to secure confessions from accused people about crimes that they had never committed.[53] A few reasons are given, among them the preeminent role confessions have played in the judicial process of Russia throughout the ages, but the main and most obvious ones are not. Only a person with a rather shallow understanding of what was going on during the purges could have omitted to mention among reasons for extracting confessions, the need of procuring through them the names of alleged accomplices in order automatically to feed the machine of the purges and keep it going until further notice, and of putting some selected confessions on public display through show trials or otherwise, in order to convince the public at home and abroad that the purges were directed against real "enemies of the people" and traitors to the country.

De Jonge suggests that the *real* enemy of the West lurking behind Stalinist villainy is the Russian nation itself.

The book abounds also in mistakes of which there are two main kinds: mistakes of fact and mistakes of spelling Russian and East European words and names. The latter perhaps would not be worthy of special mention had the author not tried sometimes to engage in some linguistic interpretations, as he did, for example, with the name of Colonel Pogrebny,[54] the man in charge of the Katyn operation. De Jong wrongly associated that name's root with the roots of the words coffin *(grob)* and burial. *Pogreb* in Russian means "cellar" and this is the true root of Pogrebny's name; (for burial, *pogrebeniye,* the name would have had to be Pogrebel'ny).

Atmospheric Virtues

De Jonge bases his research mainly on secondary sources, some of them not always sufficiently reliable. Sometimes one has a feeling that he is led by his source, which may account for many of the book's mistakes and inconsistencies. De Jonge's main primary sources came from the archives of the British Foreign Office. Some of these sources have already been used by other researchers of Soviet history, most notably by Lord Nicholas Bethell,

52. p. 455.

53. pp. 336–340.

54. p. 364.

Count Nikolai Tolstoy, and Dr. David Kirby; some I have never encountered before. The information contained in these sources does not reveal anything new on Soviet matters, but it represents a uniquely valuable comment on the British misperceptions of Stalin and the USSR. In de Jong's view, these misperceptions date from the 1940s. He contends that "The same cannot be said of British Embassy staff in the 1930s, when they displayed a remarkable grasp of [Soviet] political and social conditions."[55] But when one reads passages stating, for example, that "Stalin had become the prisoner of those young adherents he had recently brought into the party",[56] one starts doubting whether this was so. I found even more astonishing the statements by Lord Chilston (the British ambassador) about Stalin's being not only "a great man,"[57] but also "a gentleman."[58]

On the whole, de Jong's book, all its shortcomings and mistakes notwithstanding, is interesting and useful. It clearly belongs to the category of major Western biographies of Stalin, of which there are only a few and the latest of which appeared more than a decade ago.

To be sure, among all the existing Western biographies of Stalin, Adam Ulam's[59] stands out as the most fundamental, scholarly, solid, and consistent. It may be matched by Robert Tucker's when the concluding volume of his work will at last appear.[60] De Jong's book is in the category of shorter and more popular biographies, to which also Hingley's[61] and Deutscher's[62] belong. De Jong's work does not match the latter two by its academic standards, but it has the advantage of appearing later and using some materials unavailable hitherto.

There is, however, one element that favorably distinguishes de Jong's work from all of its predecessors. One could call that element "atmospheric." Indeed, de Jong largely draws on the folklore of Stalin's time, which he learned of from conversations with many recent Soviet émigrés whom he befriended in London and elsewhere. His book is permeated by the episodes, jokes, and gossip of the period. I was most pleased, for example, to find in the book the quite convincing gossip about Stalin's in fact being the illegitimate son of N.M. Przhevalsky, the famous Russian explorer whose name has been given to the wild-horse species discovered by him in western Mongolia.[63] De Jonge also uses as his sources more of the literature produced by Soviet dissidents and émigrés that has not been translated into English. The introduction to the English-speaking readership of a number of facts previously unavailable is, no doubt, a significant contribution, unique to de Jong. It is, for example, the first time that the most interesting story reported by A. Avtorkhanov in *Tekhnologiya vlasti*—the story about Stalin's seminary essay "Why Caesar Fell"—has appeared in English. According to that story, the 16-year-old Stalin developed in this essay an original theory on how, by supplementing and ultimately substituting all official institutions of the state by the personal power machine, a dictatorship can be effectively consolidated. Stalin maintained that if Julius Caesar had followed the rules of this theory, he would never have fallen. "The teacher asked him whether his plan smacked of an absolute monarchy. 'No,'" replied Stalin, "'The power of an absolute monarch depends on the machinery of state power; in my plan state power is sustained by the machinery of personal power.'".[64] An attentive reader would not fail to recognize that about thirty years later Stalin was building his power base in full accordance with that theory, and, unlike Caesar, succeeded. ■

De Jonge excels at "atmospheric" details: episodes, jokes, and gossip of Stalin's period.

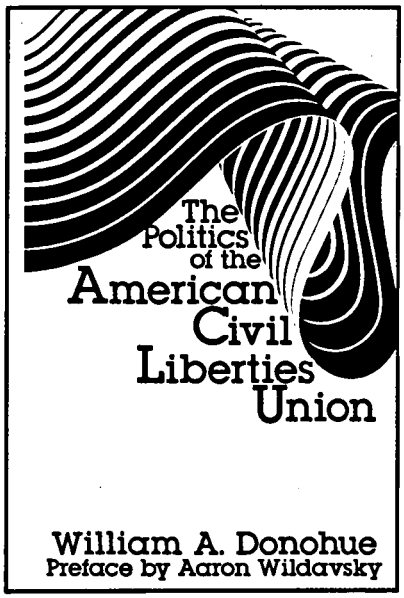
55. p. 235.
56. p. 210.
57. p. 313.
58. p. 314.
59. op. cit. (n. 2).
60. *Stalin as Revolutionary, 1879–1929: A Study in History and Personality* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1974).
61. op. cit. (n. 10).
62. I. Deutscher, *Stalin: A Political Biography* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1966), revised edition.
63. pp. 24–25.
64. pp. 31–32.

The Shifting Agenda

BY ALAN J. LEVINE

The American Civil Liberties Union has diluted the concept of freedom by failing to measure it against other equally important values.

THE POLITICS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
William A. Donohue
Foreword by Aaron Wildavsky
New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1985



Alan J. Levine is a historian who earned his doctorate at New York University. He has recently completed a book on World War II.

William A. Donohue's brilliant book is an exposé that is not deliberately sensational, but which, in a careful and scholarly way, recounts the real history and values of the American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU, unfortunately, is an organization much of whose reputation has depended on its true purposes and allegiances remaining hidden. More than most organizations, the ACLU has tended to rationalize and hide many of its past stands, and many of its admirers feel that it has betrayed its past. Yet, as Donohue shows, there is a consistency behind the organization's zany gyrations. Donohue outlines the evolution of the ACLU's actual policies and values and relates them carefully to the general development of liberalism in modern America. And, as Aaron Wildavsky demonstrates in his foreword, the ACLU, however much it has pretended otherwise, has never been a nonpartisan group simply devoted to the protection and preservation of the Bill of Rights. Rather, as Wildavsky sums up, it is an organization of people "committed to a shifting agenda of substantive policy change as dictated by the political perspectives of its most active members." Civil liberties as they are usually understood have been a tool, not an end in themselves. Donohue brilliantly relates the shifts in the ACLU's program to the evolution of American liberalism in general in this century. The result is a work of much broader interest than its title might suggest. *The Politics of the American Civil Liberties Union* is very useful to the student of modern American society.

Transitions

As Donohue shows, the ACLU's history demonstrates and expresses the changes in American liberalism since World War I. The development of the organization itself, while partly a reaction to wartime events, coincided with a shift in liberalism from an individualistic orientation, opposed to centralization and inter-

ference with a free market economy, to a collectivistic approach, if anything positively enthusiastic about planning and interference with private initiative. Liberalism had always tended toward egalitarianism, rationalism, secularism, optimism, and opposition to authority and tradition; during this period equality, rather than liberty, tended to become the prime value for liberals. And, during the lifetime of the ACLU, the interpretation of equality has itself undergone a dramatic shift. From emphasizing equality before the law and equality of opportunity, liberals came to emphasize equality of results and condition over the sort of equality emphasized earlier, often rationalizing this shift with the argument that without equality at the starting point there was no true equality of opportunity. Government action not only should but *can* assure equality. This reasoning lies behind "affirmative action" programs and attempts to make economic and social demands into civil liberties issues. Along with the shift in the nature of egalitarianism there has been a general radicalization of liberalism and a tendency to an "all or nothing" mentality, a tendency dramatically apparent in discussions of censorship issues. Indeed, Donohue suggests that in the 1960s liberalism as such tended to disappear, as it was absorbed by the extreme Left. That may be an exaggeration, but it is fairly clear that in the 1960s many attitudes formerly associated wih the extreme Left began to percolate into liberalism. This was, perhaps, a more curious occurrence than Donohue allows, for there was never time when the Far Left was more explicitly and vocally scornful of liberals than in the latter half of the 1960s.

Actually, as Donohue shows, the ACLU had a strong tropism toward the Left from the start. The organization arose in the era of the "Red Scare" right after World War I, and it was not oriented to the defense of civil liberties in general but toward the defense of civil liberties for the Left and for labor unions. During what Donohue calls its "period of emergence" in the 1920s and 1930s, it "functioned almost exclusively as the legal arm of the militant labor movement." (It had little use for the AFL.) While it defended some major works of art against suppression, it had remarkably little interest in issues such as literary censorship and the rights of blacks and women. It had little interest—in fact, it never has had much interest—in freedom of religion. Until 1935 or 1936, it was strongly critical of the New Deal from the Left. The ACLU's leadership was very definitely pro-Soviet, although the ACLU was certainly not a communist front. Roger Baldwin, who led the organization from 1920 to 1950, was in those days very far from being the all-out, burning civil libertarian that he has frequently been depicted as, although later in his career he may well have deserved his reputation. In 1933–1934, Baldwin commented that "civil liberties, like democracy, are only useful as tools for social change," and described himself as "anti-capitalist and pro-revolutionary." Accepting the Soviets' describing themselves as a workers' state, he insisted that the Soviets had "developed civil liberties far greater than exist elsewhere in the world."

. . . equality, rather than liberty, tended to become the prime value for liberals.

Like its origins, the ACLU's transition to its next era, what Donohue calls the "era of expediency" of the 1940s and 1950s, coincided with both a distinct political shock and a more general change in American society. The shock was provided by the Nazi-Soviet Pact, which led Baldwin and the majority element in the ACLU to reject association with communists and adopt a genuine anti-totalitarian stand. The menace of fascism, in general, had a tempering effect on it, forcing it to recognize that an adversary stance was not enough and that the existing society had to be defended as well as criticized—an insight that has evaded the ACLU in the succeeding era. And, from the ACLU's original perspective, there was rather less to criticize, for the labor movement was now protected by the government and was a powerful interest group in its own right. During the era after 1940, the ACLU actually tended to drift in a conserva-

tive direction and took a calmer approach to civil liberties than before or after. It is not hard to find reasons for Donohue's description of this era as one of "expediency," but it may not be a just designation. It is true that the ACLU, although not enthusiastic about the action, failed to oppose the internment of the Japanese-Americans—an event that rendered its own favorable assessment of civil liberties during World War II absurd. And some ACLU officials developed a very strange relationship with the FBI in the 1950s, acting as informants for the bureau. On the whole, however, the ACLU was closer to being a genuine civil liberties lobby than before or after. During this period, it was perhaps less closely associated with a particular interest group than at any other time. Having cut loose from labor, it was only tentatively coming into association with another interest group—a group hardly even recognized as such in the 1950s, the group Irving Kristol was later to call the "New Class," the well-educated, anti-business employees of government, academic institutions, and nonprofit foundations.

In Donohue's view, the interests and beliefs of the New Class form the key to the ACLU's development in its third period, the "era of expansion" of the 1960s and 1970s. While the ACLU had already quadrupled its membership in the 1950s, it underwent a truly startling growth in the 1960s, and rose to a peak of 275,000 in 1973 before beginning to decline. During this time period the ACLU as we now know it crystallized—and became fully radicalized. This rather grim process and its results form the main theme of Donohue's book. Despite a brilliant depiction of the liberal Left mood of the era, however, Donohue isn't quite successful in convincing the reader that the policies of the ACLU are just an expression of the interests of the New Class. It is hard to believe that the antics he recounts could express the interests of *any* class of people.

Already, in the late 1950s, the ACLU's political course began to drift leftward again; in the late 1960s this movement took on an explosive character. Within a very short time the ACLU, which had not been much concerned with blacks until the late 1940s, reversed its position from favoring "color-blind" policies, and even the removal of all racial and ethnic identification from documents, to a policy of reverse discrimination—a policy from which ironically, it exempts itself. After opposing the Equal Rights Amendment for many years on the ground that it would undermine laws protecting women, it turned to fierce championship of the ERA. (Donohue shows that the current enemies of the ERA are using *exactly* the same arguments the ACLU used to invoke.) From a cozy relationship with the FBI in the 1950s, it moved to a fanatical posture of hostility to every conceivable law enforcement measure—except gun control; and the ACLU has undertaken to oppose any gun control measures that discriminate against ex-convicts and the mentally incompetent. Simply being a criminal or off in the head, in the ACLU's view, is no reason for being denied access to deadly weapons. In fairness, it should be noted that Donohue reports that the ACLU *is* perturbed by the rise of rape, or, as it prefers to call it, "sexual assault," a term it deems "sex-neutral." But, in a spectacular turn of logic, the ACLU has concluded that there will be better protection against "sexual assault" *if the penalties against it are reduced.*

The ACLU rose to a peak of 275,000 members in 1973 . . . and became fully radicalized.

The ACLU's change of position toward law enforcement, however, may well be merely the emergence of something that has long lain beneath the surface. Even Roger Baldwin took a rather insouciant attitude toward the problems of crime and punishment. Underneath the ACLU's professions of allegiance to the Bill of Rights and its apparent dedication to legalism, there has always, perhaps, lurked something completely different. This perhaps becomes apparent in its treatment of freedom of expression. In some respects, the ACLU favors almost any sort of social control except legal ones. A famous senior counsel of the ACLU, Arthur Garfield Hays, once de-

clared that he would fight for Hitler's right to make a public speech, and then hope for a riot. This is less a dramatic example of the ACLU's belief in absolute free speech than of a total inversion of principle, in which lynch law is apparently preferable to the legal way of doing things.

Freedom of Expression

In delineating the ACLU's, (and modern liberalism's) turn to the absolutization of freedom of expression, Donohue is at his best, and also at his most sharply critical. Until quite recently, it was generally conceded that constitutional protections for freedom of expression were primarily aimed at the protection of the freedom to convey ideas. They did not protect pornography and obscenity, however difficult it might be to define those concepts in theory. It was also generally agreed that children were entitled to be protected from things suitable only for adults, and that certain forms of speech might be prohibited as libelous or provocative of violence.

As far as the ACLU is concerned, all of these distinctions have been knocked flat. It will defend anyone's "freedom of expression," no matter how destructive, from the child pornographer to the Nazis bent on marching through Skokie. The rights of these groups, in fact, seem to override those of anyone else. The ACLU has denied, for example, that people have the right to request that the post office *not* deliver unsolicited pornographic materials to their address. For the ACLU freedom has become an absolute value unrelated to anything else, and in the ACLU this perverse and degraded conception of freedom has found its ultimate champion. The ACLU has become, in Donohue's words, "the liberal defender of pornography in the United States." In a parallel trend, the ACLU has fought against every other imaginable traditional restraint or regulation, from zoning laws designed to restrain brothels to regulations giving heterosexuals preference in the adoption of children. Donohue skillfully recounts the arguments employed by the ACLU, and just as skillfully tears them apart. As he concludes, the unremitting assault on norms and community waged by the ACLU must be self-defeating. The ACLU is not in fact defending the existence of freedom, but destroying checks on evil and disintegrating the obstacles to despotism. He notes the ironic fact that the ACLU has carefully defended the rights of the Amish and the American Indians to preserve their special social and cultural heritage. But it has effectively denied that right to those Americans who are part of the mainstream culture.

The ACLU has become, in Donohue's words, "the liberal defender of pornography in the United States."

While convincing in all of its main arguments, *The Politics of the American Civil Liberties Union* does suffer from two weaknesses, although it should be stressed that they are minor ones. Donohue's emphasis on egalitarian extremism as the source of the ACLU's recent extravagances is not entirely convincing. Many of these oddities seem to stem more naturally from a fanatical anti-traditionalism. And Donohue is perhaps inclined to pull his punches in his conclusion, which concedes that the ACLU has made a contribution to preserving freedom in the United States. But Donohue does not choose to disclose just when he thinks it made this contribution. It may be suspected that Donohue is really thinking of the ACLU's first decades, when, it should be admitted, it did protect labor organizers and the works of men like Eugene O'Neill and D.H. Lawrence. But an analysis that made a distinction between the years between the world wars and later periods might be much less generous. It might conclude, in fact, that the ACLU, not unlike other organizations, has grown old and corrupt, and its contributions now lie in an increasingly distant past. But these are minor quibbles in the face of Donohue's immense contribution to the study of civil liberties issues.■

More Than Skin Deep

BY SANDRA SCARR

Studies on the effects of beauty are woefully inadequate to account for this compelling factor in human behavior.

MIRROR, MIRROR:
The Importance of Looks in Everyday Life
Elaine Hatfield and Susan Sprecher
Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1986. Paper. 446 pp.

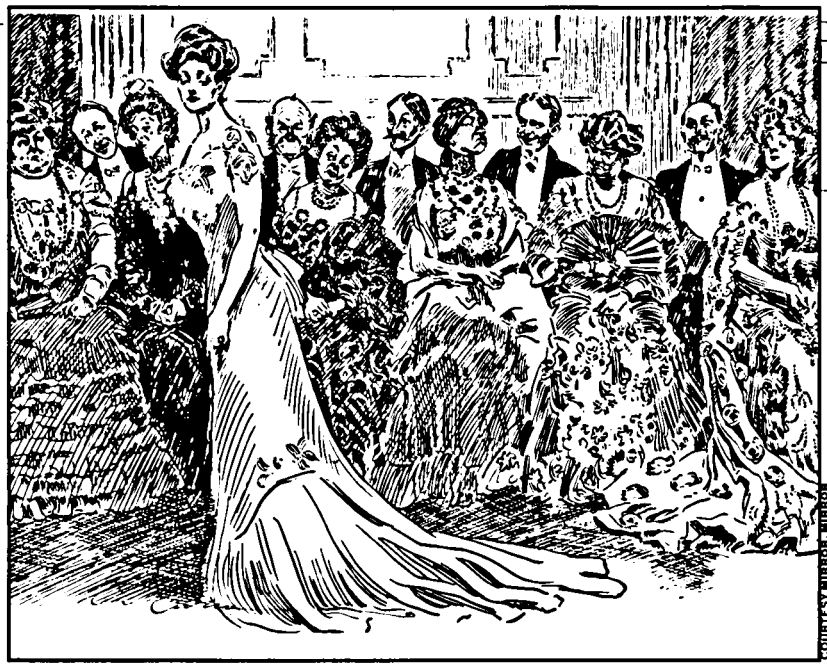
Sandra Scarr is Commonwealth Professor and Chairman of the Psychology Department, University of Virginia. Her latest book is Mother Care—Other Care (Warner Books, 1985).

In popular literature, we have many sayings about beauty's being in the eye of the beholder, being a blessing or a curse, or a requisite for true happiness. Television presents a daily diet of beautiful people engaged in emotionally charged episodes that are supposed to resemble real life taken to some exponential power. It is not an accident that Linda Evans and Robert Redford are the models of what American women and men would like to look like; they are considered beautiful people whose lives are imagined to be as exciting as the roles they play on screen. Is it true that physical attractiveness is so important in one's life? The answer is, yes—on the surface.

"The evidence is clear," note authors Elaine Hatfield and Susan Sprecher in their new book *Mirror, Mirror: The Importance of Looks in Everyday Life.* "America is possessed by a culture of beauty. In school, in business, in love, and in life, appearance matters. One must spend some time worrying over one's appearance; one must spend some time dealing effectively with discrimination" (p. 375).

As you may imagine, being physically attractive is more an asset than a liability in most situations. In fact, research shows that less attractive people are subject to discrimination in seeking relationships and jobs. Aside from executive women, for whom stunning looks may lead others to perceive them as less competent than their plainer peers, most men and women benefit from being considered beautiful. Beautiful female executives must be careful to dress "appropriately," say the authors, to emphasize their business acumen, lest their looks distract (usually male) colleagues from accurate assessments of their competencies.

And there is a general consensus on what constitutes beauty in men and in women, according to the authors' research. Women today who are considered beautiful are leaner than their beautiful predecessors of twenty-five to fifty years ago. Miss Americas have grown taller and slimmer in re-



The Jury Disagrees,
Charles Dana Gibson

cent years, while handsome men are of medium build and have thin legs.

A consensus among both men and women about standards of physical attractiveness has existed in every generation, although there is historical change in the definition of beauty. Older women and men, for example, are now considered more attractive than they were a generation ago. Of course, cultures also differ in their conceptions of beauty, some preferring plumpness in contrast to our contemporary anorexic model.

Studies of the impact of physical attractiveness on others have focused primarily on first impressions, not on lasting personal or professional relationships. The degree to which prejudices about beauty control actual life choices has hardly been studied. Attractiveness may give both men and women entrée to new situations that the less attractive do not enjoy, but studies show that looks cannot carry all of the weight of lasting relationships.

The typical study of physical attractiveness involves undergraduate students in an artificial situation.

Good News and Bad News

The good news is that physical attractiveness cannot account for all of your success in life. Despite the disturbing research on people's preferences for the physically attractive, the amount of weight placed on attractiveness varies by the kind of judgment made. Although only surveys of opinions, and not actual behavior, are available, the evidence does show that enduring relationships depend on more than appearance. Besides attractiveness, married couples value in each other social graces, intellect, lovingness, understanding, appreciation, affection, sexuality, security, cooperation, mutual planning, thoughtfulness, and sharing of opportunities for the future together. Employers value efficiency, helpfulness, intelligence, and other job-related skills.

The bad news is that beauty counts for more than most of us would like in the ways that others, whether they be potential dates, employers, or employees, size us up. Physically attractive people, especially women, are more likely to be chosen as dates, employed (at traditionally feminine jobs), paid higher salaries, and thought by others to be intelligent, personable, and fun. Conclusion: attractive people give better first impressions than less attractive ones.

The authors claim that police, judges, and juries respond to physical attractiveness by assuming that beautiful people have more to lose in scrapes with the law and by being more lenient with well-dressed, attractive lawbreakers than with shabby, unattractive ones. Common wisdom among lawyers holds that attractiveness and appropriate dress (modestly middle-class) for the court can make a substantial difference in the outcome of a court case. Few studies have been done with police, prosecutors, and judges, however. Most studies are simulations with college students acting as though they were police, judge, and jury.

It is unfortunate that social

psychologists have largely studied trivial examples of the impact of physical attractiveness. The typical study involves undergraduate students in an artificial, temporary, and superficial situation. The results, therefore, may distort conclusions about the importance of physical attractiveness; beauty may appear to account for more than it does in life outside of introductory psychology classes.

Typical Studies

Imagine that you are asked to judge a photograph of a young man or woman and say whether or not you consider this person to be intelligent, powerful, sensitive, literary, and so forth. Would you want to date, mate, employ, or otherwise engage your time with this person? Naturally, most of us do not make important personal judgments about others merely by their appearance, yet social psychologists presume that the classroom response of undergraduates—that physically attractive people are more likely to be intelligent, powerful, sensitive—represents everyday behavior.

Now imagine that you are asked to take a blind date to a dance. Through the devices of conniving social psychologists, you are randomly mated with another undergraduate, whose attractiveness and yours have been rated by these same investigators. If your date turns out to be physically attractive, are you more likely to want to see the person again than if your random date turns out to be ugly? While the answer may be obvious, what makes for lasting relationships between satisfied and reasonably faithful adults may be quite another matter.

Again, imagine that you are shown an essay on world politics by a person whose photograph is attached to the document. Some participants are shown an attractive author, others an unattractive author. Will your judgment of the excellence of the essay be swayed by the attractiveness of the author? Yes; on average, young people judge the essays by more attractive authors to be more compelling than those by less attractive authors. But then, the participants do not have any information other than the photographs. I personally do not find photographs of George Will or Tom Wicker especially attractive, but I value their political columns, which appear week after week. I daresay that their appearance has little to do with my enduring judgments of their political acumen. Imagine if Art Buchwald had to make it on looks alone!

Enduring relationships involve trade-offs between attractiveness and privileges.

Serious Relationships

The ins and outs of undergraduate dating seem less important to understand than the enduring (and not so enduring) relation-

Rival Beauties, Charles Dana Gibson

ships of ordinary adults. The authors suggest that enduring relationships involve trade-offs between attractiveness and privileges in the relationship. More attractive partners feel more entitled to enjoy benefits from the relationship, such as sexual excursions and calling the shots, than less attractive ones. Couples who report greater satisfactions with their relationships are likely to be better matched in attractiveness than less satisfied pairs. But the evidence is thin on factors that affect enduring personal relationships and economically important ones, such as who gets hired and fired. In the long run, would you rather have a research assistant who computes statistics accurately or one who looks good at the desk?

The authors offer many anecdotes about counseling patients whose looks presented problems, but the book is short on scientific data about people beyond the age of twenty-one and people in real-life situations. Case histories of people of striking beauty and strikingly bad appearance can only inform us of individual differences in how people who are so troubled as to come into treatment deal with their perceived problems. They cannot tell us how, in the general population, such differences in appearance affect other individuals' life experiences.

A Dated Manuscript

The bulk of the book must have lain in someone's drawer for a decade, because much of the research and many of the references are very old indeed (for example, a "recent Ann Landers column" [in *The Salt Lake Tribune,* 22 July 1971]; fifteen years is not my idea of recent.) The book is replete with references and comments that are woefully out-of-date on a topic that needs constant revision, as social norms and opinions of men and women change.

There is a general consensus on what constitutes beauty in men and in women.

I am also puzzled that the illustrations in the book consist mainly of photographs of members of the authors' extended families. The reason for using family albums to illustrate a book on physical attractiveness evades me, unless the authors believe their own families are particularly attractive (they seem above average) or variable in beauty (they are).

Another criticism: redundancy can be a virtue, but in this volume the same points made over and again in different chapters are merely tiresome.

With few exceptions, good-looking people have an edge in most initial impressions. We all seem to share a prejudice, the fleeting belief that the beautiful and handsome are more intelligent, competent, personable, and desirable in most contexts than the less attractive. The evidence is not as secure on the impact of physical beauty on longer-term relationships. I suspect that beauty is more than skin deep in the long run, and the authors agree. They recommend self-development of a pleasing personality and other competencies, rather than an exaggerated focus on physical attractiveness. But, then, who could disagree—unless one is nineteen and intoxicated by first impressions? ■

The Feminine Mistake

BY RICHARD CUMMINGS

In the wake of the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment, an agonizing reappraisal of the women's movement has begun that goes right to the heart of its values and tactics.

FEMINISM ON TRIAL
The Ginny Foat Case and the Future of the Women's Movement
Ellen Hawkes
New York: William Morrow & Company,
420 pp., $18.95

A LESSER LIFE
The Myth of Women's Liberation in America
Sylvia Ann Hewlett
New York: William Morrow & Company
Illustrated, 461 pp., $17.95

WOMEN & CHILDREN LAST
The Plight of Poor Women in Affluent America
Ruth Sidel
New York: Viking,
236 pp., $16.95

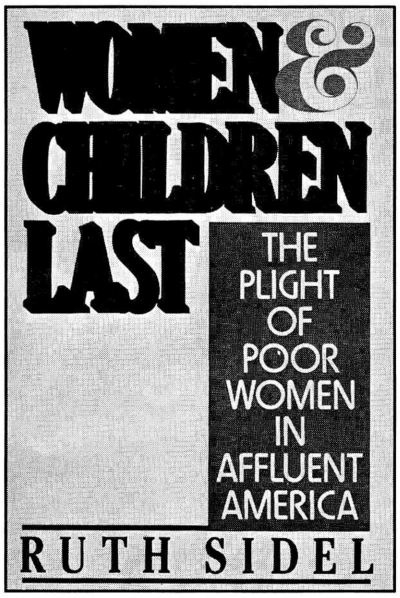
Richard Cummings, the author of The Pied Piper: Allard K. Lowenstein and the Liberal Dream, *has taught law and social policy at the State University of New York at Stony Brook and ecology at Duke University.*

A new women's literature of the 1980s is emerging that challenges the entrenched ideology of feminism and seeks to redirect explicitly and implicitly feminist energies along different lines than those that culminated in the disasterous candidacy of Geraldine Ferraro. Mistakes of style and substance, as well as the clichés of the sexual revolution and women's liberation, are being put under the microscope by writers such as Sylvia Ann Hewlett and Ellen Hawkes. Hewlitt and Hawkes, who describe themselves as feminists, are suggesting that a lot of nonsense was being promoted, while others such as Ruth Sidel now call for a social democratic transformation of American society so women can work and be wives and mothers at the same time.

As read in the sequence offered here, these three powerful books reject the histrionics and hypocrisy of the politics of the National Organization of Women (NOW) and the cult of personality of the women's movement that projected the image of women as victims *(Feminism on Trial),* assess what the actual situation is for most women in America who need to work but want families *(A Lesser Life);* and, finally, expound a sweeping advocacy of a total national family policy *(Women and Children Last).*

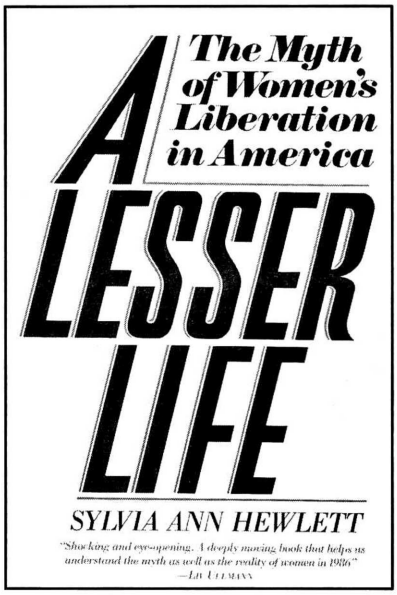
"He Done Her Wrong"

In *Feminism on Trial,* Ellen Hawkes, a feminist activist and journalist, gives a definitive account of the sensational 1983 trial of Ginny Foat, the president of the California chapter of NOW. Foat was charged with the tire-iron murder of an Argentine businessman, a crime allegedly committed in 1965. The bizarre facts of the case and Foat's rise in the hierarchy in the women's movement causes Hawkes to reach the critical conclusion that the movement has enabled women to abdicate responsibility for what they are by blaming society. "To argue that women are not responsible for their actions undercuts their dignity as individuals," she as-



Ruth Sidel

CAROL DUPRE



serts. Hawkes rejects both the famous "click of consciousness" that instantly bestowed a feminist consciousness on previously naive women, and the key slogan of the feminism of the 1970s, "the personal is political," which made a public issue of all private feminine experience. Criticizing the defense's tactics of proclaiming Foat to be a victim of her abusive husband and society, she insists that Foat, in fact, "had taken hold of her fate."

Dismissing the notion that it is possible for someone to be transformed almost instantly into a feminist, she ridicules Foat's statement that "the only killing in my life was the death of a passive woman named Ginny Foat before the birth of a strong feminist by the same name." "One's identity," Hawkes argues, "or call it self-knowledge, is formed in a long, hard pull, a struggle every day in one's private and public life." Key NOW leaders dropped Foat like a pariah after her past became known and she was indicted. They felt that she was damaging NOW's carefully cultivated respectable image. Other feminists, however, concluded that Foat should be supported even if she were guilty because she was no longer the same person after her conversion to feminism. To this Hawkes responded that in the 1970s, feminism had become obsessed with women's personal problems as symbols of political issues.

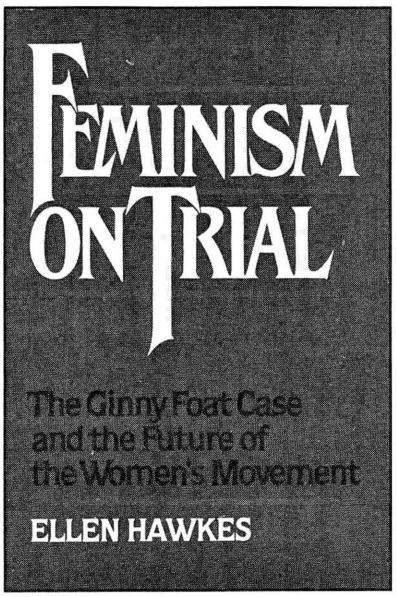
> But as everything became political, the personal somehow dropped away to the extent that moral ambiguities and ethical choices, so uniquely individual and crucial to the formation of character, were overly simplified and even obliterated. Feminist ideology sanctioned it with its reshaping or even its denial of the past, with every click of consciousness heralding a "symbolic" new woman. And yet when the whistle was blown, the dime dropped, the criticism made, the excuse became 'It's happening to me only because I'm a woman, and besides, I am not responsible for the mistakes of my past.'

She applies her analysis with equal conviction to both Foat and Ferraro because both disclaimed responsibility for their situations because they were women, Ferraro going so far as to suggest that because her husband was an Italian male, she had no responsibility for his refusal to disclose his finances even though she was an officer of his firm.

Ginny Galluzzo Foat Meyer was married four times before giving up men to "interface with women." She was an unhappy young woman from a traditional Italian-American family in New Paltz, New York. Her unhappy marriage was annulled after she participated in the civil rights march on Washington, because, she insists, this was not "wifely" conduct. She had an affair with another man, became pregnant, and went alone to a home for unwed mothers in the Midwest to have the baby and give it up for adoption. Then, one night, she visited the bar of the Villa Lipani,

CAROL DUPRÉ

Sylvia Ann Hewlitt



CAROL DUPRÉ

Ellen Hawkes

a resort outside of New Paltz and met John Sidote, the bartender. Sidote was married, but he persuaded her to drive with him to Florida where, he told her, he might find a better job. A young man joined them to share the driving. When Sidote was unable to find work in Florida, he beat her. Foat insists the beatings became routine. Then they moved on to New Orleans, where Sidote got a job as a bouncer and Ginny worked as a cocktail waitress. Sidote maintains she was also a "go-go" dancer, but she denies this.

They left New Orleans in a hurry. Foat contended that Sidote told her he cheated a man while gambling, but Sidote had a different story. Out of money, they went looking for somebody to "roll," he insists. While Foat enticed the man into the car, each hit him with a tire iron until he was dead. Much later, while having lunch with some NOW colleagues, Foat would describe how she cleaned blood out of the car at Sidote's insistence, but this never came out at the trial. How they left New Orleans is also in dispute. Sidote says the young man drove to Houston and that he and Foat flew there on separate planes. She simply doesn't remember how she left New Orleans or whether she went to Houston or Dallas. They drove to Las Vegas, where, Sidote maintains, another robbery and murder took place in which Foat was involved. They ended up in California, got married, and purchased a bar. Sidote shot and killed a Samoan youth and was sent to prison. All through this part of her life, Foat says, she was a "battered woman," suffering degradation and humiliation at the hands of her husband. She stayed with him until his final release, when she divorced him and married Raymond Foat, a successful restaurant manager. In 1977, Sidote returned to Nevada and confessed his crimes, implicating Ginny. She was arrested, but when Sidote refused to testify against her, she was released. The police authorities in New Orleans decided not to pursue the case against her and seemed to drop the matter.

Foat succeeded in business in California and was recruited into NOW by Shelly Mandell, a politically active woman who became her mentor. Foat rose in the California chapter of NOW and became its paid president, breaking with Mandell. But when Foat began to ponder a run for even higher office, including the national presidency of NOW, there was pressure on her to clear up questions about her past. Mandell, now part of a group of women opposed to Foat in NOW, wrote to the district attorney in Jefferson Parish, Louisiana, to find out the status of the case. With that action, the case was reactivated and Foat was arrested at the Los Angeles Airport in a sensational manner. It was charged that the Los Angeles police acted out of hostility to NOW and that Louisiana resented NOW because it had been the target of the boycott opposing the Equal Rights Amendment. Ultimately acquitted, Foat insisted it had been a political trial in which she represented all women. But the jurors saw it differently. "For them fem-

inism hadn't been on trial," Hawkes concluded, "only a woman against whom the prosecutors didn't have a strong enough case." As one juror put it, "This trial certainly doesn't change my opinion that women's lib is bunk."

Hawkes clearly doesn't think that "women's lib is bunk," but she thinks the movement must look to the common sense of average American women to find out what they want and what they think. She takes a refreshing approach to the issues and has written a perceptive book. It explains precisely what has happened to Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* and puts Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* in its place. By pointing out the dangers of both excessive militancy and concern with image over substance, Hawkes gives us a picture of a movement in search of a new agenda and leadership. Unlike most books about the problems of women, it is also fascinating. Her description of the NOW convention in New Orleans with all the details of the bickering and infighting will anger some feminists, but this is reality and should not be ignored.

Is Women's Liberation in America a Myth?

In *A Lesser Life,* Sylvia Ann Hewlett argues that not only is women's liberation a myth in America, but also that the whole campaign for the ERA was misguided. She is a feminist who dares to admit that Phyllis Schafly had a point. Not only did the ERA fail to address itself to the most serious problem facing women, Hewlett argues, but it was counterproductive because it would have denied to women, all in the name of a meaningless equality, special benefits they do require. Hewlett believes that because American feminists have emphasized the ways in which men and women should be equal and because they have consequently attempted to ignore real differences between the sexes, they have sidetracked the basic issue of motherhood. To some extent the idea reflects Germaine Greer's latest thesis in *Sex and Destiny* that modern society is hostile to children. The emphasis of the American women's movement, Hewlett insists, has been on equal rights and sexual freedom, including the right of abortion. Greer's previous and now abandoned point of view in *The Female Eunuch* was that women are powerless because they are women. The case of feminists has been, Hewlett argues, that when women possess the same rights as men and can decide not to have children, they gain true equality of opportunity. The American feminists believe this enables them to compete for jobs, income, and powers on the same terms as men.

As the result of this emphasis, Hewlett stresses, women are trapped. Unable to rely on marriage any longer for financial security for themselves or their children, they have at the same time failed to acquire significant earning power in the labor market. "The consequences of this double squeeze," she writes, "are exacerbated by our nation's staggering dearth of family support structures . . . . In short, very little of this feminist agenda has boiled down to policies that help women deal with the concrete realities of their daily lives; for the majority, these realities center on reconciling motherhood with a job."

An economist with the United Nations Association Economic Policy Council, Hewlett reached her conclusions about the American women's movement on the basis of her own trying personal experience. She was a faculty member at Barnard, where militant feminism was rampant. Yet she received no support from her female colleagues when she sought consideration for her special needs as a woman. A painful miscarriage drained her strength and made it harder for her to do the things that were necessary to get tenure. Giving birth and raising a family forced her to make painful choices about her priorities, and she was denied tenure. Her efforts to establish a maternity leave policy were met with hostility because, it was argued against her, this would undermine the achievements made by women for equality. Dismayed, she learned that Barnard in the 1930s actually had such a policy and provided women faculty members with considerably more support than they received during the period when feminism was at its zenith. She came to realize that during the period before World War II, women earned 64 cents to the dollar for men, and that after all the noise about women's liberation, the figure today stood at 65 cents. In real terms, she concludes, women have gone backwards. Hewlett

does the unpardonable. She blames the women's movement for this situation because, unlike Europe, where she finds the condition of less militant women far superior to their American counterparts, "American feminists have emphasized formal equality and have encouraged women to enter the world of work on male terms."

It takes Hewlett 461 pages to argue that women are not men. Yet she fails to mention even once *Sexual Suicide* by George Gilder. Gilder's solution is for women not to seek the jobs of men but to relish their superior positions as mothers and wives, roles that assure the civilizing of men who would otherwise be savages. Departing from Schlafly (and implicitly from Gilder), Hewlett sees no possibility for most women to avoid working, even if they wanted to. The 1950s were an aberration, she tells us, when the "cult of motherhood" reigned. This unnatural and extreme situation was met by an extreme reaction on the part of women and men. Militant feminism took hold, while many men rebelled against their restrictive roles as providers. Divorce became as common as marriage, leaving numerous women who had been well-off, close to poverty, and alone.

Her position that the Reagan administration's attempt to restore the father as the sole support of the family is unrealistic should be considered carefully by conservatives. The idea that by reducing inflation, the Reagan administration will make it possible for men to be the head of the household and make a wage on which an entire family can live is, in all likelihood, not realistic. The challenge for them is to address Hewlett's main concern about work and motherhood. She has met Gilder halfway by asserting that men are not the enemy and that marriage and family are good and necessary things. Betty Friedan in *The Second Phase* has reached basically the same conclusion. Deriding the feminists' distaste for motherhood and family, Hewlett observes caustically that for them, "the only function of sex is to give women a valuable experience." She makes this telling point: "The chic, liberal women of NOW have mostly failed to understand that millions of American women like being wives and mothers and want to strengthen, not weaken, the traditional family structure. For them, motherhood is not a trap, divorce is not liberation, and many of them find the personal and sexual freedom of modern life immensely threatening."

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To bolster her criticism of American feminists, she analyzes the *Garland* case in California in which a woman who lost her job because of pregnancy alleged that this was a violation of her rights. When her position was upheld by California's Department of Fair Employment and Opportunity and Housing, her former employer challenged the 1979 California law that had been invoked in favor of Lillian Garland, in court. Feminists, including Diane Feinstein, the mayor of San Francisco, filed briefs in opposition to Garland's claim, arguing that special benefits for women undermine the concept of equality. Yet Hewlett should have noted that NOW's statement of purpose includes the following:

> We believe that this nation has a capacity at least as great as other nations, to innovate new social institutions which will enable women to enjoy true equality of opportunity and responsibility in society, without conflict with their responsibilities as mothers and homemakers. In such innovations, America does not lead the Western world, but lags by decades behind many European countries. We do not accept the traditional assumption that a woman has to choose between marriage and motherhood, on the one hand, and serious participation in industry or the professions on the other . . . . True equality of opportunity and freedom of choice for women requires such practical and possible innovations as a nationwide network of child-care centers, which will make it unnecessary for women to retire completely from society until their children are

grown, and national programs to provide retraining for women who have chosen to care for their own children full-time.

If George Gilder was aware, when he wrote *Sexual Suicide,* that NOW was pressing for child-care centers as well as the ERA and antidiscrimination enforcement, why does Hewlett insist that this is not the case? Her discovery of the issue of child care has convinced her that she is breaking new ground. She is not. It is, in this respect, that the work is to some extent an overstatement of NOW's lack of emphasis on the family. Her research on the American labor movement is also incomplete for failing to consider the work of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) on behalf of women workers.

It is to Hewlett's credit that she debunks the effort by feminists to find in Schlafly's effort to defeat ERA a wide conspiracy of the reactionary Right to wipe out the gains made by feminism. Schlafly herself has said that she would have supported the ERA had it retained the Hayden modification introduced by Arizona Senator Carl Hayden and which had been part of the pending amendment for twenty years. It stated: "The provision of this article shall not be construed to impair any rights, benefits or exemptions conferred by law upon persons of the female sex." In 1970, when the ERA came up on the Senate floor, Senator Sam Ervin reintroduced these qualifications by proposing nine amendments retaining preferential treatment by law for wives, mothers, and widows and exempting women from the draft and from combat duty. The House found these amendments unacceptable and the ERA was sent to the individual state legislatures for ratification without them. It is arguable, Hewlett believes, that this is what really caused the defeat of the ERA.

Since what Hewlett wants, and believes most women want, is to be a wife and mother while succeeding at meaningful work, she advocates such things as total child-care programs, comparable worth (equal pay for comparable work), the opening up of male-dominated jobs to women, maternity leave, flex-time (flexible work arrangements for women with children while they need to care for them) and other support systems she lumps together in what she calls "social feminism." This is the brand of feminism found, she says, in Europe. To support this conclusion, she relies heavily on the Swedish experience under the Social Democrats. Sweden is not Europe and her generalizations tend to be somewhat misleading since Catholic Europe has a different tradition. She argues that in France, conservative politicians and the Catholic church endorse such things as maternity leave, child care, child allowances, and long vacations mandated by law, because they strengthen the traditional family, not because they are feminists, which they are not.

Hewlett points out that the divorce rates in Europe are substantially lower than in the United States and suggests that the availability of family support systems has something to do with this. If she is right, George Gilder might be willing to reconsider his serious opposition to child care. If the debate is no longer whether the relationship between men and women is based on power, domination, and subservience, but instead on how to provide a better life for the women who want to be wives and mothers but must work out of economic necessity, the European experience is something of value to Americans as they grope for solutions. Even though the monetary cost of some of the programs Hewlett supports is great, they might well be essential for the survival of the family. While reading Hewlett's prose can be like drinking concentrated orange juice, she has some tough and valid points to make. Mistakes have been made in the women's liberation movement and some new directions are in order.

Social-Democratic America?

To this end, Ruth Sidel in *Women & Children Last* comes out swinging. A professor of sociology at Hunter College and a direct intellectual descendent of Belle Moscowitz, the adviser to Governor Alfred E. Smith on social welfare policy, Sidel opens her treatise with a quote from none other than Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who in his second inaugural address in 1937 said, "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have too much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little." As you read this

book you can hear the groans coming from the Right, including the redoubtable Mr. Gilder, who thought this had all been debunked ages ago. Sidel's inspiration is that bastion of happiness, Sweden, which also served as the model for the New Deal. The phrase "women and children last" comes from the frantic attempt to escape the sinking Titanic; only then, they shouted, "Women and children first!" In fact, Sidel tells us, only the well-off women and children made it, while the lower classes sank with the ship and drowned. Her position is blunt. More and more women are living in poverty in America. Women and children are most often plunged into poverty because of changes in the family structure such as divorce, separation, death, or the birth of a child, because they are particularly vulnerable to the economic consequences of these events. She informs us that divorce makes women poor but usually causes the financial situation of men to improve.

The solution, she tells us, is a family policy that would include the following: pay equity for women and greater job opportunities for women in traditionally male-dominated jobs; a comprehensive jobs program for everyone, including unemployed men; guaranteed, paid maternity or parents' leave, prenatal care and health care for children; allowances for families or children; a nationwide system of day care; and a complete overhauling of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program to eliminate the humiliation of those on welfare. All of this, she argues, should be a basic entitlement. It would be, she explains, less costly than paying for the crimes of alienated youth, the lack of productivity of degraded men who cannot find jobs, and the illness and poverty of women who cannot function in our society as it is presently structured.

Her examples are filled with data such as: "Other researchers have found that male unemployment is associated with high blood pressure, alcoholism, increased smoking, insomnia, anxiety, and higher levels of psychiatric symptoms." This is a compelling chain of horrors, but these symptoms are also found among employed males under the intense pressure of competition. There are, in short, problems in both Harlem, New York, and Darien, Connecticut, but Sidel sees only the needs of Harlem. The trouble with Sidel's argument is best understood in the context of Ellen Hawkes' comments on the response of women to the nomination of Geraldine Ferraro: "They could cry joyful tears for Ferraro's nomination, but like most men, they saw no recognition of their own realities in the Democratic party's worn-out appeal to the 'disadvantaged' or 'disinherited groups'." Hawkes quotes Gloria Steinem, who summed it up when she said, "I think we've had it with women singing the blues."

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Thus, even if there is real need, the feminists might be making yet another mistake by putting all their eggs in the basket of a family policy. Americans, men and women, like to identify with winners, not losers, and the only way Sidel's platform could succeed as a political device to gain support for the liberal Democrats is if there is a repeat of 1929 and a leader of the persuasiveness of FDR. But then again, Mario Cuomo might just be Al Smith and Bill Bradley could be Roosevelt. If David Stockman is right, the Democrats could be singing "Happy Days Are Here Again" once more as they feed off the disaster of a Harding-Coolidge-Hoover rerun.

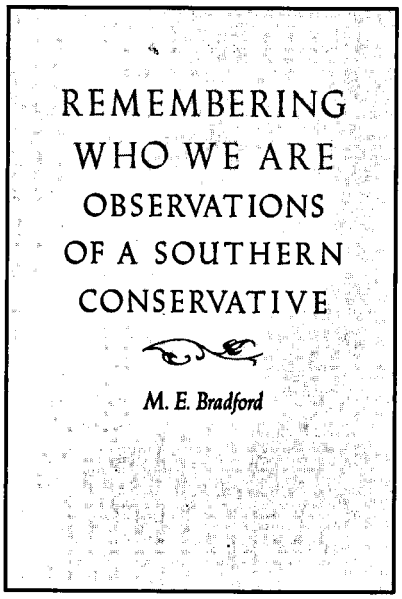
Hewlett tells us that the reason the American women's liberation movement has not made the inroads women have made in Europe is because the political parties and the unions there are motivated by a class-consciousness missing from American society. This kind of class consciousness arises from a lack of opportunity, and if it takes hold in America, class and not sex will be the basic issue. These three books provide the reader with a sense of what the American women's movement has been about, where it is likely to go next, and how one might be better prepared to deal with it. ■

Looking Back

BY PAUL GOTTFRIED

M.E. Bradford appeals to tradition and moral gravity in his interpretation of American history.

REMEMBERING WHO WE ARE: Observations of a Southern Conservative
M.E. Bradford
Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985



Paul Gottfried is a senior editor at THE WORLD & I magazine. He is the author of The Search for Historical Meaning: Hegel and the American Right *(Northern Illinois University Press).*

This collection of essays and papers by M.E. Bradford differs from what I expected. From the reviews it seemed that Bradford was defending "authentic" America as a xenophobic, tribal community. This community was seen as bound up with racial slavery, but also (implausibly enough) with the thinking of Thomas Jefferson, someone normally associated with the Enlightenment. Through Bradford's fevered imagination, Jefferson was turned into a tribalist; and the founding of America, as Bradford was interpreted in the *Claremont Review,* became a proto-Nazi attempt to create a "community of blood and soil." Bradford's reviewers, even friendly ones, note the "anger" in his remarks about the War Between the States (a.k.a. the Civil War), the civil rights revolution, and finally, his own unsuccessful bid for the directorship of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). Even more recently, owing to massive bureaucratic opposition, Bradford was denied the post of National Archivist. Sympathetic and unsympathetic reviewers both insist that Mel is looking back in anger.

My own reading has shown that none of these judgments is correct. Bradford has an unsettling habit of appealing to sentiment to express complicated arguments, but his views are neither malicious nor reminiscent of Nazi thinking. On this last point I would stress a critical distinction ignored in one particularly graceless tirade against him, between nazism's faintly Jeffersonian appeals to agrarian virtue, something which could also be found in European peasant parties; and the more distinctively Nazi cult of violence and racial engineering. Bradford is an agrarian traditionalist, but not an advocate of Nazi programs and ideals. Regrettably his critics, and particularly the disciples of Leo Strauss, are unwilling to recognize this distinction. Although Bradford and the Straussians, most notably Harry Jaffa, have been arguing political philosophy for years, one would have

hoped that neither side descended to name-calling.

There are, in fact, genuine philosophic differences between the two. Citing—inaccurately, I believe—*Notes on the Revolution in France,* the late Leo Strauss judged Edmund Burke, the father of historical conservatism, to be a "radical" historicist, who had treated morality as a function of historical forces. According to Strauss, the opponents of the French Revolution who had appealed to history and custom were even more dangerously revolutionary than were their enemies on the Left. Among Strauss's students, Harry Jaffa has pushed the case against historical conservatism perhaps the furthest. Jaffa sees the defense of inherited, non-egalitarian institutions as an opening wedge for fascism, and he identifies true conservatism with the support of democratic equality. Jaffa and his school have certainly been inventive in putting together their own Great Tradition. They cite selectively Aristotle, Plato, Aquinas, Locke, Jefferson, and their favorite statesman, Lincoln, in order to establish a pedigree for their concept of American democracy. But even less zealously egalitarian Straussians—for example, Joseph Cropsey at the University of Chicago—take a starkly rationalist and anti-traditionalist approach to political theory. They regard the best regime as one devised by individual reason—and never to be confused with the hereditary, customary, or historically given. Cropsey asserts the utter incompatibility between philosophy and the defense of tradition.

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Against these ideas, Bradford upholds prescriptive rights as the only basis for a just and human society. He offers an "Old Whig" perspective in his discussion of the English constitution as viewed by eighteenth-century Englishmen: "[I]t was not a contract but a source of identity with no author but the nation and its history, with God an implicit party to the process. A covenant qua law it grew out of the interaction of people and princes living out of the nation's genius, with God's blessing its confirmation." Bradford believes that "these assumptions undergird most of the early American political documents." Kings were respected, but only when they observed "the limits of

the constitution, leaving colonial Americans with their inherited rights as Englishmen." The revolution was justified as a break with royal tyranny, but not used to disavow the Common Law in which the former colonists found their prescriptive rights as Englishmen protected.

Bradford denies emphatically a key Straussian teaching, that the political founding of America owed its theoretical framework to John Locke, the late seventeenth-century English thinker. Locke viewed civil society as a compact for protecting individual rights to life and property. He took rights to be pre-social (preceding man's entrance into a community and, moreover, linked to individual material needs and appetites. According to Bradford, Straussians overemphasize the Lockean legacy in what they simplistically call "the American regime." He calls attention to their tendency to define America as an intellectual construct, while reducing American history to a struggle waged on behalf of abstract natural rights.

Yet, Bradford does not help his own case by ignoring references to Locke among the Founders. The Virginia planters—Thomas Jefferson, George Mason, and James Madison—admired Locke and gave evidence of borrowing from his political writings. Even a self-described modern Whig whom Bradford cites with approval, Gottfried Dietze, considers Locke to be the single most (though not the only) important political theorist for America's Founders. Perhaps the attention given to Locke is wrong: serious historians like Forrest McDonald have begun to dispute it. Bradford correctly tells us, by indirection, that Madison and other Founders thought less of Locke than of David Hume, a philosophic skeptic but political traditionalist. But this mere assertion is not a proof. Bradford should not have omitted Locke from his account of the Founding without giving good reasons. Telling us that natural rights conceptions were "heathen" (but not in the Classical sense) and "primitive," and therefore unworthy of the Founders, contributes nothing to his argument.

Bradford's views are neither malicious nor reminiscent of Nazi thinking.

I am also dissatisfied with Bradford's persistent, rhetorical linking of Abolitionism to New England Puritans. There was indeed a millennialist influence among the religious Abolitionists, but its source was not seventeenth-century Puritans but nineteenth-century Evangelicals. Puritans, unlike Evangelicals, were not generally hostile to slavery; and even those of them who expected God's kingdom to be established on earth spoke more often of man's depravity than his perfectibility. It is hard to see how New England Puritans influenced that assortment of Quakers, (in England) Anglicans, Presbyterians, evangelically related sects, and rank reformers who crusaded against slavery in the nineteenth century.

These reservations aside, one may properly marvel at Bradford's learning and intuitive brilliance. His warnings against argument from definition, broad principles applied without reference to contexts, show to what degree he has thought about significant philosophic problems. Like his teacher Richard Weaver, Bradford considers "the Southern experience" to be coextensive with Western civilization; also like Weaver he builds his defense of Southern regionalism upon a broad base, Classical, Judeo-Christian, European, and American.

Bradford's Old Whig and anti-utopian view of politics goes back to, among other sources, the Presbyterian (that is, conservative Calvinist) understanding of the state, as a covenant enacted for worthy but limited ends. Bradford seems to make much of a distinction present in Michael Oakeshott and Friedrich Hayek, between nomocratic and telocratic governments: between states that provide for the ordinary conduct of human affairs, and those that aim at broad human reconstruction. But at least in Bradford's case this may be a borrowed frame of reference. He argues from within a tradition that is both Protestant and Whiggish. It is also one that, together with appeals to Roman republican virtues of ancestral piety and moral gravity, provides his norm

for sound political practice. Gregory Wolfe, a young Catholic writer who reviewed Bradford's book for *Continuity,* qualified his praise by regretting Bradford's failure to state universal moral principles. Because of his constant appeals to Roman and biblical morality, Bradford may see no need to talk about "natural law knowable to men through right reason." His reticence about universals, however, may be due to something more deliberate, a desire to avoid idle speculation about humanity in general. Bradford holds no brief for what one French conservative calls "homogenizing globalism."

Although his comments about illegal immigrants from Mexico may hit sensitive nerves, critics nonetheless exaggerate his xenophobia. Bradford has always eagerly supported the exchange of scholars and students between America and other countries; he serves with distinction on the Board of Foreign Scholarships that oversees the Fulbright Program. In the controversy over illegal immigration, Bradford takes sides in a confrontation between the proponents of two rival understandings of the American Founding: a modernized natural rights ideology and the view of America as a historical community. According to Bradford, "the secular religion of natural rights" is today as strong on the putative Right as it is on the Left. He may have in mind *The Wall Street Journal* when he notes that those who would allow America to be swamped by illegal immigrants are often the same people who in the name of the same religion would "risk a war in order to free the slaves in Siberia." Bradford does not minimize the danger of Soviet expansion or of communism; but he is convinced that an American foreign policy based on a missionizing secular religion is both wrongheaded and dangerous. He wisely observes, "Only if natural rights have priority over the circumstantial objection that, damaged or destroyed, we can protect or liberate no one will we find our first duty so far away from home."

Bradford does not help his own case by ignoring references to Locke among the Founders.

These observations remind me of a speech, by the late Senator Jacob Javits, given to a crowd in New York following the Israeli victory in the Six Day War. Javits told his exultant and presumably pro-Israeli listeners that Israel had won the war for the United States. Although the senator might have believed his own statement, I trust that the Israelis had a more realistic understanding of national needs and interests. They had fought a mortal enemy in order to preserve themselves, individually and as a people. They had not gone to war for the United States—and even less, to advance someone's private utopian vision.

Despite Bradford's unhappy experience in pursuing the directorship of NEH, he shows restraint in describing that controversial institution. My own experience as a later candidate (who, unlike Bradford, never came within a hair's breadth of the nomination) has left me openly critical of that particular part of the New York–Washington power structure. Bureaucrats, journalists, and administrators at prestigious universities, particularly in the Northeast, work to advance the "right person" whenever the NEH directorship falls vacant. At stake here are tens of millions of dollars; for most of the money which NEH distributes goes as massive block grants to academic institutions. An old-boy network—thus far resistant to reforms—ensures that the referee panels judging individual grants favor those universities that also receive most of the larger block grants. Such a system makes it virtually impossible for an applicant from a small, undistinguished college to obtain an NEH grant for scholarship. I myself experienced repeated frustration precisely as such an applicant. More than once I was appalled in reading an evaluation of my proposal to discover that the only criticism offered concerned my obscure place of employment.

Bradford avoids going into these problems but notes a general tendency in the United States for government institutions supporting the arts and humanities to become rapidly "politicized." This criticism is fairly widespread and certainly shared by

past candidates for the NEH directorship. The question may be posed whether the problem of politicization in its present obnoxious form is unavoidable. The first NEH Director, Ronald Berman, worked diligently, and with some success, to banish ideological agendas from the refereeing procedures. In the process, Berman made few friends and was attacked in the press and in Congress as someone opposed to aggrieved minorities yearning for self-expression. His successor Joseph Dufy, a left-leaning Democrat, unabashedly used the NEH to push "minority agendas." Under Dufy an elaborate quota system sprang into being to ensure the hiring of women, blacks, Hispanics, and native Americans at all administrative levels.

The Bennett directorship saw the apparent removal of Dufy's quotas; yet William Bennett was able to show during the congressional hearings on his nomination as secretary of education that he had put more women and blacks into managerial positions than even his predecessor. This achievement may not have been accidental: in all probability it was intended to forestall the kinds of attacks that liberal senators tried to launch against Bennett. Furthermore, having seen the names of about 100 referees in history, political science, and sociology selected by NEH since the early 1980s, I find that the vast majority of those whom I recognized were decidedly on the Left. The most notable exceptions were Straussians who have fared well in recent times as both judges and recipients of grants. The most costly of those questionable grants from NEH challenged in a *Washington Times* editorial earlier this year happen to have gone to Straussians. This was not surprising in view of their demonstrative backing of Bennett against Bradford in the first battle for the NEH directorship during the Reagan years.

He is convinced that an American foreign policy based on a missionizing secular religion is dangerous.

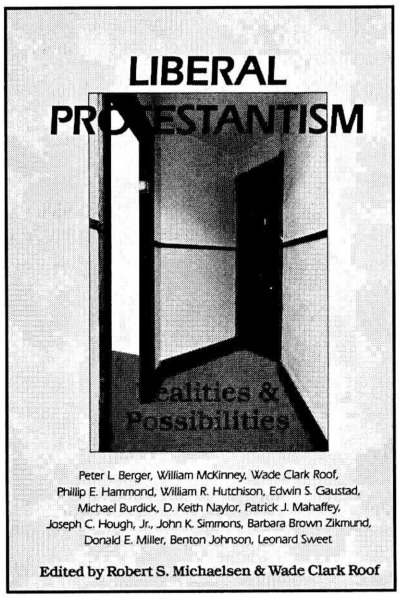
Is there an alternative to the politics-as-usual atmosphere prevalent at the NEH and—it may be assumed from available evidence—at the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA)? Although the jury may still be out on this question, I do not believe that anything peculiarly American prevents us from publicly assisting scholarship and the arts without surrendering to ideological fads and political brokering. Professor Bradford may be too gracious when he ascribes the failures of federally supported cultural institutions to a break with older American traditions of privately subsidizing the arts and humanities. At issue are questions of personal responsibility that involve the political, academic, and artistic communities, as well as the leadership of the NEH and NEA. Not national character but people should be blamed for the problems that Bradford outlines.■

Protestant Soul-Searching

BY RICHARD QUEBEDEAUX

If current trends continue, within a generation or two the liberal denominations may go the way of the old state churches of northern Europe.

LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM: Realities and Possibilities
Robert S. Michaelson and Wade Clark Roof, editors
The Pilgrim Press, 1986
$11.95, paperback



*Richard Quebedeaux is an author and consultant on religion. Three of his books —*The Worldly Evangelicals, By What Authority, *and* The New Charismatics II *—focus on the "liberalization" of conservative Protestantism in recent years.*

Robert S. Michaelson and Wade Clark Roof are the editors for this collection of fifteen scholarly essays that together evaluate the current status and future prospects of "liberal," "mainline," or "old-line" Protestantism. Once the dominant school of Christian thought and practice in the United States, liberal Protestantism has lost its prominence and popularity in recent years in the wake of a resurgence of "conservative" Protestantism. The contributors are professors and doctoral students of religion, history, and sociology. They identify themselves as Protestant liberals and share a view of theology that stresses "freedom, liberation from earthly authoritarianism, closed systems, [and] the ultimate authority whose way is dynamically disclosed in and through the Bible."

Normally, such collections are full of "in-house" academic jargon, so much so that their appeal is limited, meriting review only in the appropriate professional society journals. *Liberal Protestantism,* however, avoids the pitfalls of the academic journal and provides the reader with accurate, concise, comprehensible, and thorough analyses of the issues that confront liberal Protestantism. The essays are arranged thematically. None seems out of place or irrelevant, and the writers are not reluctant to make bold value judgments. The authors give us the empirical data that we would require of "objective scholarship," but they also *interpret* the data from the perspective of their own disciplines and from their personal life experience as liberal Protestants. Written for a symposium held at the University of California, Santa Barbara, in the spring of 1985, and funded by the Lilly Endowment, the essays are conversational in style and appeal to an interested general reader.

The Contemporary Setting

The book is divided into four sections. All of these articles are identified, discussed briefly, and

placed in context within the excellent introduction to *Liberal Protestantism* by the work's editors, Robert S. Michaelson and Wade Clark Roof. The first group of essays contains articles by Peter L. Berger, William McKinney and Wade Clark Roof, Phillip E. Hammond, and William R. Hutchison and focuses on the current shape and social context of Protestant liberalism in America.

Berger discusses the position of liberalism in the wake of the resurgence of Protestant conservatism, reminding us that the United States is the least secularized of all developed Western nations, and that conservatism in America is nothing new. What *is* new, however, is the fact that conservative Protestants have become upwardly mobile in recent years, and in the process their conservatism has taken on the same "sophisticated" style that marked liberalism in the 1960s. Although the influential liberals are gathered mainly in the bastions of "elite" culture (such as New York City, Cambridge, and Berkeley) and *within* the leadership of the contemporary Protestant denominations, and although their numbers are relatively small, they have been very effective in imposing their values on the rest of society through the educational system, the media, and the law.

Berger sees the present "struggle" between Protestant conservatives and liberals as analogous to class warfare. The liberal minority, who make their living from the production and distribution of knowledge in the "teaching, caring, and communication industries" (a rising "New Class"), are in conflict with the conservative majority (or "Business Class") who are rebelling against the cultural and political power of the "secular humanists." Protestant liberal elites are joined here by modern Roman Catholics and Jews. Their influence in education, the media, and the law scares the conservative elites (such as the fundamentalist television evangelists) who now have the numbers and clout to do something about it. Berger laments this warfare. When political partisanship becomes routine in the church's public role, there is a loss of its "catholicity," and it can no longer, even potentially, embrace all Christians. He is appalled that the public postures of the major churches should "increasingly be nothing but near-automatic reflexes of the class cultures to which their leaders belong or aspire." For liberal Protestantism as a whole, he sees only continued decline.

William McKinney and Wade Clark Roof evaluate the situation by focusing on three liberal denominations that together constitute the heart of the historical Protestant mainline in America—the Presbyterian Church, which lost 900,000 members between 1960 and 1980; the United Church of Christ, which declined by 500,000 persons during the same period; and the Episcopal Church, which was deprived of 480,000 communicants between those years. McKinney and Roof note that liberal Protestants are concentrated in the Northeast; 95 percent are white, with many individuals of British or German ancestry among them. They tend to be located toward the top of the U.S. status hierarchy, are politically more liberal than other Protestants, and have a more "privatized" faith and commitment than other Christians.

According to Talcott Parsons, the late Harvard sociologist, most churches are able to hold the majority of children born to members. But today liberal denominations are getting older. In 1974, for instance, the average age of the members of the United Church of Christ was fifty-seven. There has also been a decrease in the once-common "switching" of Christians from conservative to liberal churches. In contrast with conservative Protestantism, the difference in numbers is dramatic. Because conservative denominations are younger and have a higher birth rate, they are able to maintain the memberships of the children.

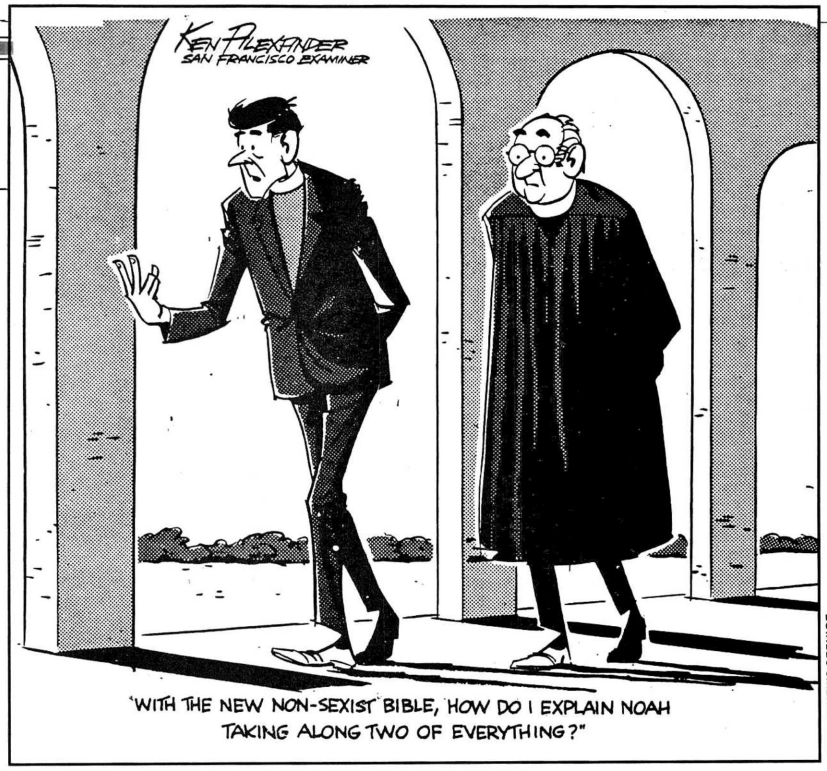
For McKinney and Roof, the prospects of liberal Protestantism are not encouraging. They insist that liberalism must not, in the interest of growth, sacrifice its characteristic values of intergroup toleration, social justice, and the continued renewal of public life through left-leaning political pronouncements. But liberals can no longer just sit back and wait for people to come to *them*. The future shape of liberal Protestantism will depend on its ability to counter the "secular drift" that has had such a profound impact on its constituencies.

Phillip E. Hammond's essay focuses on the liberal decline in recent years. Protestant liberalism accommodated to secular culture rapidly and lost its distinc-

tiveness in the process. Governments and secular agencies took over the "good deed" efforts of foreign and home missionaries; psychologists and social workers replaced pastoral counselors in the "cure of souls"; higher education, once part of the Protestant establishment, became secular, and college students from the liberal denominations increasingly stayed away from church. They indicated their religious preference as "none."

For Hammond, the future prospects of liberal Protestantism could hardly be worse. He agrees with Emile Durkheim's belief that religion grows out of experience with the sacred, which in turn grows out of intimate relations with others. And he goes on to explain that, through the rationalization of thought, the sacred has been "extravasated"—or forced out—from Protestant liberalism and is being discovered instead in institutional or non-institutional settings sometimes far removed from churches. Thus, liberalism must "discover alternative communities and build on them" just to survive. And that won't be easy.

Then, to conclude this section on a more upbeat note, Harvard historian William R. Hutchison notes that conservative growth as compared with liberal losses is stunning at present. The gap in growth rates for 1965–1975 is more than 29 percentage points (an average loss in the old-line denominations of 8.9 percent against average gains among the conservatives of 20.5 percent). But, he reminds us, this gap does not approach the difference in growth rates recorded for the same religious groups in the 1930s, when the discrepancy amounted to 62 percentage points. The current situation, therefore, is nothing new, and liberals can take some comfort in that. Yet, he feels the "renewal" of Protestant liberalism can occur only if liberals become more assertive about affirming their pluralistic program (like the American Civil Liberties Union, for instance), and only if they develop a bolder, more explicit "theistic rationale" for that pluralism, which, for Hutchison, is the greatest unattended need of the moment.



Historical Analyses

The second section of the collection puts contemporary liberal Protestantism in its proper historical context. Essays by Edwin S. Gaustad, Michael Burdick, D. Keith Naylor, and Patrick J. Mahaffey make up the second section of the collection. American church historian Edwin Gaustad begins with a detailed review of *Our Country,* a classic Protestant work published by Josiah Strong in 1885. Gaustad uses it as a benchmark against which to assess current trends and evaluations of Christianity in America. Strong's liberal critique and positive belief in the future is worth considering today, as long as modern readers don't fall into his naive, short-term optimism—or into his nativism, racism, and jingoism. As a historian, Gaustad faults the liberal tendency to try and "save the world apart from the soul."

Burdick discusses the dramatic decline of foreign missionwork in recent generations of liberal Protestantism. The result was influenced mightily by the fact that "American mainline denominations had lost their conviction that as Christians they had much to of-

fer." The universalist impulse inherent in liberalism put "dialogue" and mutual respect—even for other religions—as a top priority in the mission work of mainline Protestantism, and put humanitarian and social service (and, at times, involvement in radical social reconstruction) as the primary goal of evangelism. Conversion, quite frankly, was unnecessary. Thus, today conservative agencies are dominating the mission field in a ten-to-one ratio. If liberals no longer view the world as a mission field, conservatives still do, since they believe that apart from a "personal acceptance of Jesus Christ as Lord" there is no salvation. That particular belief remains a powerful motivating force for conservative Protestant foreign mission activity, a conviction not at all present in liberal Christianity.

D. Keith Naylor recounts the gradual decline of the liberal Protestant presence on American college and university campuses. The first institutions of higher learning were sponsored by Protestants (for example, Harvard, founded in 1636, and Yale, founded in 1701), and their clergy dominated as college presidents until the late nineteenth century, when the status of religion in academia suffered major setbacks. New "secular" fields such as the social and behavioral sciences stepped in to take its place, and the Protestant ministers serving churches in the campus community accepted their own increasing marginality.

In the late nineteenth century, because of better and easier travel conditions, young people began to leave home in larger numbers to attend college; and by the early 1900s, professional "campus ministers" sought to provide a "home away from home" for the growing flock from their denominations. By mid-century, a liberal Protestant campus ministry had become innovative and more visible. And by the 1960s, it had changed its priorities from providing "fellowship groups" for denominational Christians on campus to becoming the leading voice of radical social involvement and critique.

"Renewal" of Protestant liberalism can occur only if liberals become more assertive about affirming their pluralistic program.

At this point, the quest for religious "relevance" led campus pastors to express their convictions more in psychological and sociological terms than in traditional religious language. As a consequence, however, the established campus ministry lost its sense of transcendence—along with its activist student following—by the 1970s, when spirituality, not social involvement, became the "in-thing" on campus. Students now wanted Bible study, "devout" theology, and a measure of piety which liberal campus ministers could no longer provide. Thus conservative ministries such as Campus Crusade for Christ and the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship blossomed anew and replaced the Protestant liberal establishment as the most visible "Christian presence" within the secular college and university community in America.

Patrick J. Mahaffey concludes this section with a biting critique of how, in America's search for self-fulfillment and "soul" in the 1960s and 1970s, the secularization of liberal Christianity was enhanced. During this period, the traditional American ethic of self-sacrifice for larger personal and social goals was replaced with a more blatant "success ethic," achievable now, and based on the wrong notion of a private self that stands apart from culture and history and makes its choices in a vacuum. With a slight regard for authority, doctrine, and tradition, liberal Christians—influenced mightily by modern psychology—began to see themselves as the chief agents and beneficiaries of their own salvation. Pastoral counselors came to use the same techniques as those employed by secular psychology, and religion per se seemed to have nothing unique to offer any more.

By concentrating only on self, Mahaffey laments, Americans have lost their soul. And for him, the future vitality of liberal churches, as well as the culture at large, depends on the churches' capacity to play a leading role in the search for the rediscovery of that necessary spiritual dimension of life.

Theological Reflections

The third part of the collection is made up of theological reflections on the status of liberal Protestantism by Joseph C. Hough, Jr., John K. Simmons, and Barbara Brown Zikmund. In an insightful article, Hough blames the demise of liberalism on its loss of optimism. He argues that liberal Protestant faith was, at its inception, characterized by a highly optimistic assessment of the possibilities of God's redeeming power in history. This optimism cohered nicely with the optimism of "American democratic faith" (or "civil religion") more generally. But as the optimism of liberal Protestantism faded, especially with the onset of World War II, and the theological heirs of liberalism became increasingly critical of America, they were alienated from the larger secular democratic faith. As a result, the appeal of liberal Protestantism diminished, and its influence waned. Then, with the revival of an uncritically optimistic civil religion in America in the 1980s, liberal churches were even more out of touch with the times than in the past.

Hough regards the renewal of liberalism as a noble goal and suggests the study of Karl Barth, James Gustafson, and the shapers of "process theology" as one way to aid its development. Nevertheless, even with that—given the loss of confidence about history in these theologians, too—he sees the end of the liberal Protestant program as we know it.

John K. Simmons, influenced greatly by the New Age thinker Fritjof Capra, writes that Protestant liberalism should adapt well to the impending "fully realized pluralistic cultural environment" —characterized by "complementarity," communication, community, and consensus. But he does fault liberalism for "bargaining away" almost everything to modernity and secular culture. To remedy this loss, Simmons sees the need for it to repudiate its privatism and once again "go public." Yet, in so doing, the mainline churches will have to recover their legitimacy by speaking with fresh authority, and by being morally credible and gifted in determining the real needs of people.

By concentrating only on self, Americans have lost their soul.

Barbara Brown Zikmund, concluding this section, declares that liberal Protestantism must be realistic about its diminished appeal and its potential market. She argues that it has its greatest potential attraction among "secular persons" who have rejected religion, not those who are just seeking a way out of "stifling religiosity." Liberalism needs to admit that it is no longer part of the political and social establishment. Zikmund emphasizes the fact that the whole character of liberal Protestantism has been closely connected with particular policies developed through rational, scientific thinking. But it has therefore lost its "religious identity," and will survive only if it can again effectively teach the language and practices of Christianity to potential adherents, motivating them to "do something" about that teaching.

Possibilities for the Future

The final section of *Liberal Protestantism* concerns itself with possibilities for the future and includes articles by Donald E. Miller, Benton Johnson, and Leonard Sweet. Miller's essay is perhaps the most helpful of all the essays in the book. He cites ten reasons for the decline of liberalism:

- Its lack of strictness;
- Its too-radical expectations about social change (especially in the 1960s);
- Its clergy's neglect of church members while pursuing social action;
- The weakness of its religious education programs;
- The theological crises among its clergy (for example, the "death of God" —which hasn't gone away!);
- The readiness of its ministers to admit their doubts;
- The lack of trust in pastoral authority among its chief adherents;
- The popularity of secular psychotherapy, which has replaced liberal pastoral counseling;
- The widespread confusion and cynicism resulting from

cultural pluralism (that is, the tendency among liberals to either "drop out" of religion altogether, or become conservatives); and

- The possibility that America is catching up with European secularity.

Donald Miller encourages his readers with a case study of a particular liberal Protestant church which *is* successful, and he tells us precisely why. First, this church functions as a catch basin for disenchanted members of other churches (for example, "conservative" Protestants who are no longer conservative, and liberalized Catholics who oppose traditional church teaching, especially on human sexuality). Second, it provides a stimulating religious community for the culturally sophisticated (liberalism's customary clientele) and the newly affluent. Third, this parish church provides a haven for the few "old-time liberals" still present nearby. Fourth, its worship offers a measure of "mystical self-transcendence" so often absent from liberal congregations. And finally, it gives members and visitors good therapeutic help that, in this case, is more appealing than that which they can find elsewhere. These reasons for success, obviously, also indicate the kinds of people—the market—which *can* be attracted to liberal Protestantism. Miller insists, however, that the liberal church as a whole can never compete as a mere social club. It somehow has to maintain its unique character as an institution which mediates between the human and the divine (as the congregation in his case study has done).

Benton Johnson, a leading American sociologist of religion, sees little hope for Protestantism in its liberal form. If current trends continue, he insists, within a generation or two the liberal denominations may have gone the way of the old state churches of northern Europe. Their weaknesses are clearly apparent. The first is demographic, in that the liberal churches have mostly lost the young adults, children of members, who are their future. The second is theological, because when a community's theological resources drain away through cultural accommodation—as in Protestant liberalism—its energy level declines, and demoralization and apathy set in. The third weakness, and a very important one in the modern era, is liberalism's loss of self-esteem, enhanced by its resentment about the present conservative resurgence. Any renewal of liberal Protestantism, Johnson feels, will be a function of its success in reclaiming its own "lost sheep"—the young adults who grew up in the church yet dropped out later. But he offers little hope that this will actually occur.

As Protestant and Catholic liberalism adapted wholeheartedly to modern consciousness, their transcendent relationship to God waned, and they were "secularized."

The collection concludes on a somewhat more positive note with an essay by Leonard Sweet, who argues that Protestant liberalism is not yet completely dead, and can be revived with what he terms—somewhat idealistically—"a reconstructed theology, a revitalized eschatology, a rehabilitated patriotism, and a reconstructed supernaturalism." Unfortunately, despite his lengthy discussion on these matters, Sweet does not tell us precisely how this is to be accomplished, only that it must take place. The reader, therefore, is left with his or her own ideas on how to deal with what most of our writers see as a most discouraging dilemma.

Conclusion

This extremely helpful collection of essays has given us a wealth of data and thoughtful evaluations concerning the present decline (or stagnation) of Protestant and, by implication, Catholic liberalism in America. By accommodating too much to the growing secular culture around it, what was once the "mainline" expression of American Christianity has become increasingly marginal—having lost its identity, distinctiveness, relevance, and appeal, if not its very soul. Virtually all the reasons for this sit-

uation—historical, sociological, and psychological—are cited by the writers. But when it comes to solutions to the problem, we are left with very little of substance. To one degree or another, each essayist insists that to survive, liberalism must regain the transcendent faith in God that it lost in its development—without forsaking its long-term commitment to the values that brought on its decline in the first place. Modernity and transcendence are incompatible. Thus, as Protestant and Catholic liberalism adapted wholeheartedly to modern consciousness, their transcendent relationship to God waned, and they were "secularized."

In Thomas F. O'Dea's classic definition, secularization may be understood to include two related transformations in the way people think (changes almost impossible to reverse). First, there is an increasing "worldliness" in the attitude toward persons and things. What is fundamentally involved here is the abandonment of emotional commitment found in the religious response, the response to the sacred and holy. Second, there is a rationalization of thought, the repression of emotional involvement in thinking about the world. Rationalization suggests a manner of thought that is comparatively free of emotion and in which logic replaces emotional symbolism in organizing reflection and speculation. If this is true, then liberalism, in its virtually complete accommodation of modernity—and thus to secularization—will simply be unable to regain the transcendence that it has lost. Thus, our writers who insist that the liberal church must recover that transcendence in order to survive cannot give us large-scale solutions to this problem, because none exist. Religion can be analyzed and critiqued by the scientific method, but it cannot be renewed by it.

The contributors to *Liberal Protestantism*, charting the continuing demise of their own denominations, look with envy to the growing conservative churches and movements —seeing in them the same kind of confident activity that marked liberalism in its heyday. What most of them don't seem to realize, though Berger hints at it, is that Protestant conservatism (that is, fundamentalism, evangelicalism, and pentecostalism) has itself been "domesticated" in recent years, and is quickly making its own peace with modernity. During the last two decades, nearly every conservative theological seminary and college religion department of standing has begun to use the very same "historical-critical method" in studying the Bible that shaped modern liberal religious thought, and the same "social-scientific study of religion" as well. In the process, moreover, their political stance has—naturally—also moved leftward. This fact alone, of course, will eventually have a major impact on the conservative churches themselves. Thus, Leonard Sweet can say that "liberal Protestantism is alive and well in left-wing evangelicalism."

At the same time, the upward social mobility of even the most "conservative" fundamentalist churches has increased to the point that their ministers are now preaching the same materialistic (and secular) "success ethic" that permeated all the liberal denominations as they moved up the social ladder, generations before. (The popular "televangelists" are an excellent example of this trend.) True, conservative churches still retain much of the old "orthodox" biblical symbolism that liberalism discarded a long time ago, but its transcendent meaning has been transformed to focus more on "the good life" here and now than on judgment and rewards in the hereafter.

In many—but still not all—respects, conservative Protestantism has become just as "worldly" as its liberal rival. If so, then its future in secular society is really just as doubtful as that of liberalism. No modern religion, in this reviewer's opinion, has yet been able to cope with modernity, and with secularization, without losing its soul in the process. That's the big problem for all theologians and religious professionals today. *Liberal Protestantism* gives us the true picture of current realities concerning its subject. And although its contributors' "solutions" to the demise of Christian liberalism are mostly unconvincing, the book does challenge modern Christians of whatever stripe to take up the issue and deal with it constructively. ■

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BONSAI

SMALL SIGNIFICANCE

BY CAROLE OTTESEN

Bonsai, Japanese for a tree growing in a shallow pot, is an art form that originated in China, but found its highest expression in Japan. First mentioned in ancient China nearly a thousand years ago, the notion of growing trees in containers appeared in Japan at an unknown date centuries ago. There it flourished and developed into an exacting method that has garnered followers all over the world.

JOHN RAINERI/COURTESY OF BOTANICAL DECORATORS

A Japanese white pine trained as a bonsai for over a century.

Yet, even in the distant future, surrounded by the civilization, concerns, and environment of an unborn generation, a bonsai will be understood and have appeal because it draws its inspiration from enduring nature rather than the fleeting fashions of man.

The soil of Japan was fertile ground for a discipline that combined nature with the hand of man. Japanese religious philosophy placed man not outside or in conflict with nature, but as a small element within nature's harmonious whole. Representing for man a link between heaven and earth, trees, with their lofty stature, were often revered. Man, like trees, stones, and waterfalls, occupied one of many niches in nature's hierarchy.

A reverence for nature, simplicity, and understatement are integral to the Japanese aesthetic sense. In bonsai, just as in *sumi* landscape painting, in *ikebana*—the Japanese art of flower arranging—and in Japanese garden art, the essence of nature is conveyed by small details rather than complete reproductions of natural scenes. A small part suggests the larger picture. The viewer plays an active roll in the art by filling in the missing elements.

Thus, the painting of a single plum blossom might evoke all that is associated with the awakening of the earth in spring. The viewer admires and appreciates the bravery of the plum blossom for defying the harshness of winter by blooming before all other trees.

Associations found in nature are both strong and many for the Japanese. Selecting a representative portion of nature for contemplation is customary. A traditional Japanese house, for example, is not equipped with picture windows for indiscriminately letting the outdoors in. Instead, windows are fitted with movable, translucent screens for selective viewing. Often a single representative of nature, an ikebana or a bonsai, is brought into the house to be viewed against the absolute simplicity of a blank wall or screen.

Such a setting allows for meditation on nature without distraction. A gnarled, old bonsai might express the heroic struggle of a lonely tree, growing in a rock crevice, buffeted by winds, prevailing against immense odds.

The crystallization of nature into small, fine representatives is perfectly suited to Japan, a country where space is limited and precious. Wild, uncharted country was developed long ago. Land has been scarce and

the entire country densely populated for centuries. Working within these limitations, the Japanese have created methods for enjoying the majesty of nature on a small scale. In their garden art, they recreate panoramas of mountain landscapes and woodland vistas within a few square feet. In bonsai, they suggest the grandeur of one of nature's giants with a specimen only a foot or two tall.

Long ago, when the countryside was still wild, the first bonsai were trees collected in the wild. Gnarled, twisted, and dwarfed by the elements, these first bonsai were highly prized specimens. Those who collected them often did so at great personal risk, climbing high in the mountains for especially good specimens. Consequently, naturally dwarfed bonsai were expensive.

Only aristocrats and certain of the clergy could afford them and were privy to the secrets of their culture. Grown behind cloister and castle walls, bonsai were treasures passed from generation to generation.

As naturally grown specimens became rarer and rarer, a system for reproducing the conditions of trees dwarfed by nature developed. Over centuries that system became a strict discipline with rules governing all contingencies.

Basically, a tree is dwarfed by a regime that includes root pruning, selective cutting out of branches, and wiring and leaf pruning. Growing the tree in a shallow container, of course, severely limits the root growth and the nutrients avail-

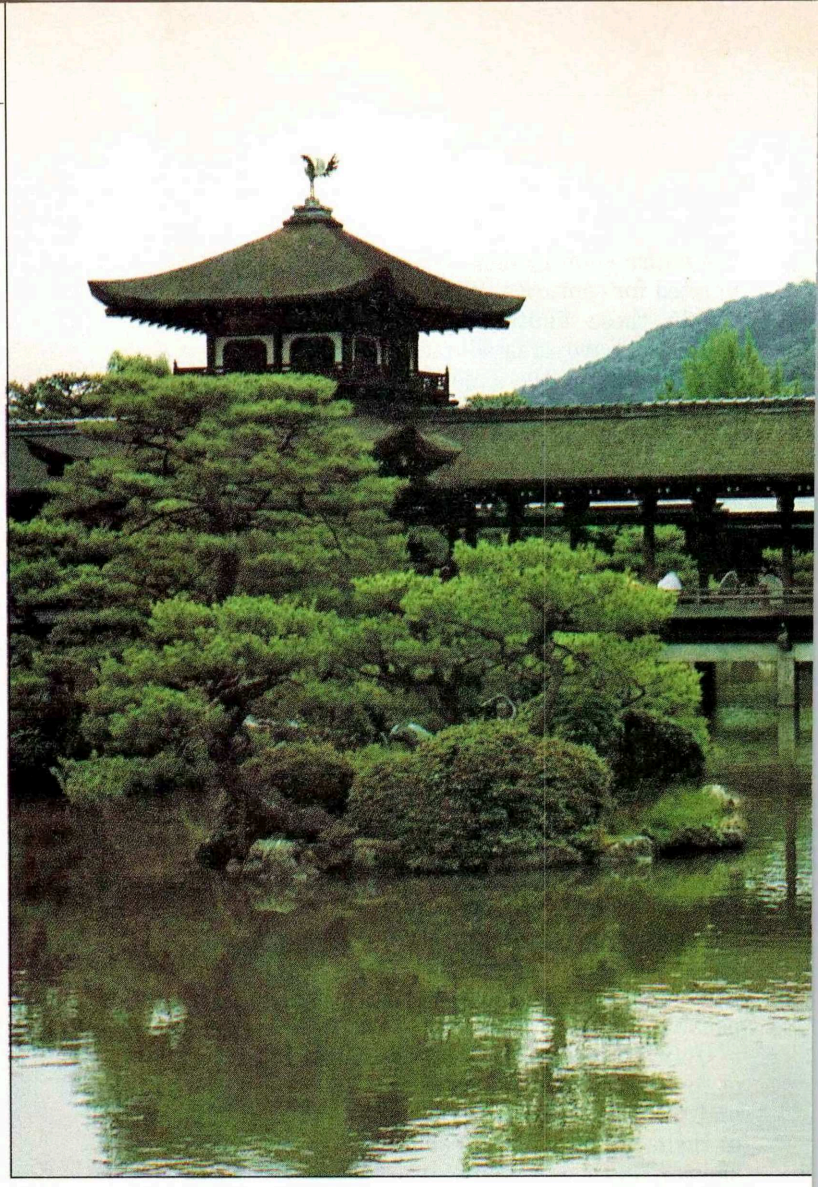
CAROL OTTESEN

To complement this azalea's bloom, a light-colored container has been selected.

able to the plant. The small growing container has the same effect on the trees as the rocky shallow ground of a mountainside: the root system that develops is restricted, allowing for only restrained growth. All bonsai procedures are designed to promote minimal growth.

Critics of bonsai call these tiny trees "deformed," citing the cultural practices as cruel and unnatural. Yet, all gardeners practice pruning of one sort or another. Cutting grass, clipping hedges, or pruning roses—like training bonsai—are all practices imposing unnatural shapes on plants.

Far from growing a weak and sickly tree, traditional bonsai culture requires all bonsai to be in a state of health and vigor. The tenets are strictly drawn and rigidly adhered to. Over centuries, rules governing every aspect of training and maintenance have been developed. For example, trees are classified by size and by shape and attitude of the trunk. Five main categories describe the basic styles of bonsai. Each evokes a certain mood or emotional response.



Garden in Japan.

Chokkan, the formal upright style, depicts a tree that reaches straight up toward the heavens. A fine, straight trunk symbolizes the towering grandeur of a majestic old tree.

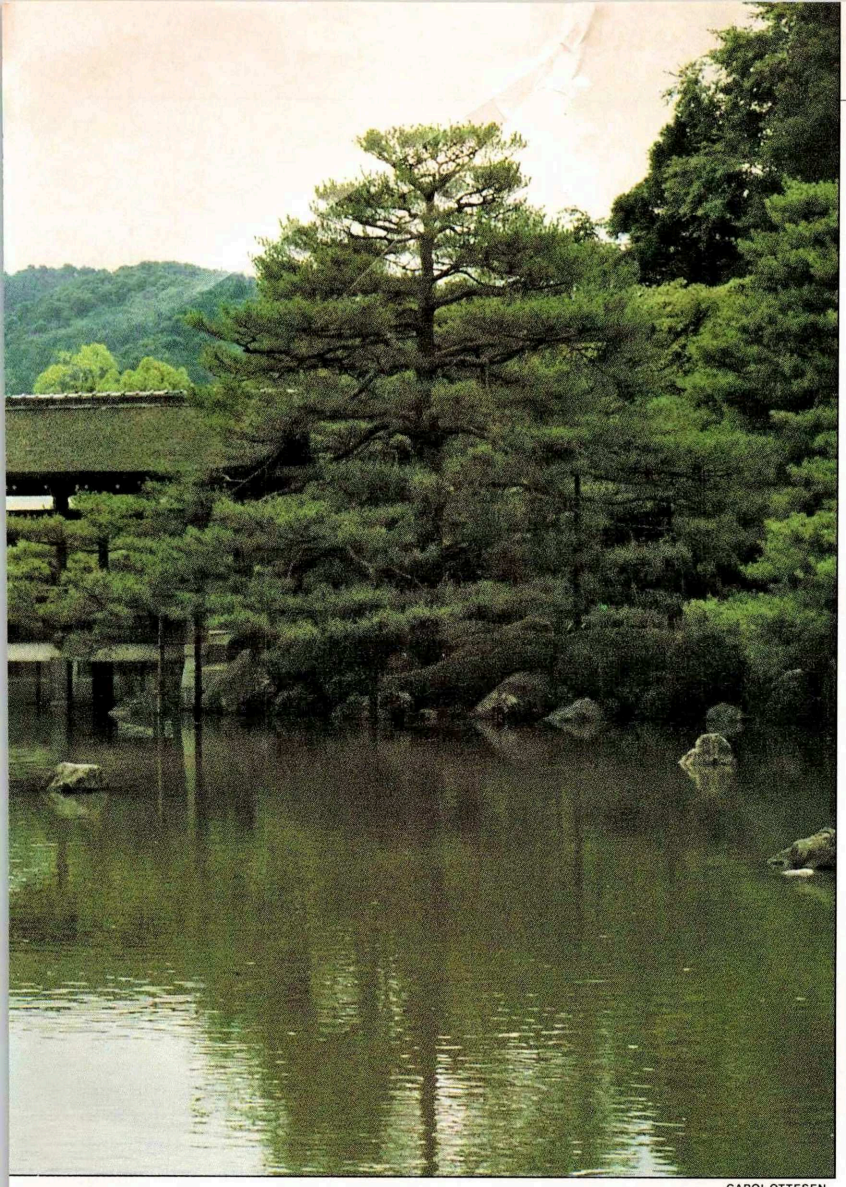
Shakan, a tree with an obliquely slanting trunk, conveys a sense of leaning with the wind, gracefully accommodating to great force.

Kyokkukan is a basically upright tree with a sinewy, winding trunk. It represents a tree that has endured the forces of nature for many years—a symbol of great strength.

There are two cascading styles, *han-kengai* and *kengai.* Han-kengai, gracefully bending over, conveys a melancholy mood, while the deeply cascading kengai evokes deep sorrow.

Bonsai are also classified by the number of trunks. *Yoseye,* a group of tiny trees with separate root systems, or *netsuranari,* seemingly individual trees growing from a single root system, represent whole forests.

Rules governing the training of bonsai cover every facet of growing and include even the choice of a growing container. Fine old hand-hewn pots may be as valuable as the tree growing within. Especially prized are unglazed old pots from the Ishing potteries in China be-



CAROL OTTESEN

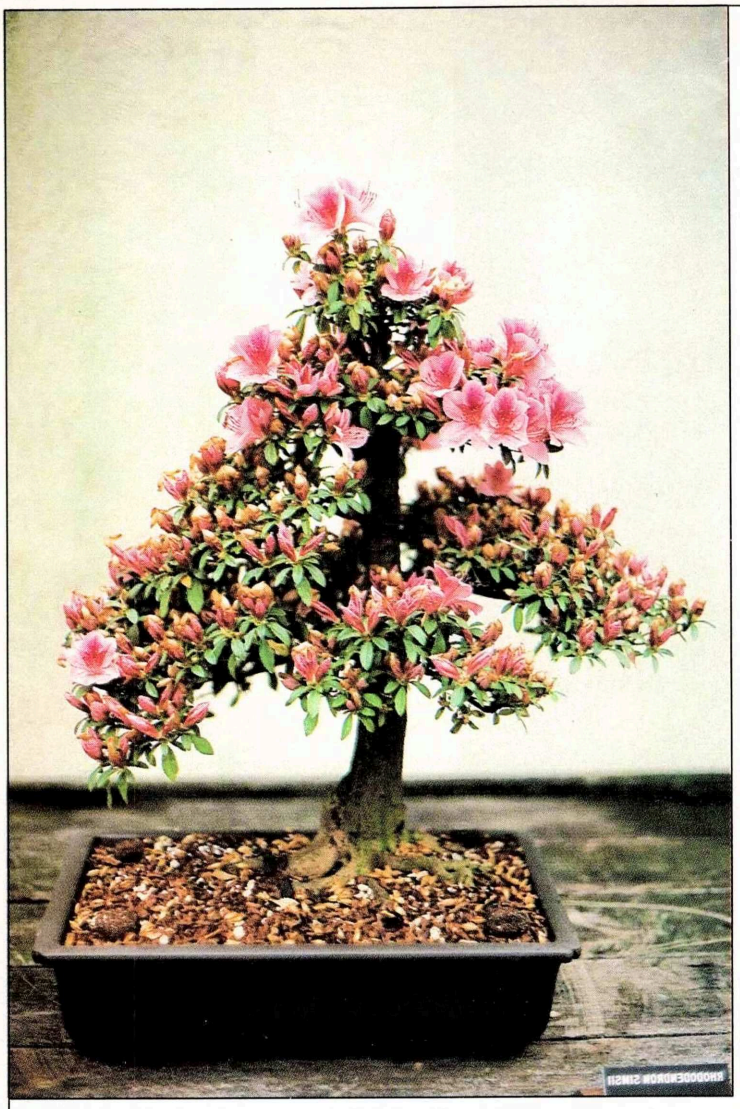
Kyokkukan is a basically upright tree with a sinewy, winding trunk. It represents a tree that has endured the forces of nature for many years, a symbol of great strength.

cause they acquire a patina with age.

Pot color is a crucial consideration. Tradition holds that bonsai grown for their autumn colors should be grown in white or green-toned containers, while pines and conifers should be planted in pots of cinnabar or dark brown. Oval-shaped pots are used for fruiting trees and, when more than one is grouped in a planting, deciduous trees. A round pot, in which the tree is positioned slightly off center, is the most popular choice for a single specimen.

There are also techniques for suggesting great age in a bonsai. Roots are exposed by deftly removing soil around the base of the tree. Moss may be induced to grow on the trunk. Branches are thinned out to give the aspect of maturity. Bark may be scarred.

Even with these aging techniques, however, creating a bonsai is a process that takes years and, because bonsai are living things, it is one that that may never be considered complete. Bonsai continue to grow and to require annual root pruning, branch and leaf pruning, and frequent watering. All bonsai not growing in the wild are considered "in training."



CAROLE OTTESEN

A bonsai azalea has been placed slightly off-center in a rectangular pot.

Some have been in training for three centuries or more.

Trees live longer than men. Bonsai most often outlive their creators. In Japan, handing down a bonsai to a younger family member for further cultivation is undertaken in a special ceremony that befits the giving of a priceless gift.

This ceremony took place on an international level in 1976, when the American people received fifty-three bonsai from the people of Japan as a bicentennial gift. Assembled by the Nippon Bonsai Association, the collection includes a 180-year-old Japanese red pine from the imperial household and a Japanese white pine over 300 years old. This collection is on permanent display at the National Arboretum in Washington, D.C., where an especially designed Japanese garden complex houses the bonsai.

To contemplate a tree that has spent over a century in training is to begin to understand something of Eastern philosophy: man is only a small part of nature's hierarchy and has a lifespan that is shorter than that of an average tree. A century-old bonsai will have been faithfully watered, pruned, shaped, shaded, fed, repotted, and admired by a succession of unknown caretakers day after day, year after year. In all likelihood, it will continue to be trained for another century or more, outliving the viewer, his children, the fashions, the politics, and the pressing concerns of the present era.

Yet, even in a distant future, surrounded by the civilization, concerns, and environment of an unborn generation, a bonsai will be understood and have appeal because it draws its inspiration from enduring nature rather than the fleeting fashions of man.

The art of bonsai is an ageless, priceless gift from East to West. And it is one that will survive the next millenium, conveying by suggestion and in miniature the majesty and continuity of nature. ■

Carole Ottesen is a freelance writer living in Washington, D.C.
She has published works in numerous national and international publications. Her field of expertise is horticulture.

BEACH BARBEQUE AT BEST!

BY ALEXANDRA GREELEY

Barbecue Menu for Six

Curried Lamb Kebabs
Cauliflower and Pea Masala Salad
Roasted Corn
Stuffed Red Bell Peppers
Raspberry Tart
Sangria

Alexandra Greeley is a writer living on Long Island. She was the staff writer for the Time-Life books series, Great Meals in Minutes. *Her new book,* Good Enough to Eat, *will be published by Simon and Schuster this year.*

PHOTOS BY VINCENT LEE

This is a wonderful menu, in which East meets West, resulting in a delicious meal with Indian and American overtones. The lusty *sangria,* chilled, slightly sweet, and filled with fresh fruit, is as authentically Spanish as an afternoon *corrida.*

If you are expecting a larger crowd, informal barbecue meals are adaptable to beaches, boats, or backyards—and can be expanded easily. Simply double the quantity of meat, salad, corn, and raspberry tarts—or even triple it, if your crowd's likely to be hungry. Set the fire, then sit back and watch the sunset. Your guests will cook their dinner and serve themselves.

Prehistoric cooks would be speechless if they could see what modern technology has accomplished: precooked, presliced, prepackaged foods, exotic cookware, and sleek kitchen appliances. And, boxed and tamed cooking fires. Even outdoors, fires have been trapped for man's ultimate control and pleasure.

Yet open-fire cooking is as popular for modern people, as it was for cave-dwellers. What emerged years ago as an informal entertaining vogue for Californians is not only civilization's oldest cooking method, but in the past decade certainly has become an American summer obsession. To capture summer's outdoor flavor year-round, kitchen designers have even created indoor barbecue pits—and Stone Age chefs would shrug and say, "nothing new under the sun . . . ."

Some scholars conclude that the term *barbecue* came from the Spanish or Arawak Indian word *barbacoa,* cooked up many centuries ago in the Caribbean. The Arawak's barbacoa consisted of a screen of green sticks crisscrossed to hold meat cooking over an open fire. Others insist that barbecue is derived from the French cooks' method of spitting whole animals *barbe à queue* (beard to tail) for easier fire-oasting. Never mind . . . this universal cooking technique —which can move anywhere at anytime—is beloved by all.

Selecting proper equipment is the barbecuer's first task. Basically, there must be a container for the fire, a metal grid to hold the food, and long-handled cooking tools to safely turn and remove food from the fire. Otherwise, the equipment can be as simple, or as elaborate, as needs

and taste dictate.

How will the grill be used? Should it be stationary or portable? For the strictly backyard cook, the uncovered grill on a tripod, the covered cooker, or a fancy stone barbecue pit will meet most barbecuing needs. However, for anyone who picnics often, the portable tabletop grill, or Japanese hibachi, is the only answer. Or campers may simply wish to buy the folding metal grill that fits over campfires. What if you need to cook for a large number of people? For apartment dwellers, or those who rarely cook for more than four, bulky equipment is unnecessary. The simple, circular unit with cooking space for a few burgers and buns will fit the bill. For grilling steaks or for cooking roasts, the versatile chef, who wants to barbecue the Thanksgiving turkey, as well as grill summer franks, will find that the covered barbecue is the answer. With the top off, the fire grills small cuts of meat quickly by direct heat; with the top on, the fire cooks large cuts more slowly by reflected heat. Some grills are available with partial tops, or hoods, with attached rotisseries—these devices can perform many of the same indirect cooking tasks that the covered grill does.

Whatever grill you buy should be constructed from heavy gauge metal and should have a porcelain enamel finish to prevent rust. The grill should be sturdy enough so as not to tip over, thereby reducing the risk of serious burns, and should be easy to clean.

Charcoal briquettes and wood are popular, inexpensive fuels, generally available nationwide. Both light slowly, and for the impatient and hungry, they require the use of some type of firestarter. Briquettes are made from natural wood products—the best are made from hardwoods —which, after pressing into their familiar pillow shape, are packaged in 5-, 10-, and 20-pound

Curried Lamb Kebabs

a 5-pound leg of lamb, with the bone removed and trimmed, and cut into 1 1/4-inch cubes
1 1/2 cups plain yogurt
10 garlic cloves, crushed
1 large onion
a 1-inch piece fresh ginger
1/2 cup fresh mint leaves
1/2 cup fresh coriander leaves
3–4 tablespoons curry powder (or homemade *garam masala*)
1 cup olive oil
1 tablespoon black peppercorns

The day before your barbecue, place the cubed lamb in a large stainless steel or ceramic bowl. Put the remaining ingredients into a blender or food processor, and puree them to form a smooth paste. Pour this marinade mixture over the cubed meat, cover it with foil or plastic wrap, and refrigerate it until you are ready to pack for the picnic. Stir the meat occasionally to ensure

even coating by the marinade.

When you begin barbecuing, pour the excess marinade from the meat into a small saucepan, and heat over the fire as guests cook their meat on skewers. If desired, alternate meat cubes with whole tiny onions on the skewers; these add a delicate sweetness. Cook the meat over a medium-hot fire. Before eating, have the guests carefully remove the meat from the skewers, and then spoon the marinade over the meat.

Roasted Corn

8–10 ears tender young corn, unshucked
1/2 cup butter, melted
1 tablespoon red pepper flakes
salt and pepper to taste

Peel back husk from each ear of corn, and pull out as much silk as possible. Brush each ear with the butter which has been combined with the red pepper flakes, salt, and freshly ground black pepper. Rewrap the husks tightly around each ear, sprinkle each ear with water, then place them on the grill. Turn the ears often, removing them when the external husks are slightly charred.

Cauliflower and Pea Masala Salad

1 large head cauliflower, rinsed and trimmed into flowerettes
2 cups frozen peas, thawed and uncooked
1 large onion, diced
3/4 cup olive oil
2 tablespoons red wine vinegar
1/2 cup plain yogurt
2 green chilies, seeded and minced
1 tablespoon fresh coriander, chopped
1 tablespoon curry powder
1 teaspoon turmeric
salt and pepper to taste

Bring a large pot of water to a boil, and immerse the cauliflower flowerettes in the boiling water for 2–3 minutes to blanch and soften them. Next, remove them from the boiling water with a slotted spoon and immerse them in cold water to prevent further cooking. Drain the flowerettes completely, then set them aside in a large salad bowl to cool. Add the peas and onion to the flowerettes, stirring to combine well.

Meanwhile, to make the dressing, place the remaining ingredients in a blender or food processor, and puree them. Pour the dressing immediately over the vegetables, stirring well to coat every surface. Let them steep in this flavorful dressing, which imparts a golden color to the cauliflower.

Stuffed Red Bell Peppers

6 large firm red bell peppers
4 1/2 cups canned garbanzo beans, drained
3 cloves garlic
1/2 cup fresh coriander, trimmed
1/4–1/2 cup olive oil
juice of 1 lemon
freshly ground black pepper to taste

Carefully slice the stems from the bell peppers, cutting an opening large enough to be stuffed easily. Then scoop out and discard the seeds and flesh from the inside of each pepper. Set peppers aside.

Place the remaining ingredients in a blender or food processor, and puree. Scoop the bean mixture into each hollowed-out pepper, and wrap in foil to preserve freshness. If you prepare them the night before, refrigerate them until you are ready to pack.

Sangria

1/2 gallon inexpensive Burgundy wine
1 large orange
1 large lemon
1 banana
6 ripe strawberries, cleaned and hulled, optional
sugar to taste

Pour the wine into a large pitcher, filling it three-quarters full. Peel the orange and lemon, adding the peel to the wine. Then cut the flesh of the fruit and let the juice drip into the wine as you cut the fruit. Peel and section the banana, putting the fruit into the wine. If using strawberries, add them, then fill the pitcher with ice cubes.

When the *sangria* has chilled for a few minutes, add sugar to desired sweetness, and stir thoroughly. Serve immediately.

Raspberry Tart

2 pints fresh raspberries, or two 12-ounce bags frozen unsweetened, thawed
1-pound package frozen puff pastry, thawed
1/4 cup raspberry jam
juice of 1 lemon
1/3 cup granulated sugar
1/3 cup all purpose flour
1 tablespoon Kirschwasser, optional
1 whole egg, plus 1 tablespoon water, for egg wash
powdered sugar for sprinkling, optional

Preheat oven to 400 degrees.

Empty the thawed berries into a large mixing bowl and set aside. Roll out half the puff pastry to a 1/4-inch thickness on a lightly floured surface. Gently place the dough into a 9-inch tart pan, and trim pastry to fit edge of pan. Set it on a baking sheet. Place the raspberry jam in a small saucepan, warming the jam over low heat until it melts. Combine the lemon juice with one tablespoon of the melted jam, and brush over the bottom of the crust to prevent sogginess.

Fill the pastry shell with the raspberries. In the mixing bowl that held the berries, combine the sugar, flour, Kirschwasser, and melted jam with the juice remaining from the berries, and stir well until thoroughly mixed. Pour this mixture over the raspberries. Roll out the remaining puff pastry to a 1/4-inch thickness on a lightly floured surface. With the rim of a small glass, cut out a circle from the center of the pastry. Carefully drape the top crust over the berries, crimping the edges to fit, to form a tight seal. Beat the egg and water together, and brush this over the entire surface of top crust. Bake for 20 minutes, then lower temperature to 350 degrees, and bake until the crust is puffy and golden.

Remove tart from oven, and, when cool, sprinkle with powdered sugar if desired. Wrap tart tightly in foil until serving time. Slice it directly from the tin, or if you prefer, remove the tart from the tin, and serve it on a platter.

bag sizes. Instant-start briquettes, presoaked with a firestarter, are handy for away-from-home cooking, but be aware that these may give a gassy taste to the food. Hardwoods and fruit woods—hickory, oak, birch, alder, ash, apple, and cherry—produce long-lasting coals. Whereas resinous woods such as pine may produce a good fire, they give food a strange soapy taste. Currently, no cook worth his charcoal would barbecue without at least a handful of mesquite added to the fire. This hardwood, indigenous to Texas, Arizona, and northern Mexico, imparts a distinctive sweet-smoky taste to food, and has an intensely hot, long-lasting flame. Most chefs prefer to use it solo, but mesquite, costly despite its chic, can be sprinkled on briquettes or other woods for a hint of real prairie taste.

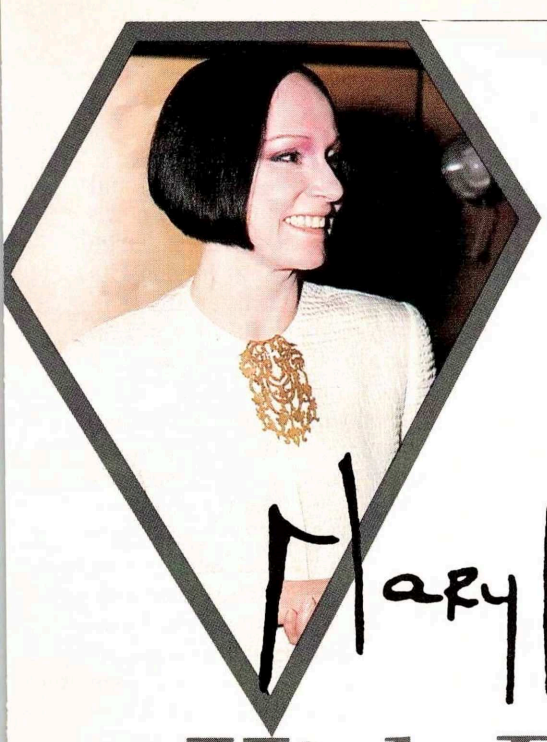
Solid, jelly, liquid, and wax fire starters are safe for wood and charcoal fires, provided the cook *never* adds them to a prelit fire. One of the great hazards of the summer barbecue is the casual squirt of jelly or fluid on a struggling fire. Horror stories abound as to how flames actually leap up the stream of liquid, turning the can of starter into a mini-bomb. Instead, fan slow fires with folded newspapers, and be patient. Other fire-tarting devices, such as the metal chimney and electric element, are safer and start fires swiftly.

Building a proper fire takes some skill and instinct. The cook must realize that each fire reacts individually to environmental conditions, the type of grill, the quantity of fuel, and how the fuel stacks up. To build a wood fire, first crumple sheets of newspaper and pile them in the center of the grill, then stack kindling tepee-fashion around the papers, and rest heavier wood on the perimeter. Stack perfectly dry briquettes into a pyramid extending at least two inches beyond the cooking perimeter. Most fuel needs half an hour of heating before it's ready to use. To judge: briquettes will be coated evenly with grey ash; wood, when ready, becomes glowing coals. In any case, the fire should be hot enough to sizzle the food when it touches the grill. Before placing the food on the metal rack, spread the coals into a flat layer. After cooking, carefully extinguish all traces of fire and discard the coals. With a covered barbecue, all you need do is close the vents; for open grills, douse the coals with water. If you follow a few tips and precautions, barbecuing becomes fast and safe.■

Left, "Elizabeth's Garden." Hand-painted quilted silk coat with full-length Marii-pleat wisteria skirt and silk blouse. *Right,* Evening gown. Organza skirt and sleeves, gold-embroidered bodice.

Right, "Duchess of Windsor" gown. Black Marii pleat with gold-embroidered and beaded bodice.
Left, Day suit. Quilted silk jacket, challis wool skirt.

PHOTOS BY MARY HILLIARD



Mary McFadden

High Priestess of High Fashion

BY ROCHELLE LARKIN

"First Mary McFadden created her own look, her own face," exclaims famed international makeup artist Pablo Manzoni, "then she went on to create those fabulous clothes. She has always known exactly who she is and what she wants and she is unlike anybody else."

High praise indeed, coming from a man who is known for the creation of some very famous faces, but it was for her uniqueness that McFadden first drew attention, as much as for the great impact of the newness she brought to the fashion scene. Still, it is her clothes that women buy, not her persona; yet, how marvelous it is to have a *grande dame* of fashion look the part. Not for McFadden is the shapeless unkempt look of the contemporary young Japanese designers nor the streetwise sweat-clothes clones of the overcasual that so many fashion figures have embraced, citing the streets as the major inspiration for their lines.

COURTESY OF MARY McFADDEN

Evening dress with hand painted sequined bodice and "marii" pleat skirt.

McFadden's ideas spring from sources far afield of today's urban scene. More than any other American designer, she has turned to the classic age of ancient Greece and Rome, to the perfumed court life of old China and its silks, to the timeless flowing robes of the Middle East and the pre-Columbian world. Features of these various garments turned into contemporary clothes of luxurious fabric and detailing have become such a hallmark of McFadden's that, in a room full of elegantly dressed women, the knowing eye can pick out her clothes at once.

And, in any such gathering of chic and formally gowned women, there will undoubtedly be any number of McFaddens to spot. At the atmospheric price ranges at which her clothes are retailed, McFadden consistently outsells all of her competitors at stores like Saks Fifth Avenue, the largest of the high fashion speciality chains. The McFadden customer tends to be more than that—she becomes a collector, returning to buy year after year from each new line, in spite of the fact that the clothes wear exceedingly well, are meticulously made, and are timeless in style.

Such client loyalty is not earned easily. Even for the best-known designers, each new line is a gamble, a nerve-wracking test of the creative ability to keep pace with consumer tastes, the latter a notoriously fickle point on which to chance the high stakes of bringing out several lines of new clothes every year. Costs, tempers, and anxieties run high in the hectic cycle of designing and making the samples that are shown both to store buyers and the fashion press during that seasonal ordeal known as market week. It is then that fortunes, and reputations, are made or broken, at least for the season.

It is the rare house and designer who command the continuous affections of press and public alike, whose look is so defined and accepted that the edge is taken off the seasonal ordeal somewhat by the knowledge that there is a large enough following among its customers to weather any temporary setbacks that occur in the natural course of the business.

The loyalty of the McFadden customer is solidly based. It doesn't rest on the designer's initials prominently flaunted on belt buckles or woven into fabrics or waved on pennant like scarves, or any of the other so-called status-symbol emblems that have created so much mischief in what men and women wear and carry during the past decade and a half. The McFadden label is sewn firmly on the inside of each garment, and it is the look itself, not some commercial encoding, that states the message.

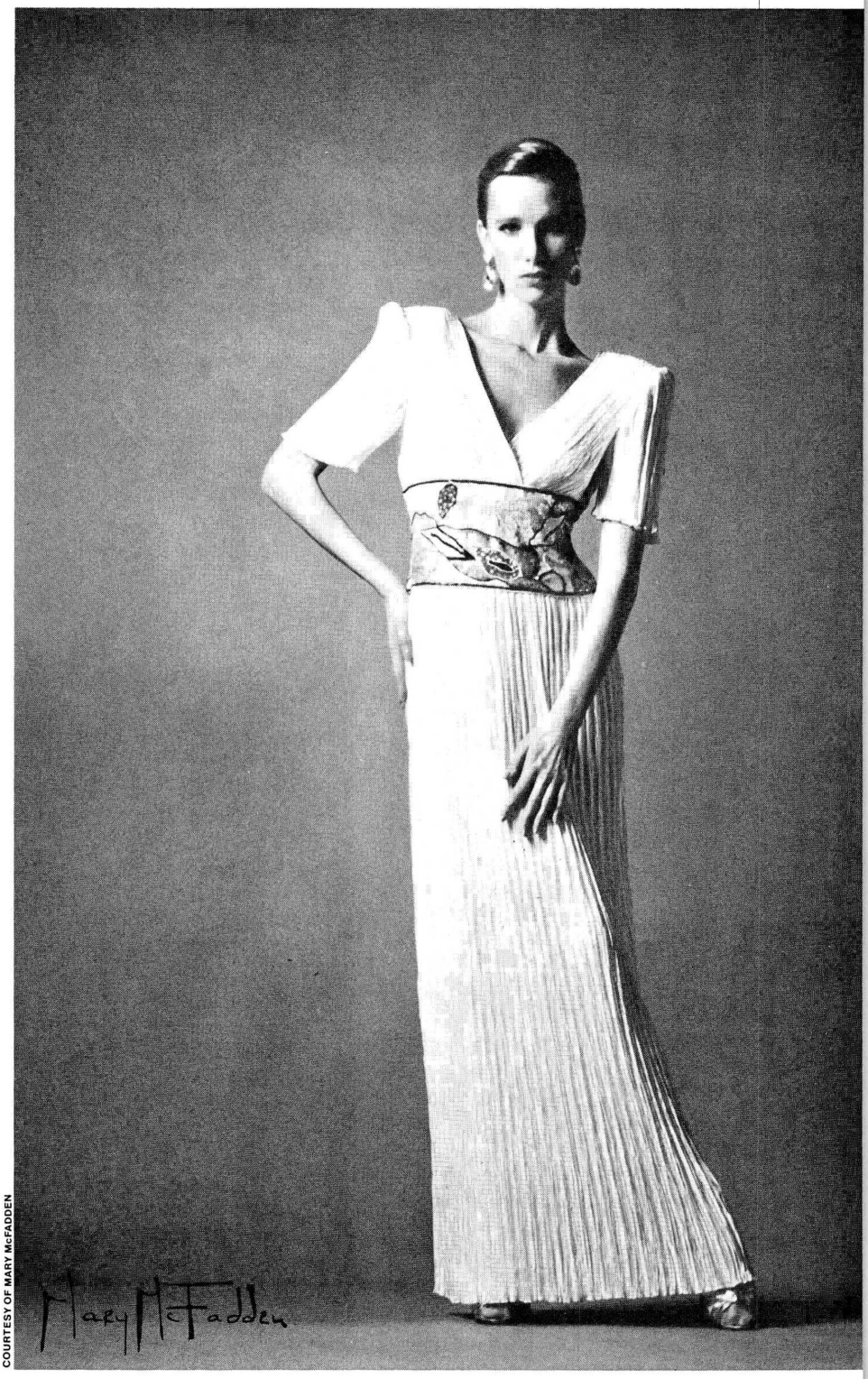
Mary McFadden's unusual education started conventionally enough at the Foxcroft School. But then, in France, she attended both the Parisian branch of the Traphagen School for fashion design and the École Lubec. Back in the States, she studied simultaneously at Columbia University and the New School for Social Research, taking courses in sociology.

In the early 1960s she went to South Africa as an editor for the local edition of *Vogue* and contributed to the American and French versions of the magazine as well. Concurrently, she contributed a weekly column on social and political life to the *Rand Daily Mail.*

Moving to Zimbabwe, Miss McFadden founded Vukutu, a

sculpture workshop for local artists, whose productions were subsequently shown at the modern art museums in New York and Paris. Back in New York, she started collecting antique African and Chinese silks, fabrics that lead her to her first designing venture. Astounding her colleagues at *Vogue* with three tunics that she crafted, she set up shop in a tiny basement on the upper East Side and in the heat of August made her first clothes and her first sales. The rest is fashion history, but of a very individual sort.

There is no denying that McFadden's attitude, as concretized in her clothes, smacks of the fashion intellectual. Several reasons factor into this. First, the affluent McFadden customer must see herself as apart from the "crowd," the crowd being what everyone else is wearing. This customer is not taken in by the merely novel; she must never become the object and display for the newly weird and flimsy, that most pitiable of all charge account creatures, the fashion victim. The McFadden lady doesn't rush out to buy the new simply because it is new. She has more style and confidence than the poor fashion victim can ever understand, and, importantly, more discipline. Thus, the intellectual approach to this seemingly unintellectual topic—clothes.



COURTESY OF MARY McFADDEN

Cerise "marii" pleat cocktail dress; V-neck criss-cross bodice with "miranda" sleeve and tiered skirt.

COURTESY OF MARY McFADDEN

White quilted silk coat with beaded trim over camellia "marii" pleat bustier and black crepe pant with matching beaded waistband.

Then, McFadden's own tastes, training, and background could only lead to the inevitable, a highly refined, researched, individualistic concept of draping the body. Surprisingly, she created her ideal in direct contradistinction to the work of that great idol of almost all the fashion intellects, the immortal of couture, Balenciaga. While understanding the master's approach and his genius in achieving it, McFadden did not embrace it.

The Spaniard was an artist in cutting and tailoring, and that was not the look she wanted. "Balenciaga worked in very strict, tailored lines," she recalls, "exquisitely executed, of course. Very avant-garde, very geometric."

Although undoubtedly brilliant, much of Balenciaga's greatest work was not particularly wearable. Women adored the look and bought it, and he was one of the most influential of all modern couturiers. But McFadden wanted something else. Balenciaga worked very often against the body, McFadden wanted clothes to work with it.

And 'work' itself is probably too strong a word to use in talking about her clothes. She wanted clothes that flowed along the lines of a woman's frame and moved with it. Clothes that could define the body, shape without constriction. She found the feeling she wanted in ancient civilizations, and the paradox was that her rendering of the very old looked astonishingly new.

For several decades, the couture house of Madame Grès had specialized in formal interpretations of the drapery of classic Greek statuary, the simple folds of the jerseys Alix Grès favored falling close to and flattering the body. A "Grès" was unmistakable at twenty paces. But Mary McFadden took the idea and the look much further. She didn't only drape soft fabrics, she pleated, braided, and embroidered, using a wider variety of luxury goods than had ever been treated in these ways.

"I thought one could use history and symbols to reinterpret clothes," McFadden says. In so doing, she brought to fashion an entirely new dimension and the classically old became the innovative, ultra-elegant new. Her love of great fabrics led her to the use of moiré, pleated linen, taffeta, cut velvet, and brocade, all with the strong "hand" so sought by top designers, and the lighter weights with their floaty, ethereal qualities, like gazar and organza. She embellished with lavish use of lurex, laces, and embroideries.

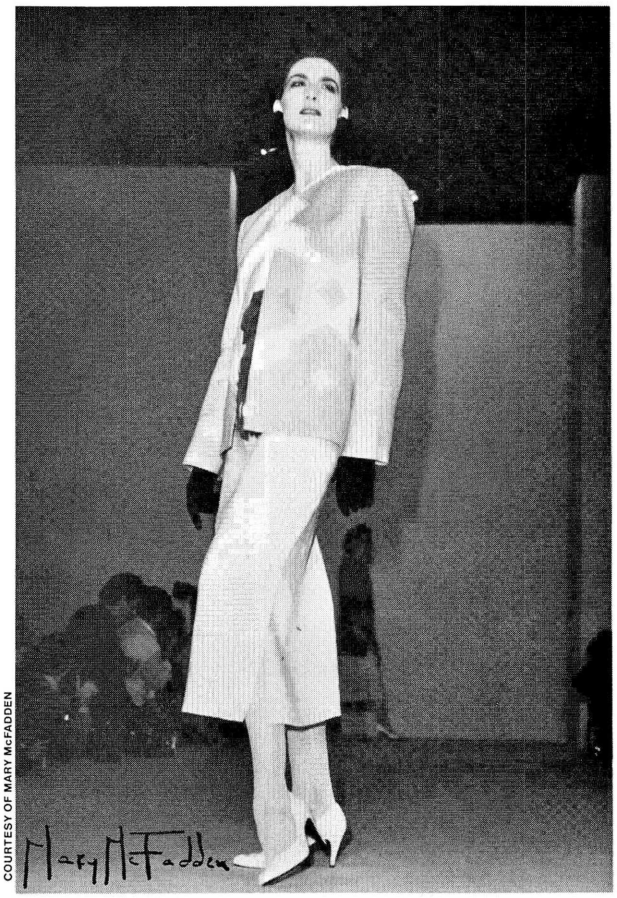
For the new fall season, McFadden has reached not quite so far back into history for her latest inspiration, nor geographically so remote. The new collection derives its impetus from Elizabethan England, a time and place that certainly knew something about opulence. For the overall look of the period, McFadden turned to her much loved fabrics like rich velvets, brocades, and wools. For details, she went to the portraiture of the English High Renaissance—the magnificently lined drawings and

paintings of Holbein, Rubens, and Van Dyke, foreign artists imported by the puissant nobility, and the lesser lights, the native painters like Dobson and Walker. But in Elizabeth's court, a new fad arose, perhaps instigated by the global wanderings of her mighty fleet, for miniature portraits, tiny works of art easily carried from place to place in memory of, or as a token from, a distant but still courtly lover.

To paint these small prizes, a new group of portraitists came into prominence, English-born artists of great delicacy, led by Nicholas Hilliard, and Isaac and Peter Oliver. It was from the works of all of them, old masters and miniaturists, that McFadden drew for the fine points of the collection, for the marks of authenticity and truth to her sources that is *her* hallmark. Thus the collection revives the ubiquitous berets familiar to us from portraits of the great Tudor, Henry VIII, and his courtiers; magnificent shawls, big wide belts, swaths of suede like those that wrapped royal and noble midsections.

Like her other contemporary titans of couture and high fashion, McFadden has her name and her stamp on many products other than her clothes, and from some of the accessory licenses, like shoes, she rounds out the look of the ready-to-wear collection. Expect to see today's ladies shod in fine leathers with the curved heels and high insteps of the Elizabethan court.

Expect, too, the constant of change, as dictated by the necessity of creating several new lines each year, yet with the evolving and always deepening sureness of Mary McFadden's hand and eye. *Plus ça change*, according to the needs of the marketplace, *plus c'est la même* McFadden. Unmistakable.■



COURTESY OF MARY McFADDEN

Taupe and beige geometric pattern linen jacket with ivory pleat shell and beige straight linen skirt, complimented by burgundy suede sash. Jewelry: Rafael Sanchez.

Rochelle Larkin is a widely published author having written many books and a syndicated column.

FRITZ TAGGART

Left, Audio and video components can be assembled on bookshelves to make any wall into a personalized media room. Above, This plant-filled room becomes a screening room for working and casual entertainment.

Entertaining in the 1980s: The Media Room

Much has been written about the electronic cottage as the workplace of the future, but the entertainment/leisure revolution is already here.

BY ROCHELLE LARKIN

It started in the 1970s, when made-for-television movies debuted on the home screen, and one didn't have to venture to the local Odeon to view a first-run film. The momentum increased with the proliferation of television miniseries. Now, the latest best-selling books are quickly converted to electronic images, and videocassette recorders can play back any tens of thousands of movies old and new from a constantly expanding library available for rental or purchase.

Due to laser-based technology and the invention of the compact disc (CD), classical and pop aficionados can relish the concert-hall quality of recorded music.

While the lavish promises of its advent are still unfulfilled, cable television has certainly increased the range of viewing choices and may still develop more of its vast potential. Giant television screens were perhaps also ballyhooed a bit prematurely, but there are some still around, and the second, new-and-improved generation, is no doubt on the way.

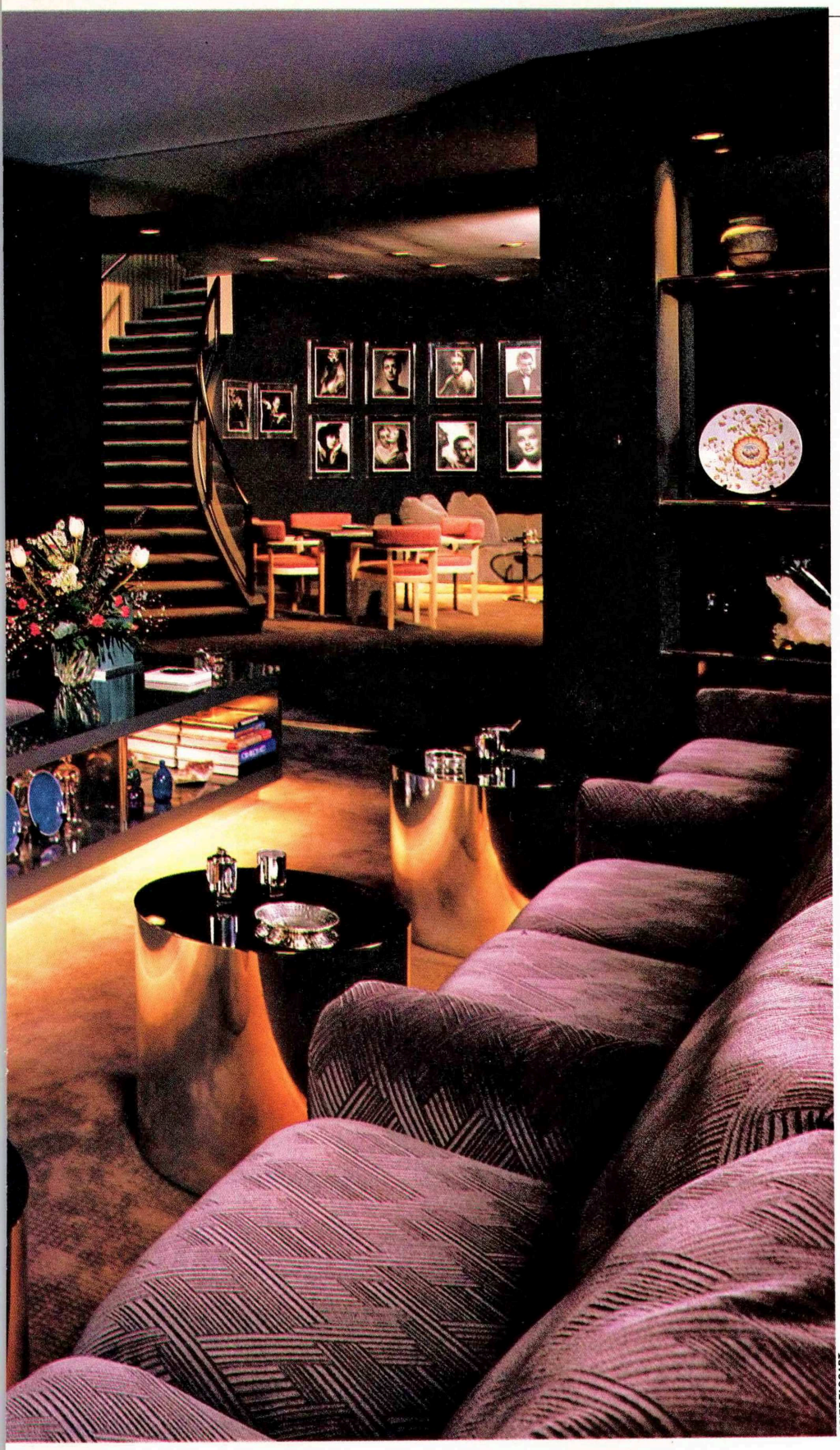
What all this means to the average consumer is a bewildering number of choices in equipment and gadgetry in the marketplace and overwhelming options for staying home once the choices are made. Whether for private viewing, family gatherings, or sheer entertainment, the viewing room has become the center of many homes.

For some people, the media room has additional importance. It has become a necessity for entertainment professionals who now have at their fingertips all the tools for viewing their work with an ease and flexibility the mightiest movie moguls never dreamed of. For performers, producers, and critics, taking work home has never been so easy or so luxurious.

Maxine Smith and Celia Cleary are a Los Angeles-based decorating team with a clear philosophy of design that they apply to the client's needs and not to trendy whims. Because so many of their clients work in the entertainment business, Smith and Cleary are among the pioneers in integrating media rooms into the overall design of the home. Not only have they designed whole houses and specific media spaces for stars such as Barbra Streisand and Henry Winkler, but also, because she is married to producer Gary Smith, Maxine had to incorporate a media room into her own home as well.

ANSO IV CARPET BY KNOLL

A living room and bedroom share a TV that rotates on a swiveling pull-out shelf between the two rooms.



FRITZ TAGGART

The opulent and very contemporary media room that Rona Barrett considers essential for her work.

DAN EIFERT

DAN EIFERT

The solution that Maxine and her working partner came up with was to design a charming sun-room that converts to a media room at night. There Gary can review work on such Smith-Hemion projects as the televised "Liberty Weekend '86," the festivities surrounding the unveiling of the newly restored Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor.

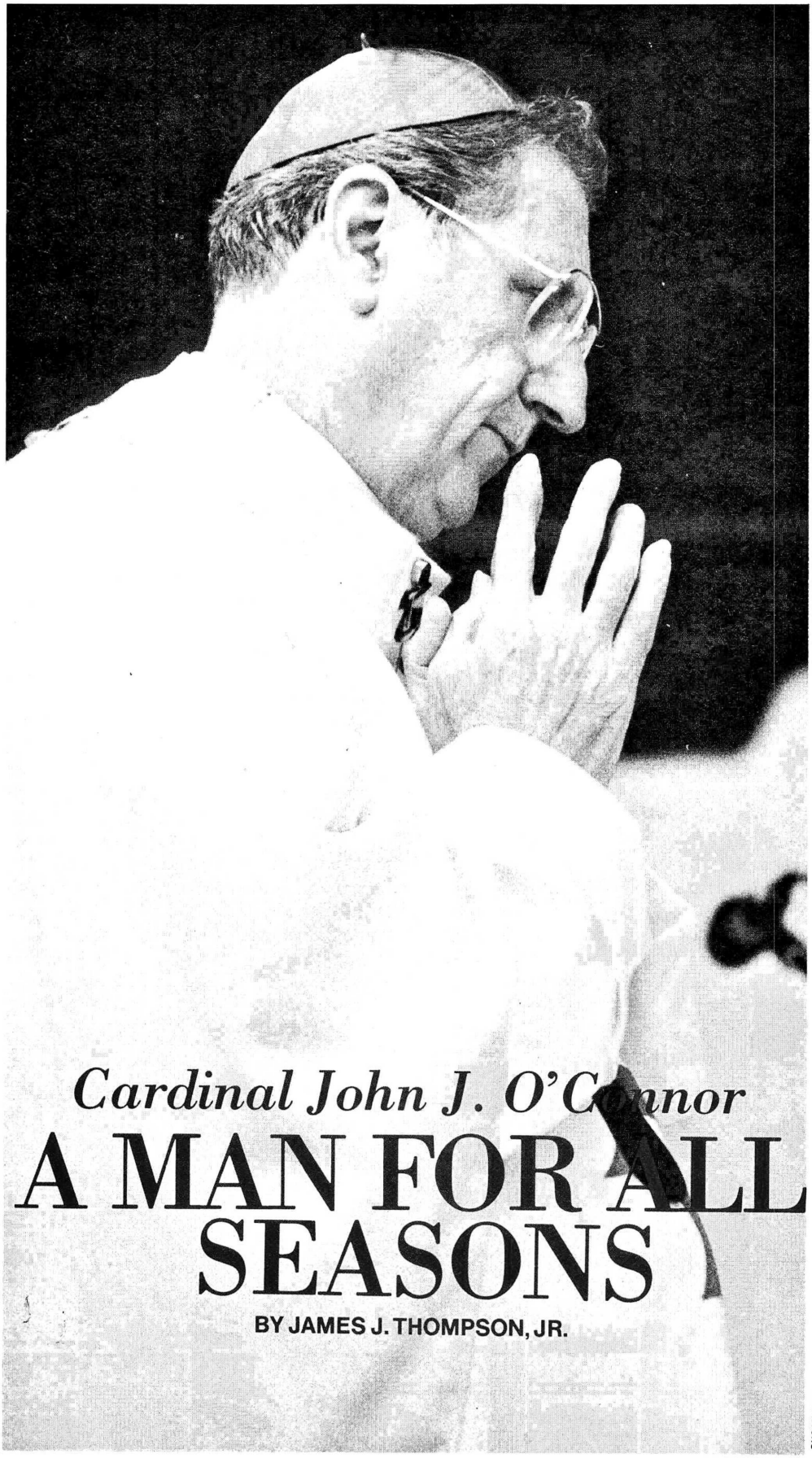
A project they *didn't* design, but are frank and quick to admit is in their combined opinion the best media room of any, belongs to columnist and critic Rona Barrett. Designed by decorator Steve Chase and architect Hal Levitt, the room is a dramatic sweep of space that can accommodate as many as twenty-four people in lavish comfort. It is at once a return to the style of the powerful studio heads and an incorporation of the very latest in viewing equipment.

An even more thought-provoking combination of previous power and today's technology is the room created several years ago by Katherine Stephens in New York. As part of the restoration of the townhouse of Sara Delano Roosevelt, mother of the thirty-second president, to benefit the March of Dimes, Stephens designed a media room that today would be for someone who had both the trappings of the most powerful office in the world and a personal physical handicap. At once a barrier-free den and hands-on communications center, it is also a triumph of traditional decor, true to its period and the persona of its would-be occupant.

All of these extraordinary rooms are similar in several ways while differing greatly in style: they function as working rooms and entertainment centers; they are brilliantly designed and express the taste of the patrons for whom they were done; they are full of ideas that can be used for much more modest purposes on much more modest budgets. From the cheery sun-room to the opulent den, there is comfort and convenience that can be translated for traditional and contemporary styles for apartments and homeowners. Everything here is touchable, usable, attainable, and meant for the enjoyment of the occupants. Here also are examples of other solutions in smaller spaces that answer the same question. It's all a matter of choice.■

Rochelle Larkin is a widely published author having written many books and a syndicated column.

Two views of the FDR barrier-free media room. "Presidential" in feeling, thoughtfully created for the physically disabled.



SUSAN MAY TELL

Cardinal John J. O'Connor

A MAN FOR ALL SEASONS

BY JAMES J. THOMPSON, JR.

At the beginning of 1984 John J. O'Connor was simply one of scores of Catholic bishops in the United States, and not a particularly prominent one at that; one does not normally look to the diocese of Scranton, Pennsylvania, to produce princes of the church. Then at the end of January the pope startled Vatican-watchers and media pundits by elevating O'Connor to the archbishopric of New York, one of the most prestigious posts in the American church.

O'Connor quickly established himself as a vigorous and commanding figure, but it was not until later in 1984 that he garnered the attention usually accorded rock stars, Hollywood headliners, and extravagantly paid athletes. His embroilment in a controversy with Geraldine Ferraro, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, propelled him into the media spotlight. The archbishop bridled at Ferraro's admission that although she personally deplored abortion, she would do nothing as a public official to prevent it.

O'Connor's quarrel with the candidate brought reporters swarming to the episcopal mansion at 452 Madison Avenue. Intent upon making him comprehensible to a nation immersed in a presidential campaign, the media typed him a Reaganite. O'Connor politely declined the label. To him the issue was religious, not political. As he remarked in a speech delivered in the midst of the campaign, "As archbishop of New York I have the responsibility of spelling out for our Catholic people with accuracy and clarity what the church officially teaches about all human life, the life of the unborn, and abortion." Some Democrats counted upon the pope to chasten the zealous cleric for tangling the church in a political rumpus. The Vatican did in fact have its eye upon the situation: six months after Ferraro's defeat the pope appointed O'Connor to the college of cardinals.

Having categorized O'Connor as a right-winger, the press had no intention of letting him go. When he chided Governor Mario Cuomo for his Ferraro-like stance on abortion, editorialists clucked disapprovingly. O'Connor's battle with Mayor Edward Koch over homosexual rights further inflamed his critics. The cardinal was culpable on another count, for he had served as chaplain to the Navy and Marine Corps for twenty-seven years before his ordination as bishop in 1979. Even worse, he had published a book in 1968—*A Chaplain Looks at Vietnam*—in which he defended LBJ and called the conflict a "just war."

We should have learned by now to resist the temptation to constrain spiritual leaders in the straitjacket of American political terminology. Americans continue to misunderstand Pope John Paul II for this reason. Conservatives grumble that he is a socialist, while their left-wing counterparts dismiss him as a rebarbative reactionary. Cardinal O'Connor, like the pope, refuses easy tags. One appellation is certain, however: he is a shepherd, one who heeds the words Christ addressed to St. Peter: "Feed my lambs." Only with this thought foremost can one begin to understand the man and his mission.

O'Connor's personal motto reads: "There can be no love without justice." Love and justice—together they define what it means to live as a Christian. Not coincidentally, they also characterize the brief ministry that Christ unfolded on this earth. Take abortion, for example. Cardinal O'Connor has been portrayed as a man insensitive to the anguish of women burdened with unwanted pregnancies. Yes, he does demand justice for the unborn, a justice so rudimentary that it insists only that an infant be allowed to enter this world. But there is love in the cardinal's heart as well, a love that aches for women who turn to abortion because of destitution, emotional misery, rape, or incest. It is easy to denounce these women as baby-killers. Cardinal O'Connor pursues a far more arduous course: to ex-

tend to them the soothing balm of God's grace, and, through an archdiocesan office, to provide distraught pregnant women with financial aid, counseling, and adoption services.

The words "social justice" spring readily to the lips of those appalled by human suffering. Some of these people possess minds warped by relentless utopianism and virulent hatred of America. As our Lord adjured us, Cardinal O'Connor loves the poor, the deprived, the rejected—the "least of these" to whom Christ brought succor, hope, and salvation. But the cardinal sees no benefit to them in assailing the callousness that often afflicts our society. Americans, he said, "are basically a good people—a good, kind, and merciful people." Like all the banished children of Eve, they must be coaxed, prodded, and exhorted to sacrifice for others, a task Cardinal O'Connor has gladly shouldered. Speaking at the dedication of New York's Terence Cardinal Cooke Health Care Center, he urged the doctors listening to provide free medical care to those unable to pay. To the politicians in the audience he said bluntly: "Commit yourself unconditionally to a just social order for all." As the author of the U.S. bishops' 1985 Labor Day message, he scored the mentality that reckons economic policy in the narrow language of deficits, balanced budgets, and tax rates. "One of the most important criteria in judging economic decisions," he wrote, "should be the effect that such decisions will have on the poor."

New York teems with a humanity drawn from every color, creed, and religion of the globe. It is, perhaps, a microcosm of the challenge confronting the church in the twentieth century. Cardinal O'Connor presides over what the pope calls "the capital of the world."

O'Connor's defiance of Mayor Koch's ban on job discrimination against homosexuals has cast him as a villain to some New Yorkers. It was not hatred for homosexuals that compelled the cardinal to take this stance. To him sexual deviancy is a sin, but to hate the deviant is equally sinful. Truly, one must despise the sin and love the sinner. Suppose Mayor Koch were to promulgate an order that forced the church's social-service agencies to hire adulterers? Cardinal O'Connor would oppose this as adamantly as he has the mayor's present dictate. Homosexuality is a sin, adultery is a sin. And the church would betray two thousand years of moral teaching were it to bend to the whims of politicians and the demands of pressure groups. Before the homosexual as moral revolutionary, Cardinal O'Connor asserts the imperatives of Christian morality; to the homosexual as sinner, he proffers forgiveness and the healing power of divine love.

From his long tenure as a military chaplain O'Connor derived not a blind admiration for the martial spirit but a profound awareness of the fragility of peace in a sin-ravaged world. In Vietnam he experienced directly the sufferings of American marines, many of them scarcely more than boys. He learned to love these grimy, blood-stained men whose haunted eyes disclosed the horrors of battle and killing. Having seen the grim toll of combat, the cardinal is a man of peace, yet he realizes that war exists ineluctably in a world of fallen men. We all long for swords to be beaten into ploughshares and for the lion to lie down with the lamb, but to expect this to happen in the City of Man is to embrace a spectral dream. Cardinal O'Connor knows that the only true peace is that of which Christ spoke: "that in me ye might have peace"—a transcendent serenity of the soul that awaits expectantly the peaceable kingdom of the eternal New Jerusalem.

Whatever the cardinal's opinions on bitterly contested issues of the day, one returns ultimately to his role as shepherd/guardian of a flock menaced by

as ravenous a pack of wolves as one could find. New York is a cruel and brutal city. Opulence dwells securely only a stone's throw from privation; arrogant success brushes shoulders with abysmal failure; tragedy and despair slouch along its streets; murder, assault, and rape are daily occurrences; and the deadliest of sins are transmogrified into cultural norms. It is also an inspiriting, vivifying city, pulsating with artistic creativity and intellectual incandescence. It teems with a humanity drawn from every color, creed, and religion of the globe. It is, perhaps, a microcosm of the challenge confronting the church in the late twentieth century. Cardinal O'Connor presides over what the pope calls "the capital of the world."

The cardinal flourishes on this challenge. He strives to minister to all who dwell within his archdiocese and not just to the Italian-Americans and Irish-Americans who have traditionally formed the core of the city's Catholic community. He directs special attention to the archdiocese's black, Hispanic, and Asian Catholics. He has opened the way to amity and dialogue with Jews, an act recognized by B'nai B'rith when it recently honored him as its Man of the Year. He seeks to reach out to the Islamic community as well.

Cardinal O'Connor is a man for all seasons, the church's ambassador to a city both blessed and cursed. He is at once someone so humble and magnificent as a shepherd and yet one who knows "what, in the final analysis," as he puts it, "alone makes everything understandable—the indispensable power of love."■

SUSAN MAY TELL

James J. Thompson, Jr., holds a doctorate in American history from the University of Virginia and is the author of Tried As By Fire: Southern Baptists and the Religious Controversies of the 1920s.

Last Wish Brightens Last Moments

BY RONDA MILLER

What do you say to a small child who suffers from a life-threatening illness?

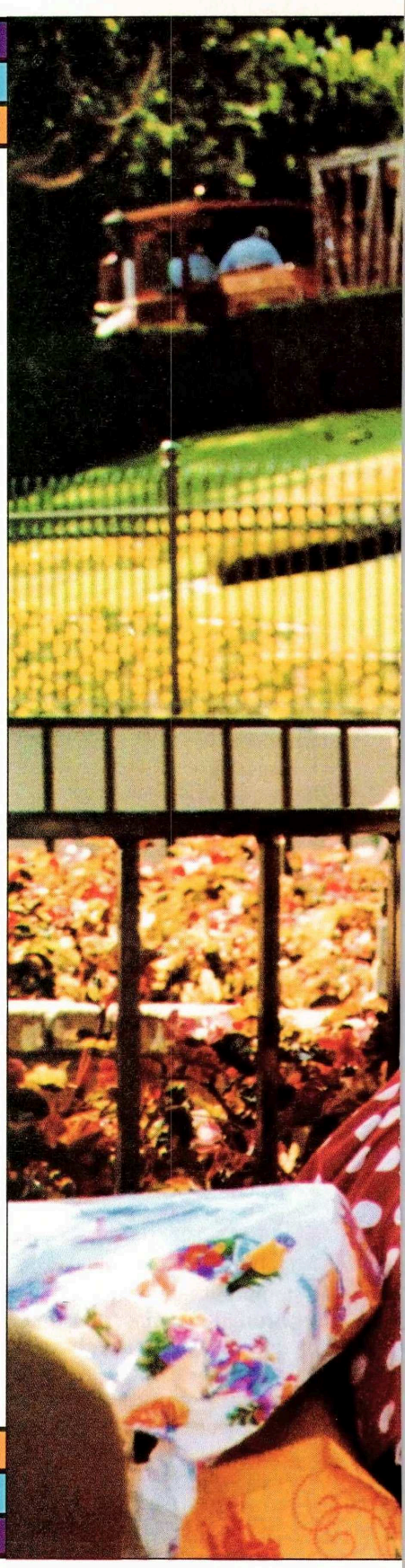
For a Phoenix-based children's foundation, only three words are necessary: "Make a wish!"

The Make-A-Wish Foundation of America is an all-volunteer, nonprofit organization with fifty-eight chapters nationwide. Under the direction of National President Mike Lewis of the Los Angeles Chapter, and Executive Director Linda Kaplan of the foundation headquarters in Phoenix, the foundation has granted favorite wishes to over 2,000 children experiencing catastrophic, life-threatening illnesses.

The entire family is included in each wish. No wish is too large. No child is turned away, and there is never any charge to the family.

The sole purpose of the Make-A-Wish Foundation is to provide joy and cherished memories to seriously ill children and their families. The only stipulation is that these children reach deep within their hearts to find their fondest wish or dearest dream.

For a child who may learn about death before he can learn his alphabet, a wish may mean a trip to Disneyland, or a ride on a fire engine, or seeing a cherished relative one more time. For a child in poverty, a favorite wish may extend to simply having a whole pack of bubble gum, or a more comfortable bed in which to sleep. Whatever the wish, each child is assured that his dream *can* and *will* come true, thanks to the behind-the-scenes efforts of



A Minnie Mouse dress was made especially for Brandi to wear at Disneyland, to make her dream a reality.

PHOTOS COURTESY OF MAKE-A-WISH FOUNDATION OF ORANGE COUNTY, CA.

countless private and corporate benefactors and volunteers.

While the wishes themselves may vary, the children and families share a common quality: simple courage. This is why Make-A-Wish embraces the needs of the entire family unit in granting a favorite wish. Mother may be struggling to support the family while caring for her desperately ill child. Father may be juggling a full-time job, his own heartbreak, and the needs of his loved ones. Should a sick child wish for a day at Disneyland (a standard favorite), Make-A-Wish is sure to provide Mom with a new dress, Dad with a paid day off, and each sibling with pocket money of his or her own.

A humble request by a tiny child unfolds into a magical dream-come-true.

What kind of person plays "good fairy" to children who have few days left in which to dream?

In 1980 that kind of person was a white-haired Texan with a gentle drawl named Tommy Austin. Austin was a U.S. customs officer in Phoenix, Arizona, when he helped make a dream come true for a small friend named Chris, who was suffering from leukemia.

Austin represented all the mystique and excitement of a shoot-'em-up TV cop, and little Chris wanted nothing more than to be a highway patrolman when he grew up. If he grew up. Too small to realize his own impending mortality, Chris confided his future dreams to friend Tommy. Austin would pat the pre-schooler's sparse, blonde hair—thin from chemotherapy—and make wishes of his own.

Months later, Chris' condition grew worse in the course of a weekend. Tommy and two state troopers were determined that Chris *would* become a policeman before he died. In the brief span of six days, Tommy arranged for Chris to have an Arizona trooper's hat, a ride in a state helicopter, a motorcade of squad cars and motorcycles, and a regulation uniform.

With his eyes bright with love and life, Chris was made a honorary member of the Arizona Highway Patrol. Tommy Austin succeeded in passing his first test as a good fairy: he made a miracle happen.

Three days later, Chris lapsed into a coma and died. Before his eyes closed, his last look may have lingered on the little trooper uniform that hung on the door near his hospital bed.

From Austin's tears and sorrow came a burning resolve to help other seriously ill children realize their own dreams. The next child served by the Phoenix officers was a six-year-old cancer victim named Bopsy, who wanted to be a fireman when he grew up.

He never got a chance to grow up, but his wish to be a fireman came true. The Phoenix Fire Department was contacted and six-year-old Bopsy became an honorary fireman, complete with his own turnout coat and helmet. He was thrilled to slide down a firepole and help steer a hook-and-ladder rig.

On the last day of his life, Bopsy was greeted in his hospital room by fireman friends who ran a ladder up to his window to make their surprise entrance. Hours later, Bopsy died.

It is only fitting that an organization that has helped offer hope and loving memories during times of suffering should have been founded in a place called Phoenix. Like the legendary phoenix bird, an emblem representing immortality, Make-A-Wish has managed to raise rainbows for children too sick to search for them, and make dreams come true for families with few nights left to spend dreaming together.

In the years after that first wish, the Make-A-Wish Foundation has grown into a national network of volunteer chapters. The United Kingdom and Australia are working on chapters of their own. The registered trademark of the foundation is a beribboned wishbone.

Each Make-A-Wish chapter relies on volunteer committees to raise and administer the

funds that make wishes possible for small dreamers. The center of the wishbone, so to speak, is the Wish Committee, which is ultimately responsible for the most visible aspect of the foundation: granting wishes.

One chapter, which has made headlines across the country for the sheer bravado of its wish-granting, is the Orange County chapter, located in Newport Beach, California.

Chairing the Wish Committee of the O.C. chapter is a lovely lady with blonde hair and a soft voice named Gay Weeks. The petite chairwoman impresses visitors with her selflessness and dedication, and her steel resolve to grant the favorite wishes of every sick child within her reach.

Gay is self-effacing about her success stories. She defers recognition and praise to her helpers, the wish coordinators. She is modest about the marvelous contributions she has made in the final days that a family may have joyfully shared with a dying little one.

When it comes to getting a sick child's wish off the ground, Gay sheds her gentle exterior and flexes her tapered fingers. She fixes a tight smile and a stare as straight and sharp as a laser beam and says, "There are no limits to what I'll do or how far I'll go in order to help make a child's dream come true."

This is the dogged attitude that has made the Orange County Make-A-Wish chapter and Gay Weeks a legend to medical professionals in three counties.

"There is no doubt in my mind, Gay Weeks and Make-A-Wish will always come through," said social worker Linda Lee, of the Children's Hospital of Orange County.

Like any of her six-year-old cancer patients, Linda believes in her heart that any wish is possible for the foundation and the O.C. chapter's tenacious Wish Committee chairwoman.

Linda works with up to 350 little patients at any one time. The catastrophic nature of their illnesses leaves little time for smiles and the kind of hope that is rewarded by remission.

"Make-A-Wish really does just that," Linda affirmed. "They address really complex situations involving the families and can be relied upon to get right to it and deliver the goods.

"Sometimes the parents are so overwhelmed that they just can't deal with a 'happy' like giving their child a wonderful gift or experience for them all to share," the social worker explained.

Sometimes a mother may feel that she would be "giving up" on her child by accessing a service agency like Make-A-Wish. Sometimes a parent may not be ready to admit that his child is in serious condition or near death. "That's what parents and doctors and medical professionals should understand," Linda urged. "Make-A-Wish grants favorite wishes to any child suffering a life-threatening illness. Many

A miracle unfolds at the airport for Dina and her newly arrived grandmother.

Cabbage Patch dolls are a favorite wish for many children.

'wish' children experience remission and survive their illnesses."

Medical personnel like Linda are usually the "connections" between the families and the foundation. Thanks to her participation in the Make-A-Wish chapter, Linda has helped ensure a more joyful quality of life for her small patients and their families. "If I were to volunteer full-time, I would not hesitate to donate my time to a quality organization like Make-A-Wish," Linda said. "They are the best."

Other "connection" agencies which have helped bring wish children and Make-A-Wish together include the national network of Candlelighters, which offers support to parents of sick children, and Compassionate Friends and other organizations which assist and offer comfort to bereaved parents.

Tracy De Leo is the executive director of the Orange County Hospice organization. She and visiting pediatric nurse Anna Gladden are thrilled with the remarkable difference Make-A-Wish has made on the lives of their small patients.

"If you've never seen a dream come true, you should watch Make-A-Wish at work," Anna remarked. "Just before she died, one of my patients looked lovingly over her wish gifts and said 'this is all I ever wanted.' "

Anna has seen a humble request by a tiny child unfold into a magical dream-come-true . . . a simple wish for a toy become a full-day shopping spree . . . a wistful wish "to look pretty" result in a chauffered cakewalk through the bountiful boutiques of Rodeo Drive in Beverly Hills, California.

Anna has seen the power of love and determination that Make-A-Wish volunteers have harnessed in granting favorite wishes for sick children.

When faced with the difficult wish of a trusting child, Anna relies on faith. "I just think to myself, if anybody can do it, Make-A-Wish *can*."

What about the expense? What if the wish *is* too difficult or large, or time-consuming? Gay Weeks just smiles. "We have never had a wish that couldn't be granted," she said. "Of course, our wish coordinators do have a hand in steering difficult wishes toward safer ground."

Gay joined the Orange County chapter in 1983—just after it was founded by Newport Beach businessman John Davis —to help answer the phones. Less than three years later, Gay volunteers seven days a week at the Newport Beach-based chapter office. She is an unpaid volunteer, like current President Paul Kaump and the other seven board members.

Unpaid, but not unrewarded, Gay insists. "I get an incredible feeling of satisfaction from this job," she said. "I have learned to be more appreciative of life, and I have been privileged to witness the love and courage of these sick children and their families."

The Orange County chapter of Make-A-Wish has been responsible for giving sixty children their hearts' delights. "But we have the capacity to fulfill so many more wishes," Gay laments. The chapter relies on private and corporate donations of money and products, and the loving labor of many volunteers. "And rarely do we pay for the whole wish ourselves," Gay explains. "Generous amusement parks like Disneyland, or celebrities, or toy manufacturers will help us out."

No wish is above Gay Weeks' reach, and no detail is beneath her notice. She has pleaded with the White House, wrangled with the State Department, tracked down elusive rock stars, and sought diplomatic intervention with war-torn Tehran to fulfill the wishes of seriously ill children.

The Make-A-Wish Foundation helps make wishes come true for children whose families may not have the financial means or capabilities to do so

on their own. "I simply have more contacts, more time and more leverage than the average family," Gay explained. With so much going for it, the Make-A-Wish Foundation must certainly have its hands full with the dreams of suffering children.

"Unfortunately, we are only doing a fraction of what we are capable of," Gay said. "Many people haven't heard about the foundation, or are afraid that we are only interested in fulfilling the final wishes of dying children.

"Asking for our help would mean, to them, that they had given up hope for the recovery of their child," she added. Contrary to this misconception, the Make-A-Wish Foundation has granted favorite wishes for children who are enjoying life today. "Remission is always a hope, and many times a reality for our wish children," Gay said.

Because of the complex emotions involved in a life-threatening situation, families are united with Make-A-Wish chapters through the intervention of friends, physicians, social workers, and hospice nurses. These secondary "good fairies" make a gentle introduction to the foundation possible.

The family then receives a phone call from Gay, who arranges for two wish coordinators to make a home visit. "My biggest criteria in selecting volunteers to serve as coordinators is that they have a lot of warmth," Gay said. "Not everybody can do this job, but I don't stop anyone from trying."

One coordinator may sit with the family in the kitchen, while the other coordinator visits the wish child in his or her room. The medical requirements of the child are noted, as are the child's favorite toys, colors, and tastes. "We tell the child that he is very special, and that we are able to do things like grant his favorite wish," Gay explained with a smile. "For some reason, children just accept the news that they *are* special, so we don't have to explain much more than that."

Chairwoman Gay Weeks of the Orange county chapter of Make-A-Wish in California, loads her trunk with gifts.

The coordinator leaves the child and family with small gifts—a teddy-bear and Make-A-Wish logo t-shirt—and the wish is on its way.

With board approval, Gay steams ahead to coordinate the various elements of each wish. Wishes are made possible because coordinators are careful to encourage a child away from the impossible. Sometimes coordinators face a reverse situation.

"We asked one child to make a wish and he said, 'I want bubble gum,' " Gay said. "Some children, particularly poor children, cannot even imagine having a wish granted." Defeated by poverty and illness, the families of these "wish" children are stunned by organizations like the Make-A-Wish Foundation.

At age 2, tiny Claudia was bedridden and almost blind when her poor, Spanish-speaking family's simple wish for a bed was granted. Pediatric Nurse Anna Gladden was on hand for the event. "I don't know how they did it, but the coordinators brought this little girl a beautiful canopy bed and tons of wrapped gifts," Anna recalls.

"It was like something out of Cinderella! There were

Spanish-speaking talking dolls, and toys, records, and games," exclaimed the bilingual visiting nurse. "It was so rewarding to see a family I loved so dearly have their little girl's dreams come true."

About 50 percent of Anna's patients are terminally ill children, and she has referred several dozen families to Make-A-Wish. Anna has participated in a very special wish through the Orange County chapter. For Gay Weeks, it was her most difficult challenge.

"We tell the child that he is very special, and we are able to do things like grant his favorite wish."

For a frail 12-year-old girl named Dina, it was nothing less than a miracle.

Dina was an Iranian child suffering from a rare genetic disorder. In desperation her family traveled from Iran to the United States to seek medical attention for their seriously ill child. Last year, the child's condition worsened, and she pleaded to be reunited with the grandmother who had remained in Iran.

"Dina loved her grandmother so much that every time she spoke about her, Dina's eyes would light up," Anna recalled. "Her mother never really believed that Dina's wish could come true. I thought to myself, 'If anybody can do this, Gay Weeks can.' "

"I didn't know how to begin," Gay recalled. Accustomed to granting wishes for bicycles, toys, and trips to Disneyland, the task of plucking a 70-year-old grandmother from war-torn Iran was daunting.

The Make-A-Wish chapter succeeded in re-establishing special contacts to Tehran, enlisting the aid of the White House, State Department, West Germany, and international humane organizations. The grandmother matched Gay's determination with a rare courage of her own —traveling across the globe for five days alone and among people and customs she could not understand, in order to take her dying granddaughter into her arms once more.

"Make-A-Wish provided a limousine and flowers for the special event," Anna noted. "Every detail was perfect . . . "

Too ill to lift her own arms, Dina was carried into her grandmother's embrace. Dina's mother and father stood stunned, tears streaming down their faces, as their impossible dream came true.

Gay credits her wish coordinators, board of directors and committee chairpersons, and generous volunteers and benefactors with the successful completion of wishes like Dina's.

This moving wish-list goes on and on:

At age 9, Henry was confined to a hospital bed with complications due to hemophilia. He was very specific about what he wanted—G.I. Joe clothing, toys, and videotapes. His special wish for a videotape of his beloved third-grade teacher and classmates was fulfilled with a flair. The tape showed the entire class making Henry get-well cards and talking about their missing classmate.

Thirteen-year-old Doug was stricken so severely with muscular dystrophy that he spent much of his time in an iron lung. His weakened strength allowed him to speak only in a whisper. Nonetheless, Doug's wish to choose a purebred German Shepherd puppy and have it professionally trained to respond to his command, was granted.

In 1984, eight-year-old Cassie wished for a trip to a toy store in order to buy a bicycle. Make-A-Wish arranged for an entire shopping spree that included her little brother and parents. The beaming child was delighted with her shiny pink bike and bounty of toys. She enjoyed her wonderful gifts in the two weeks before she died of cystic fibrosis.

The wish children are sick and in pain. Their families are struggling under the burdens of financial strain, emotional trauma, fatigue, and raw fear. Some of the children are bald or scarred from chemotherapy, radiation, or surgery. Their par-

ents are recognizable by their darting, red-rimmed eyes.

Siblings may also exhibit stress caused by their own fear, guilt for their own health, or the neglect they may suffer while a sick brother or sister becomes the reluctant center of attention.

In the midst of this suffering, Make-A-Wish offers hope and some cherished, happy memories for wish children and their families. To give this priceless final gift, the Make-A-Wish Foundation has crossed war zones and the limitless borders of a small child's imagination.

For Gay Weeks and her wealth of wish volunteers, the payoff is a treasure beyond measure.

The thank-you cards which are saved in her scrapbooks are worn with constant, loving handling. Some of the notes are short and have been slowly penned by parents newly bereaved. "Thank you for caring for children like Matthew," one reads, "May God bless you richly and return the blessings to you in abundance."

It continues, "Would it be possible to thank the ones who donated his go-kart?"

Another mother asks pardon for the lateness of her note. With pain-filled dignity she writes, "From the bottom of my heart I want to thank you for all your kindness and what you did for David. The ATC bike was a wonderful gift I could never have given him."

Another note reads: "To thank you doesn't even come close to how deeply I was moved when I saw how happy Brandi was during her trip."

A small request for a bicycle turned into a shopping spree at a toy store for eight-year-old Cassie.

Brandi's mother offered her prayer that " . . . your home is happy and your children will remain healthy. I thought you might like a snapshot of Brandi's kindergarten picture."

She added, "I have no money to offer, but if you ever need help on another wish that I could assist you with, please let me know."

Gay Weeks can only smile weakly and blink back tears as she flips through the assortment of notes. She and the Make-A-Wish Foundation believe that this is more than repayment enough. ■

Ronda Miller is a freelance writer specializing in human interest stories dealing with children and with the elderly. She is presently living in Irvine, California.

Sniff Your Way To Good Health

THE NEW DISCOVERY OF AROMATHERAPY TO RELIEVE STRESS AND PAIN

BY ELAINE BAUM

The newest and most exciting area of research involves the use of the sense of smell to help prevent disease and improve health. A leading U.S. fragrance firm, International Flavors and Fragrances, Inc., has been involved in testing over 2,000 subjects in order to determine the connection between mind, body, and sense of smell. It has found that the sense of smell can be used to control blood pressure, stress, and even relieve pain. Scientists are now calling it "aromatherapy."

In line with this, psychologist Gary Schwartz and his colleagues at Yale University have conducted a controlled study of forty-eight healthy, normal people to determine their reactions to stressful questions after smelling specific aromas. They were asked such questions as, "What kind of person makes you angry?" after sniffing an apple fragrance and a spiced floral fragrance. When contrasted with the results seen in individuals not given anything to sniff before questioning, the research proved very interesting. The "whiffers" had lower blood pressure and heart rate, as well as more relaxed muscles and slower breathing. They even reported that they felt more relaxed and less anxious and embarrassed.

Gary Schwartz observed that a peach fragrance mollified one patient with strong panic attacks, epilepsy, and narcolepsy. He believes that aromas may effectively supplement conventional treatments for various disorders such as cardiac arrhythmia, schizophrenia, migraine headache, food cravings, depression, anxiety, and fatigue. International

Flavors and Fragrances sponsored the Yale research and now plans to market a perfume to ease stress. The company is already marketing a strawberry fragrance used by anesthesiologists, who calm patients by scenting surgical masks with the fragrance.

A Japanese fragrance firm, Takasago, is doing research on aromatherapy to control dizziness, nausea, and other ailments. At Dartmouth, psychologist Michael S. Fanselow observed that rats emitted a "stress odor" when given an electric shock. Other rats, which were unstressed, released endorphins, the body's natural opiates, when they smelled it. The result was scientifically interesting—the second group of rats felt less pain when they were given the same electric shock.

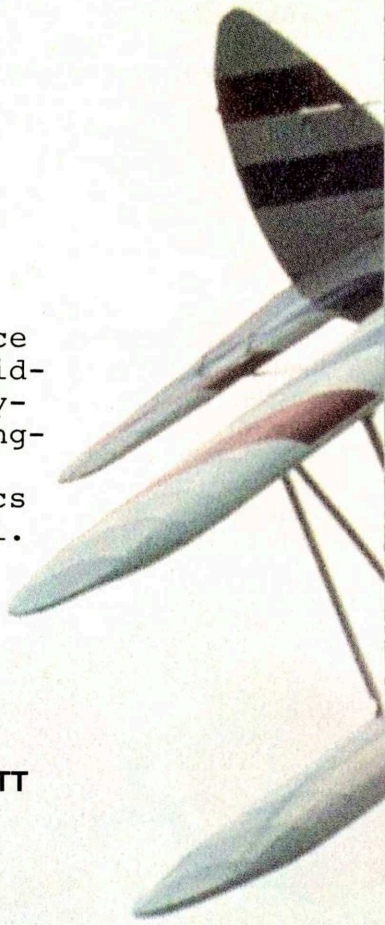
In addition to body effects, it has been found by many researchers, including those at International Flavors and Fragrances, that fragrance can trigger deep-seated memories that influence behavior and perception. The sense of smell can also improve with practice, opening a whole new dimension to life. Since smell impulses travel more rapidly and take a more direct route to the brain than visual or auditory ones, they go right from the nose to the brain's limbic system which influences emotional experience. Smell, the sense which has been neglected for so long, may play an important role in our lives in the future. ■

Elaine Baum is the editor and publisher of Your Child & Home. *She is also the editorial director of Reese Communications and is responsible for fourteen magazines including* Woman.

Out on a Limb with a WING WALKER

BY NOUR DAVID

WING WALKER WANTED- No experience necessary. Male or female considered. To perform Sundays at Flying Circus Aerodrome near Washington. Pay not great, but glory commensurate to risk. Gymnastics or sky diving background helpful. Call Ron David. Evenings, 703-675-3298.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY KENNETH GARRETT /WOODFIN CAMP, INC.

NE8940

Dreams of courage and old-fashioned dauntlessness are evoked by walking on the wings of a biplane.

A colleague saw the ad in the newspaper and as a joke he clipped it and pinned it on the presidential travel bulletin board in the White House Pressroom.

Glory commensurate to risk.

I pondered the suggestion of danger, of glory. I grew thoughtful about the hectic and stressful schedule of my life with the press corps.

No experience necessary.

On Friday, April 8, of 1977, I dialed the number and asked for Ron David. The chain of events that followed had an incredible impact on my life.

An authoritative and confident voice answered the phone. Responding to my questions, he explained briefly about wing walking, biplanes, and barnstorming. He spoke passionately about the challenge and exhilaration of the sport, and of dreams, of courage, and old-fashioned dauntlessness.

I hastily scheduled an appointment.

I arrived at the Flying Circus Aerodrome on the thirteenth, five hours late—delayed by a troublesome presidential news conference. My eyes scanned the field, curiously searching for the man behind the mellifluously fluid voice that had inspired a sense of trust and confidence within me almost instantaneously.

I spotted Ron David in the center of the grass field —checking out the sky diver. His preoccupation gave me time to ponder and walk around the hangar. The biplanes were there and now finally I had the opportunity of seeing those fabulous flying machines up close. I touched one of the wings. Was it metal, fabric, or a combination of materials I couldn't recognize? The metal strings between the upper and lower wings looked to me like a strange harp placed betwixt them. The cockpit and the instrument panel

looked simple and archaic, and the smell of petrol mixed with the field grass and the country air was transporting.

In the left-hand corner of the hangar there was a red and white biplane—I supposed it to be at least. Obviously, it was not an abstract work of art, but the uneasy marriage of earth and flying machine. What had happened to the pilot —or the *wing walker?*

I waited in the executive office of the Flying Circus Aerodrome, a rude partition in the main hanger, with walls covered with flying equipment, pilots' gear, goggles, scarves, well-worn and dusty leather jackets, schedules, and barnstorming memorabilia.

After I had surveyed the quaint artifacts of flight for about twenty minutes, Ron David approached with a brisk, slightly weary, yet zestful gait. He promptly proceeded with basic instructions on wing walking as we walked over to a huge white biplane, a 450-horsepower Stearman. His instructions were meticulously detailed, and after about thirty minutes of drill, Ron suggested that we take to the air.

Take to the air?

I jumped mechanically into the front cockpit, and Ron moved to the front of the plane to swing the propeller. After a few tries, the unforgettable roar of the 450 Stearman filled the air. Ron swung into the rear cockpit, buckled up, and shouted over the engine cacophony: "Ready?" I suppose I nodded my head because we began to move toward the trees of the far field and eventually soared above the electrical wires surrounding the flying circus field.

Suddenly I felt a tap on my shoulder.

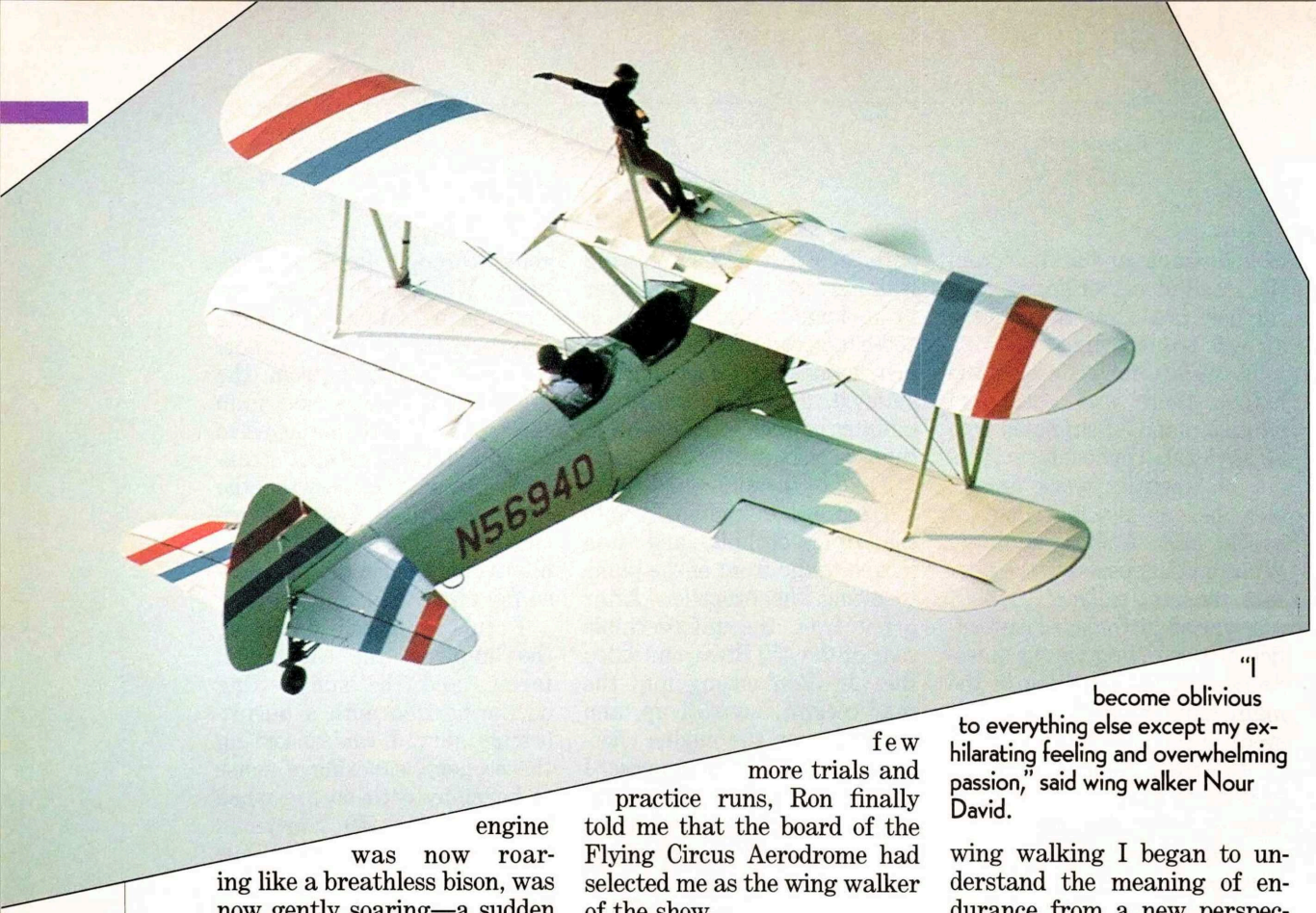
Did this mean . . . was I . . . was this . . . glory commensurate with risk?

My mind was rapidly going through Ron's instructions. We had practiced the steps on a stationary biplane firmly on the ground, but now we were 800 feet from the ground and it was not quite the same. My body managed to straighten itself without strangling my neck in between the wires, and there I was, oblivious to anything else but the exhilarating feeling that pervaded my mind, soul, and body.

I could see the fields below, the highway, the cattle and farms, and the sun setting on the horizon with a purple-orange glow. I was absorbing the scenery, savoring a sense of harmony with nature when suddenly the 450 Stearman thrust into a barrel roll. While my mind and heart were racing to absorb what was happening, I realized suddenly that the earth and horizon were approaching at great speed. Was this, then, to be my final encounter with mother nature?

We pulled out of the roll and the 450 Stearman, whose

Teamwork between the wing walker and the aerobatic pilot is the real key.



"I become oblivious to everything else except my exhilarating feeling and overwhelming passion," said wing walker Nour David.

engine was now roaring like a breathless bison, was now gently soaring—a sudden tranquility pervaded my whole being. I felt simultaneously in control and yet gently yielding to this invigorating new experience.

We circled the field once and gently landed on the grass. Ron went on to explain some additional stunts, how to place one's feet when walking on the left wing and how to balance one's body by using the strings. Before I left, he did mention that quite a few qualified candidates had applied and a decision would be made soon. He would notify me of the outcome.

My greatest trepidation now lay in my prospects of being selected as the wing walker. I had an insatiable and overwhelming passion to reach for the sky, to reach for that marvelous unbounded sensation of loftiness and freedom. After a few more trials and practice runs, Ron finally told me that the board of the Flying Circus Aerodrome had selected me as the wing walker of the show.

I was now impatiently waiting for every opportunity and excuse to get into the 450 Stearman. And during the flight I looked for any chance to get out of the cockpit and stretch my body and feel the exhilaration of the wind.

Motivated by curiosity, the prospect of challenge, a love for adventure, and the opportunity to experiment with my own potential, I was jubilant to find a chance of actually sparring with fate.

During the shows, and especially after the shows, I was eager to try new stunts. I selfishly enshrined in my heart every new experience that I lived through, accumulating a reservoir of vivid memories from which I could draw when the mundane trappings of life brought me down.

Through the discipline of wing walking I began to understand the meaning of endurance from a new perspective, and the importance of resiliency. Above all, though, I was introduced to the real significance of teamwork. This new awareness opened new horizons, and the reconciliation of determination, independence, and teamwork proved to be not without significance for me.

No student can ever achieve a degree of success without having the fortune of being taught by a good teacher. In my case, luck struck twice; not only was my teacher one of the most proficient aerobatic pilots that I ever came across, but he also had the innate talent of imparting the requisite skillfulness, precision, and teamwork to others.

On one particular Saturday, I arrived full of energy and ready to conquer the sky. Ron and I discussed and considered

new stunts—one of which had particular appeal to me. Once in the air, I would get out of the front cockpit and walk on the left lower wing toward the far tip of the wing, threading carefully so as not to break the ribs underneath the wing fabric. From there, I was to place both my ankles around the strut, buckle a line from the base of the left wing's strut to the buckle of my belt (on that morning I was wearing two belts), then let my body swing down from the lower wing, do a pass in that position, circle around the field once, and then perform a double flip by releasing my ankles from the biplane's lower wing. Afterwards, I would reach with my left arm for the strut and pull my body up swiftly and smoothly. From thence, carry on with the regular routine.

After I gave assurance to Ron that I had carefully planned every step of the stunt, he reluctantly consented to give it a try. Once back in the air, I proceeded with the initial steps, and everything went routinely until the double flip. I felt confident when I released my ankles from the base of the strut, until I tried to grasp the base of the strut from under the lower wing. That's when I discovered that my arms weren't as long as I thought. In the meantime, my body was involuntarily swinging to and fro under the wing. After repeated attempts to grasp anything that could give me sufficient reach to lift my body back upon the wing had failed, my strength started waning. Sandwiched by the belt coupled to the umbilical line attached to the base of the strut, I began to gasp for breath, and wondered if the line was strong enough to hold my weight for long. Probably not. Is Ron realizing what's happening? How can I convey to him that I cannot get back on the wing? Is he seeing my body vigorously rotating under the wing?

Getting ready to perform another stunt, Nour David prepares for her next move.

I grasped for inner calmness, while assessing the options available. I proceeded to take off my jodhpur belt and tried to swing it around the strut of the wing, and use it to lift my body up on top of the wing. It didn't work; in the strong wind I actually lost the belt.

Ron was manipulating the biplane to give me optimum possibilities to try various courses of action. He started to circle the field trying to get the attention from the aviators on the ground, and eventually they realized that something had gone very wrong.

Soon another biplane approached up close, the turbulence in the air causing it to bounce up and down. I tried to get a footing on the upper part of the top wing, but to no avail. A slight lift was all I needed to

Hanging from the strut by her legs, Nour David swings to and fro.

get the essential millimeter closer to the strut. I then was ready to land on the top wing at the next pass and release the "D-ring" from the line attached to the 450 Stearman.

I was rapidly losing energy now and my mouth was starting to foam with saliva. My rib cage and lungs were hurting badly, yet my mind was still scanning the bottom of the biplane wing for a clue—anything to help relieve the pressure. Suddenly my eyes focused on a tiny metal loop, a tie-down ring! Now, insensible to anything other than that insignificant ring, with one last controlled swing, the third finger of my right hand encircled the loop, and bonded together with it like forged steel. "Good," I thought, "now I can recover a little and conserve as much energy as possible for the final approach, hopefully a positive one."

I noticed the movements of the second biplane. Could the pilot fathom Ron's intentions? Could he land the plane in such an unbalanced configuration without killing us both? Was he going to try to let me "cut-away" into a nearby lake or amidst trees to cushion the impact of the fall? Whatever he was going to do, I had to have sufficient strength to react. I faintly realized that he was now circling the field, but what concerned me were the high-tension lines looming up ahead. Then Ron banked the plane and I concluded that he was going to attempt a landing with the wing walker hanging on underneath the wing.

Just as he was making the final approach, with all the strength (mental and physical) I could muster, I raised my body as horizontally as I could, and as the biplane touched down I immediately relaxed the whole body with the exception of that finger that was welded to the loop.

My body was being dragged across the hard ground, bouncing with the movement of the biplane. The biplane came to a stop not far from the hangar with the wing walker still attached to the iron loop.

On the next day, Sunday, the show went on, bruises and all. ■

Nour David is a freelance photojournalist who has covered both the White House and the war in Vietnam. She is president of News Photos Worldwide and has been living in the Washington area for the past sixteen years. David is a former member of the Board of Directors at the National Press Club and White House News Photographers.

EXPERIMENTAL
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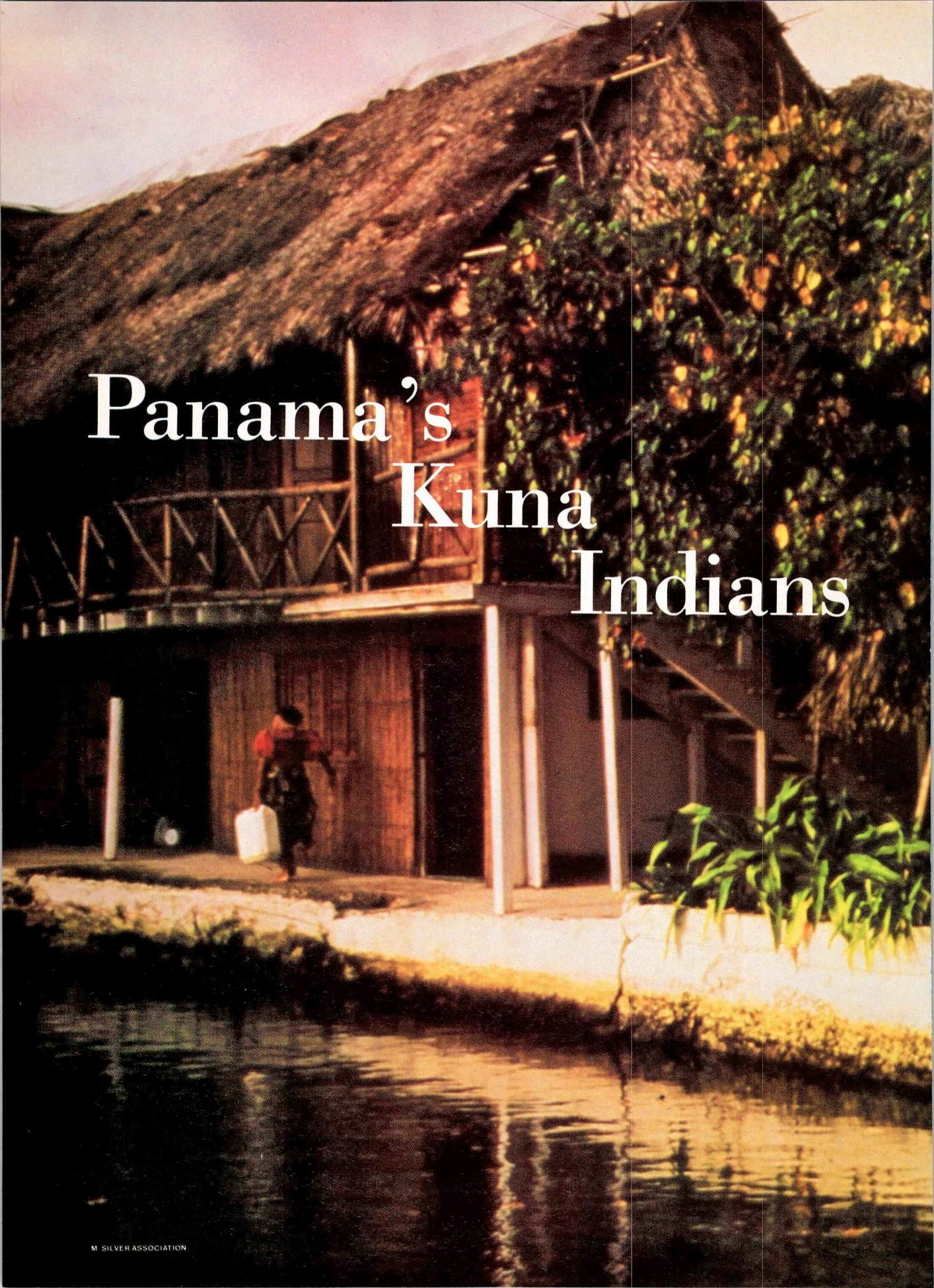
Panama's Kuna Indians



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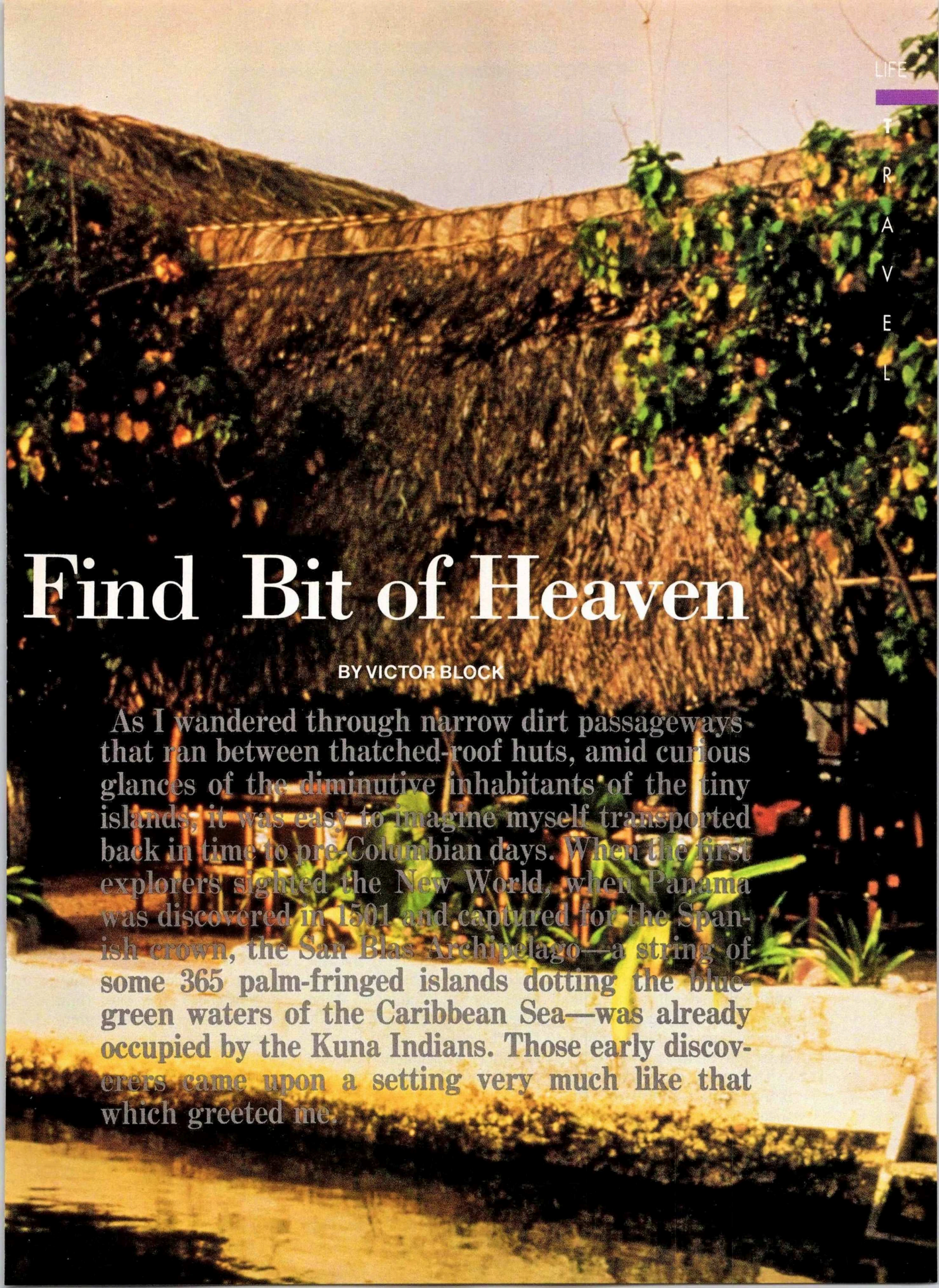
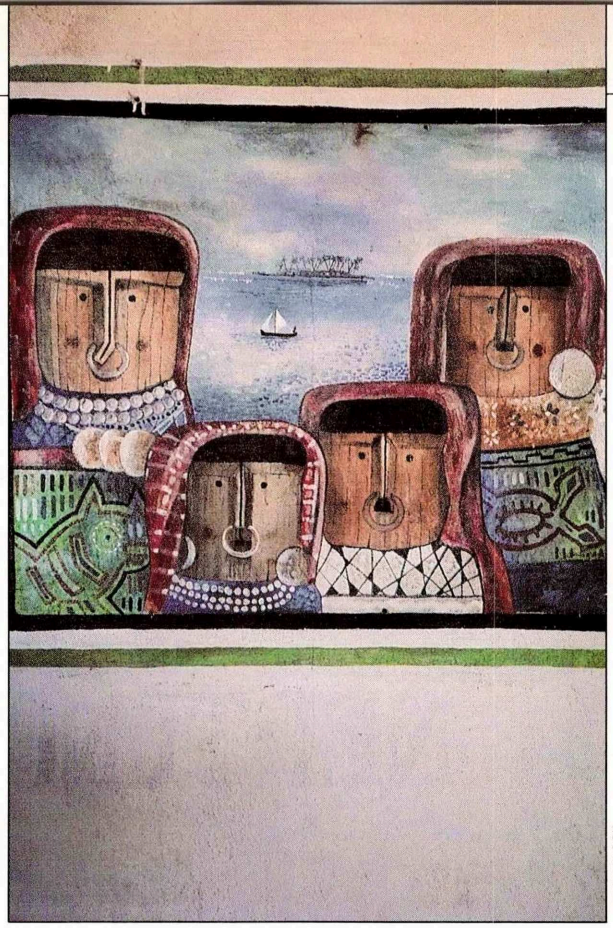


Find Bit of Heaven

BY VICTOR BLOCK

As I wandered through narrow dirt passageways that ran between thatched-roof huts, amid curious glances of the diminutive inhabitants of the tiny islands, it was easy to imagine myself transported back in time to pre-Columbian days. When the first explorers sighted the New World, when Panama was discovered in 1501 and captured for the Spanish crown, the San Blas Archipelago—a string of some 365 palm-fringed islands dotting the blue-green waters of the Caribbean Sea—was already occupied by the Kuna Indians. Those early discoverers came upon a setting very much like that which greeted me.



VICTOR BLOCK

A mural on the wall artistically expresses the simple life of the Kuna Indians.

Most present-day visitors arrive by way of a white-knuckle descent in a small prop plane, landing on a bumpy runway, the length of an aircraft carrier. Once on the ground, they enter a time warp that is all the more dramatic because of its proximity to the modern world. For while the San Blas Islands lie within sight of Panama's mainland, only about a thirty-minute flight from teeming Panama City, the Kunas remained isolated for centuries. Only in recent years have the approximately 24,000 Indians edged toward the mainstream of today's life, doing so in sometimes quaint ways that have left their strong traditions and colorful culture largely undisturbed.

Here I spotted a young Indian boy sporting a Kansas City Royals baseball cap. There, I heard the clatter of a portable radio; the Kunas have no electricity. On occasion, a smattering of Spanish emerges from the Indian dialect. I saw several teenage girls wearing jeans beneath their brightly colored *molas*—the unique reverse appliqué blouses that the Kuna women have transformed from a highly prized native handicraft into an art form.

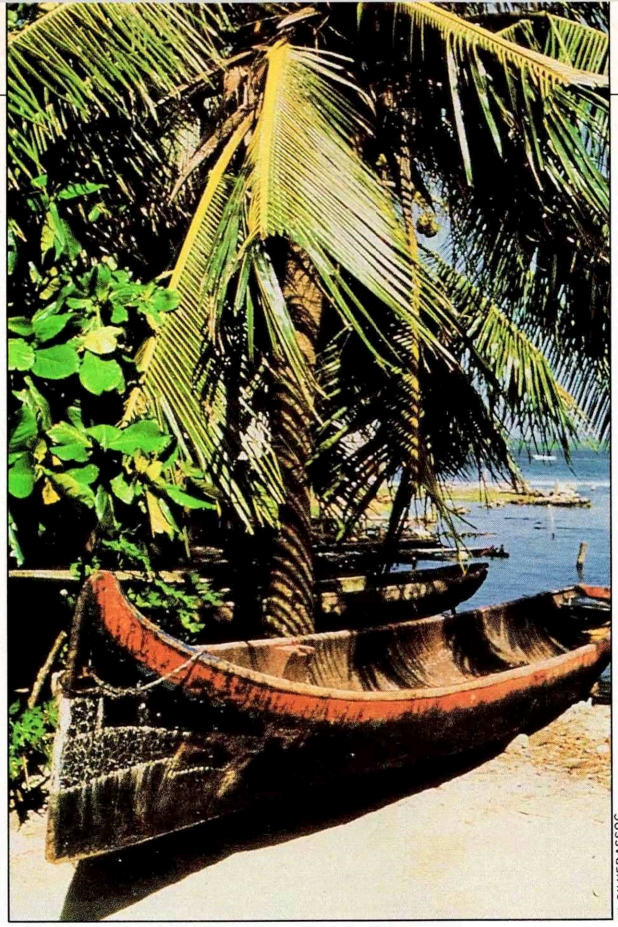
The exact ancestry of the Kunas remains uncertain. One theory is that they are direct descendants of the Carib Indians, who lived in isolated jungle villages along Panama's coastline. The Mongoloid features of the bronze-colored Kunas have led some anthropologists to speculate about an Asian connection. Another mystery is their small stature, said to be second only to that of the African Pygmies.

Whatever the background of the archipelago's inhabitants, anyone who visits the San Blas Islands is in for a new kind of experience. For example, those who stay overnight at one of the very rustic hotels—not the Hotel Anai ("friend"), which has indoor plumbing and other amenities—must make do with thatch-roofed, sand-floored sleeping and dining huts, washtub bathing facilities, and outhouses perched over the sea at the ends of the rickety piers.

From the air, my first reaction to the destination pinpoints of coral ranging in size from small to tiny, surrounded by white sand beaches, blanketed by rooftops and palm trees—was concern about where the plane would land. Then a narrow slash in the trees appeared on the island of El Porvenir, and the aircraft touched down and rolled to a stop near the simple headquarters home of the Panamanian *Entendiente,* or governor. He is the official liaison between the national government and the Kunas, who conduct their affairs in near autonomy.

Each of the fifty-one inhabited islands has its own *saila,* or chief. He makes work assignments, settles problems among villagers, and meets three or four times a year with the other island leaders to deal with matters affecting the entire tribe. Some chiefs carry a carved ceremonial cane which attests to their standing. These "authority sticks," which may be purchased for less than $5 after some spirited sign-language bargaining, make good gifts and souvenirs.

The chiefs bring to their deliberations an uncomplicated and straightforward outlook



M. SILVER ASSOC.

The ***cayuco,*** a dugout canoe, is the only means of transportation between the islands.

that is among the Kunas' most enchanting characteristics. It was that way of viewing the world which prompted one leader to note, after encountering his first elephant at a circus during a trip to the mainland: "There are things easier to understand than the reason for such an animal." And which led Archimedes Preciado, a forty-two-year-old husband and farmer, to tell me, "We don't worry about the world's problems. We just take care of San Blas."

The degree of autonomy in which the Kunas live and something about their nature were revealed in an incident that occurred when one chief would not allow girls to attend school. After a number of Panamanian officials had exhausted their legal and logical arguments, they called in the minister of tourism—who resorted to a type of poetic cajolery the Kuna chief could understand.

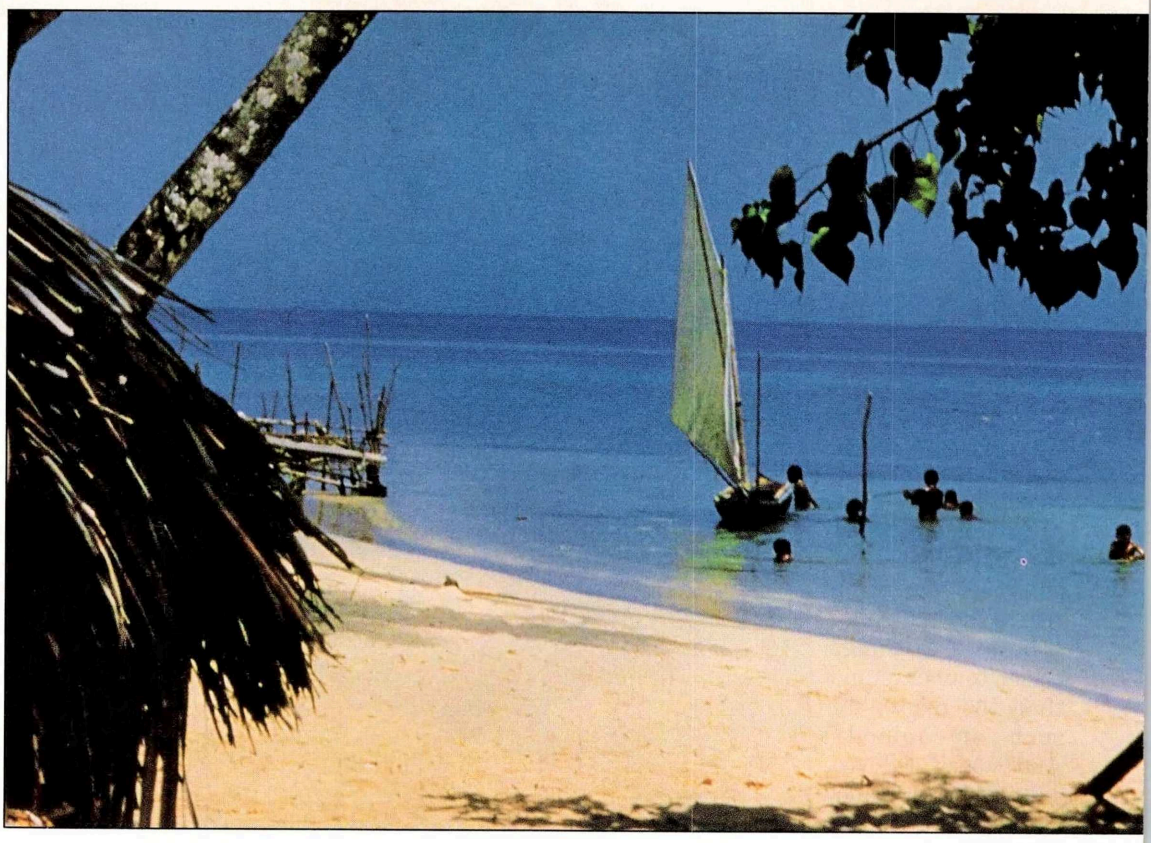
"Wouldn't it be wonderful to fly like the birds overhead, and see all the beauty of your islands?" the minister asked. After the chief agreed, the minister sprang his verbal trap: "That's why we hope you will let the girls attend school—so they may share the beauty and appreciation for part of life that education gives the boys." The chief peered silently at the minister, contemplating his words, then rose, bowed—and issued an order that henceforth, girls would be allowed to go to school.

My visit with Archimedes Preciado and his family—all of whom displayed the typical Kuna combination of warmth and shyness—provided added insight into these delightful people. Their one-room hut is furnished with hammocks for sleeping, a table, several chairs, and primitive cooking utensils. Clothing, neatly turned inside out, bags of food, and other items hang neatly from the ceiling rafters. Drinking water, which is brought from the mainland, is stored in clay pots.

Archimedes' wife Amalia Perez—women keep their maiden names in this somewhat matriarchal society—uses an ancient oven fueled by bottled gas to cook. Many families have a fire pit or separate kitchen hut, in which smoldering hardwood logs in a star formation are shoved together and fanned into flames when heat is needed for preparing meals.

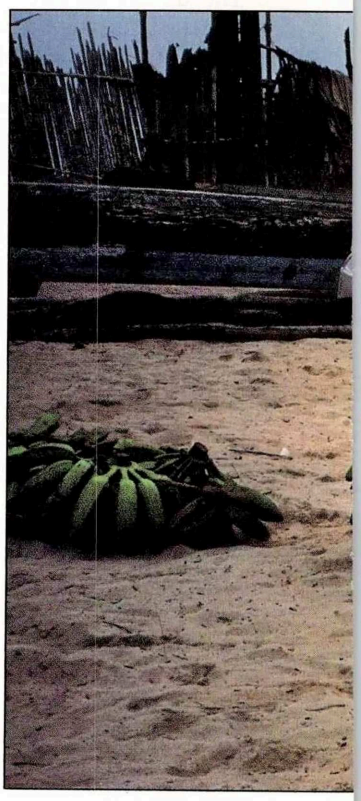
While their elder daughter is twenty-two and unmarried—they also have a daughter fifteen, and sons eleven and ten—many Kuna girls select a potential husband when they are in their mid- to late teens. The prospective bridegroom is caught by his friends, supposedly by surprise, carried to the girl's hut, and placed in a hammock beside her. He may flee twice, only to be recaptured and returned, without jeopardizing the engagement. If he runs away a third time, the marriage is off. The wedding ceremony itself is simple. The couple spends the night in the hammock talking and consummating their relationship, followed by a ceremonial bath.

Traditionally, newlyweds move into the house of the wife's family. The morning after the wedding, the bridegroom accompanies his father-in-law to cut firewood or undertake some other chore, demonstrating his allegiance.

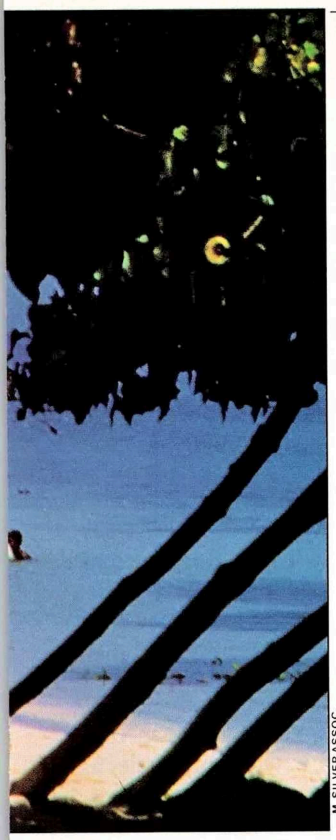


This strong sense of tradition extends to every facet of the Kunas' life. By prescribing roles and activities, it helps account for their easygoing lifestyle and view of the world around them. When the U.S. Peace Corps tried to launch a vegetable-growing project, the Kunas politely refused to care for the crops. One man explained that while the vegetables required daily weeding, he was free to vary his activities as he wished among cutting bananas, fishing, traveling by *cayuco* (dug-out canoe) to the mainland for water, or caring for coconut trees—the tribe's most precious crop. Many of the otherwise uninhabited islands serve as a temporary home to caretakers, who take turns guarding and tending the trees—which, unlike the land itself, are individually owned.

These chores—along with building and repairing the hut, weaving baskets, making his and his sons' clothing, carving wooden utensils, hunting, and growing food—are prescribed as man's work. The predominant crops, which are primarily grown on the nearby mainland, are rice, beans, plantain, yucca, and other fruits. A typical breakfast consists of fried plantain and coffee or a beverage of plantain and sugarcane juice. I apparently rated spe-



Tending the plantain trees on the beach is a daily chore for the Kunas.



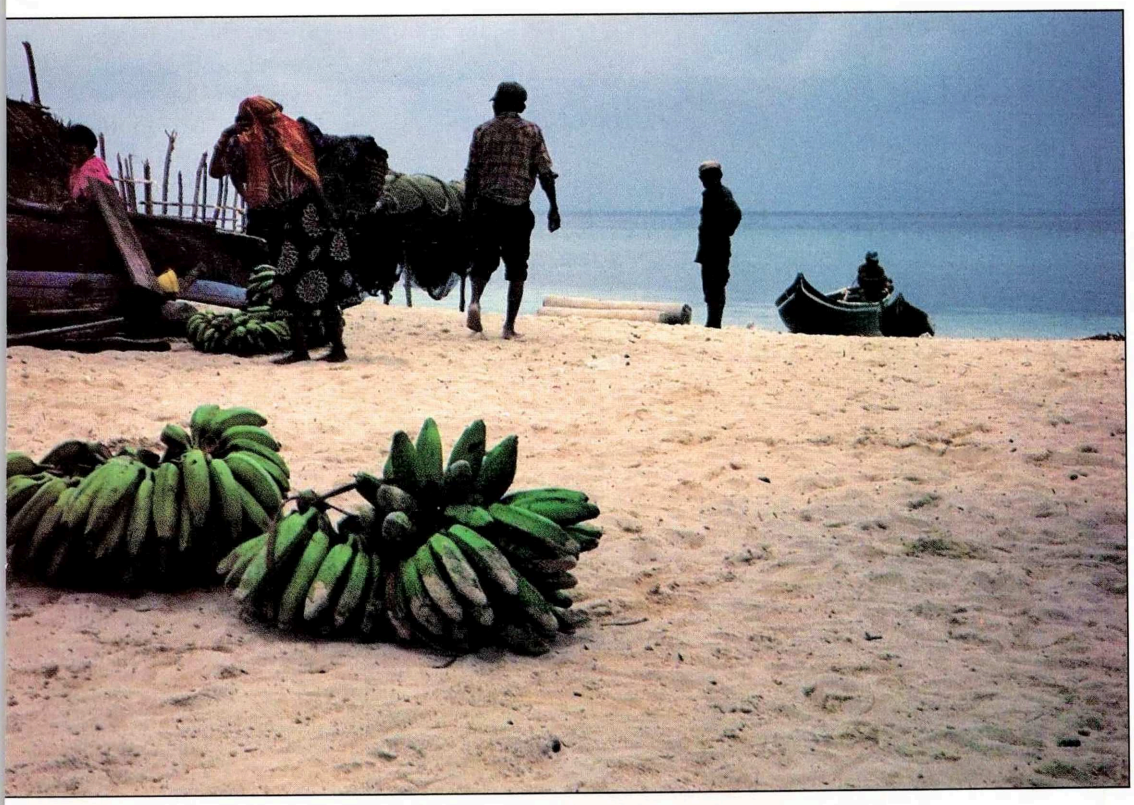
M. SILVER ASSOC.

cial fare: eggs cooked with onions, tomatoes, and chunks of freshly caught lobster. Lunch and dinner often include fresh fish or conch, boiled rice or yucca with plantain and pieces of fish or wild game (boar or iguana) and fruit.

Women in the Kuna society have prestige and authority. They manage the household and handle the family business. At the same time, they care for the children, tend the cooking fire, fetch fresh water, prepare meals, and sew the female garments—including molas. Kuna girls begin sewing practice panels when they are about seven, and most become expert by the time they reach marriageable age.

My first glimpse of these colorful blouses and cloth panels, which I had heard extolled by earlier travelers to Panama, came as a surprise. After landing on El Porvenir, I clambered with several other travelers into a motor-driven cayuco for the ride to Wichub Whala—a nearby island of about 300 inhabitants. From a distance, the island resembled a cliff rising from the sea, but as we drew closer, what had appeared to be hillsides changed to a continuous silhouette of brown huts. Here and there, splashes of brilliant color, like large flowers, were interspersed among the structures. Only as the dugout ap-

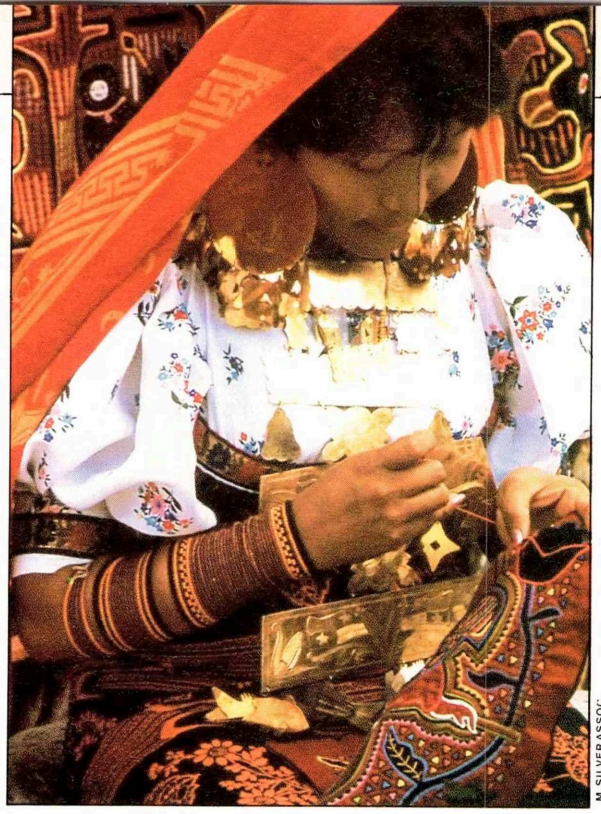
On the seashore of the Caribbean, an age-old life-style can still hold the modern world.



VICTOR BLOCK

proached land did I realize that the "flowers" were molas hanging on lines or fences, laid out on rooftops to dry in the sun, or worn by the women as they moved about.

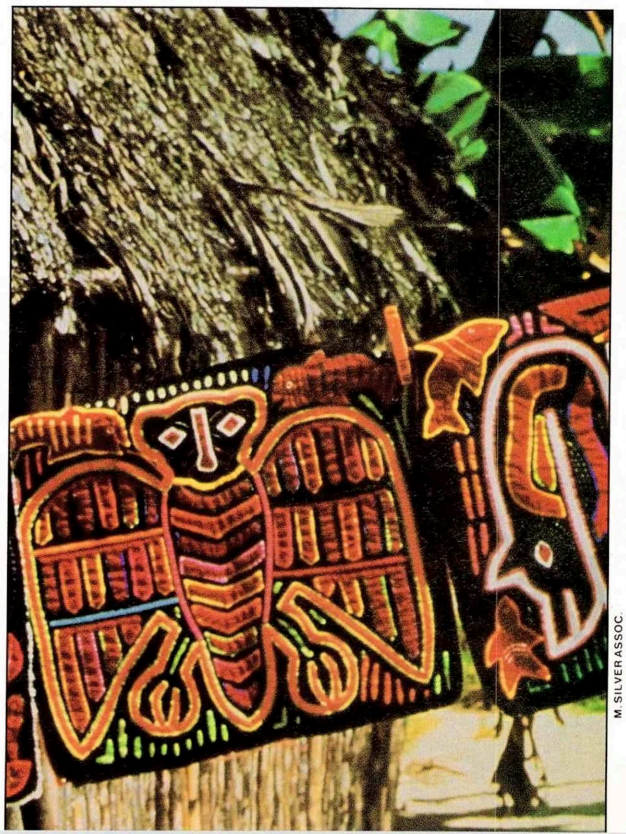
Once ashore, I inspected the molas more closely, quickly coming to understand why these blouses and the decorative panels used to make them are considered works of art that have been displayed in museums. The colors—primarily red, yellow, orange, and blue—are vibrant. Hand stitchery appears machine-perfect. The designs combine whimsical depictions of things the Kunas see around them—animals, birds, fish, and plant life—with reproductions of newspaper and magazine advertisements, everyday objects, such as matchbox designs and canned food labels, religious themes (Adam and Eve and Noah's Ark are favorites), comic-book heroes such as Superman and Batman, and even Santa Claus. Mola panels may be purchased for $8–$12 and a blouse for $20–$30, although outstanding examples, if they are for sale at all, can be priced as high as $300.



M. SILVER ASSOC.

Some tourists believe that the women don many necklaces and bracelets simply for them; however, this is not so.

Mola panels made of vibrant colors depicting scenes of nature evolved from the age-old custom of body painting, which the Kunas have practiced for centuries.



M. SILVER ASSOC.

While they have little real interest in world events (during our conversations, when he provided much information about his life-style, Archimedes Preciado never once asked about mine) the Kunas do become aware of major developments. That's why visitors occasionally may spot an older mola depicting the likeness of John F. or Jackie Kennedy, or of astronauts landing on the moon.

In contrast with this modern twist, the richly embellished molas evolved from body painting, which the Kunas practiced for centuries. Contact with trading ships that called at the San Blas Islands in the nineteenth century provided the commercial cloth, needles, thread, and scissors necessary for development of mola-making. To fashion the design, several thicknesses of different-colored fabrics are sewn together, then cut to reveal the hues one, two, and three layers below.

In addition to their decorative value, many molas portray events in the lives of the Kunas—from everyday chores like hulling rice with a large wooden mortar and

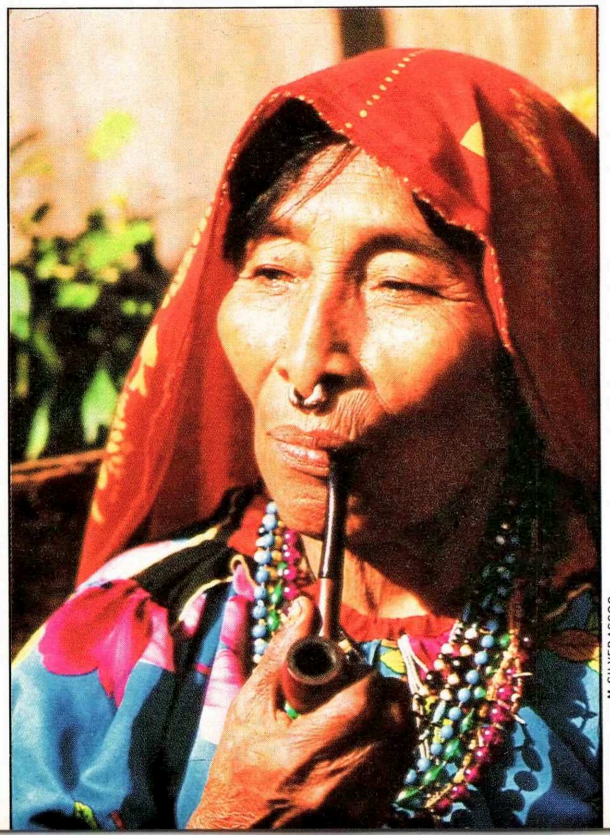
pestle to hunting wild boar on the mainland. They also illustrate the traditions that play an important role in the society. For a girl, these begin two weeks after birth, when—in a rite called *coinna*—a hole is made in the nose to hold the gold ring she will wear the rest of her life.

From their early years, Kuna girls adorn themselves like their mothers, while the men wear more Westernized clothing, such as shirts and trousers. The girls' clothing includes a mola blouse, a wrap-around skirt called a *saburett*, and beaded bands called *win saguaguinet* and *win nakinet*, worn on wrists and ankles—to keep them narrow, a mark of beauty. A red and yellow scarf covers the hair, which is closely cropped using half the gourd-like shell of the *totuma* fruit as a shaping instrument. Another distinctive part of the attire is the wearing of heavy earrings and necklaces made of shells, tiny bones, seeds, Panamanian or U.S. coins, or gold—sometimes flat discs as large as five inches in diameter. Indeed, so spectacular is the everyday mode of dress that—until he learns otherwise—the newcomer may suspect that Kuna women don such finery solely for the benefit of visitors.

M. SILVER ASSOC.

Exotic, brilliant-colored parrots are common pets for Indian children.

An old tradition still practiced is a rite called ***coinna,*** where a hole is made in the nose to hold a gold ring. This is done when a girl is two weeks old, and she will wear the ring the rest of her life.



M. SILVER ASSOC.

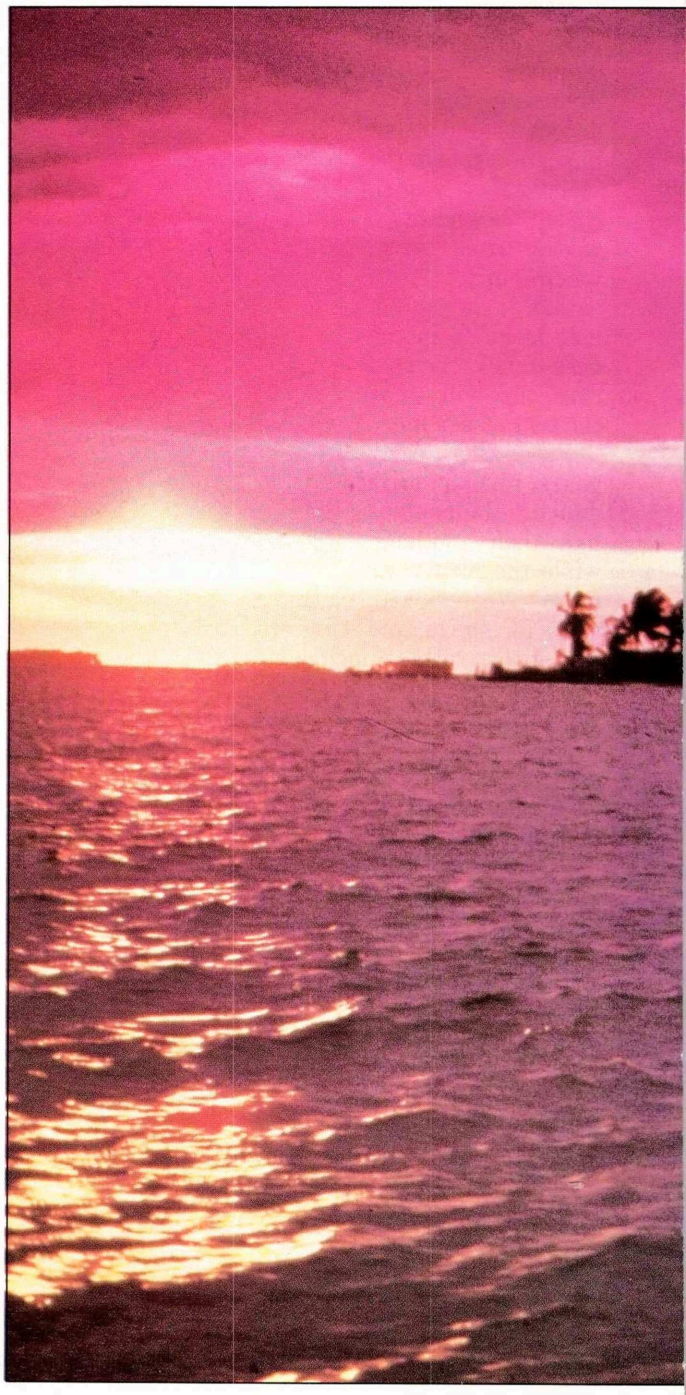
The women also draw a vertical black line down the center of the nose. Primarily a beauty mark today, this was once believed to ward off evil. Indeed, the Kunas' religion encompasses spirits and superstitions, along with belief in an almighty being who created man. To punish humans for their bad habits, this god inflicted three disasters—a damaging wind, a huge flood, and loss of sunlight—which these tropical island dwellers still fear. Describing their belief in this diety, Archimedes explained that the Kunas see his face in the sky and have no need to deal with saints as intermediaries. He added, gently, "We believe we are more religious than you."

As I prepared to end my stay on the San Blas Island, I asked my new friend to summarize his way of life. "Our life is very tranquil and relaxed," he responded through the interpreter. We have no robbery, no worries, no taxes. People have their own

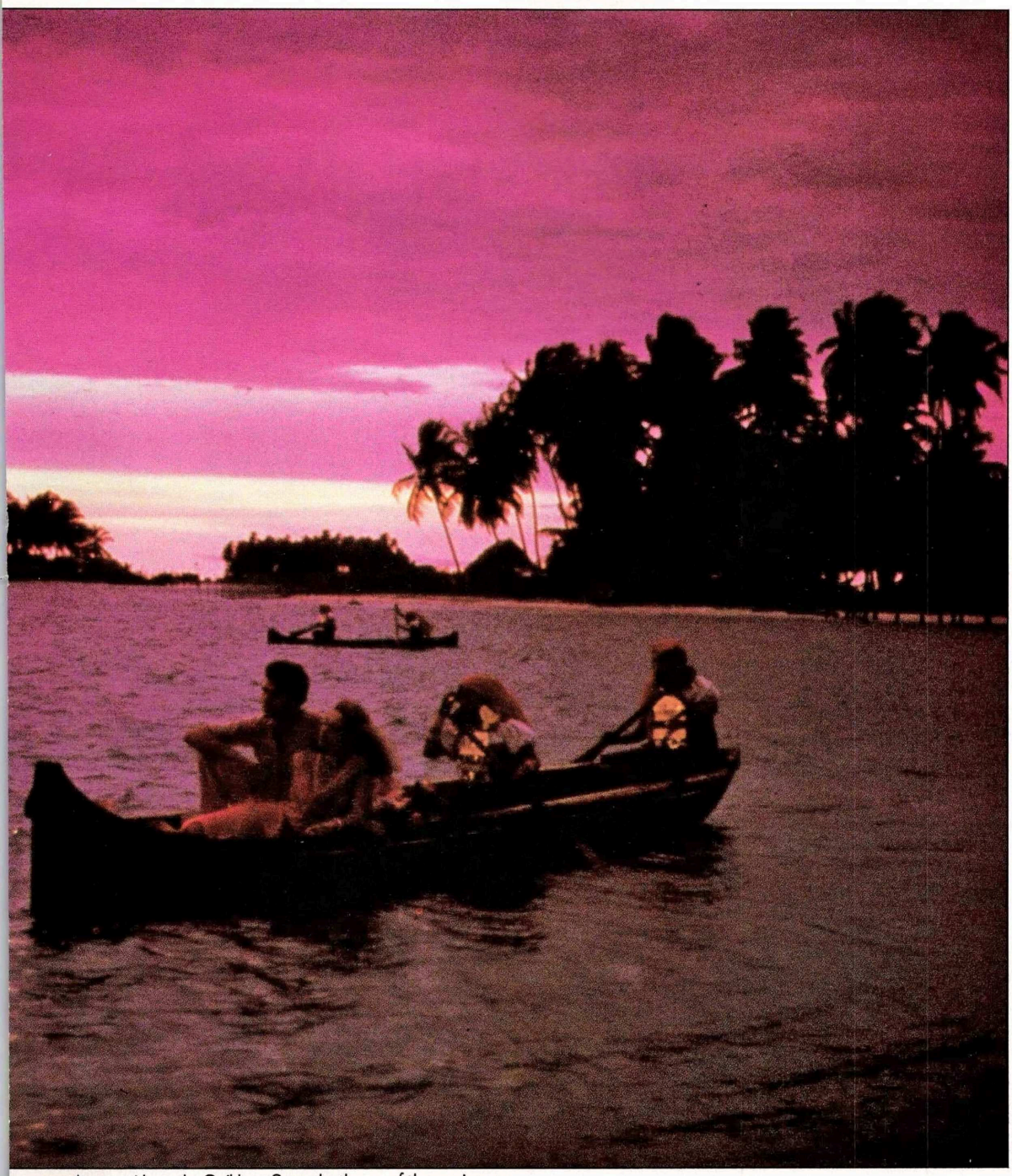
farms and make their own way."

That, I observed, sounds like a utopia. I told the interpreter to ask Archimedes if he thinks the rest of the world—with its heart attacks and heartaches, its fighting and famine—has gone crazy. With characteristic friendliness, the Kuna squirmed a bit and looked uncomfortable. He clearly did not wish to insult his guest. Then, with a degree of diplomacy equal that of any international diplomat, he responded: "If anyone wishes to move here, he must first get permission."

It's unlikely that many outsiders will forsake their modern life-style for the very basic existence of the Kunas. What's *more* likely is that this tribe of gentle, uncomplicated people will continue to lead their lives much as their forebears did, no matter what takes place in the world around them. I find great satisfaction in that prospect and hope someday to return to San Blas to verify my expectation.■



Victor Block is a contract writer with the Syndicated Writers Group in Boyerstown, Pennsylvania, and a columnist and contributing travel writer for The Washington Times *and* Recreation News. *A resident of Washington, D.C., Mr. Block is the coeditor of* The Travel Writer, *published by the Society of American Travel Writers, of which he is an active member.*

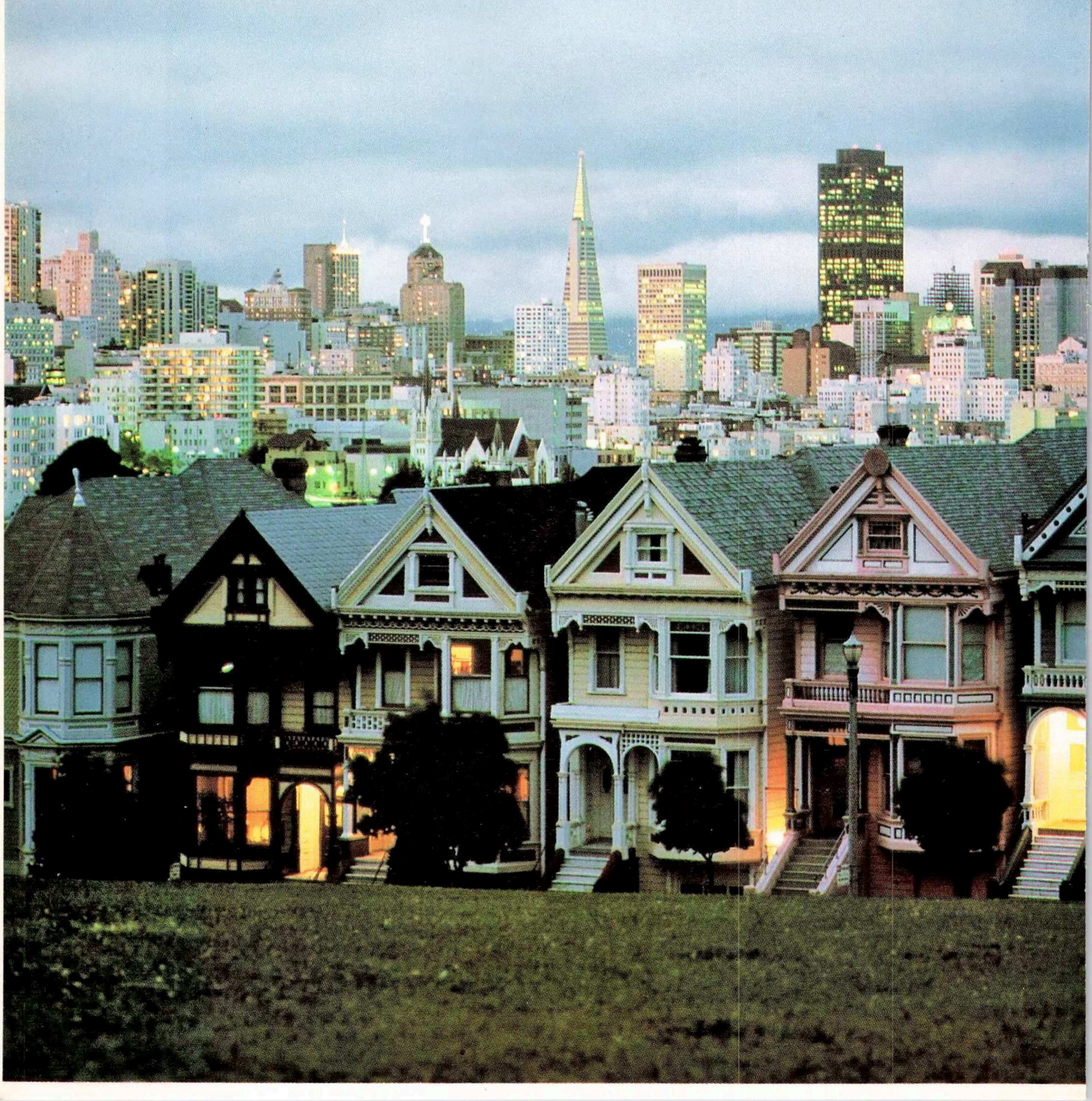


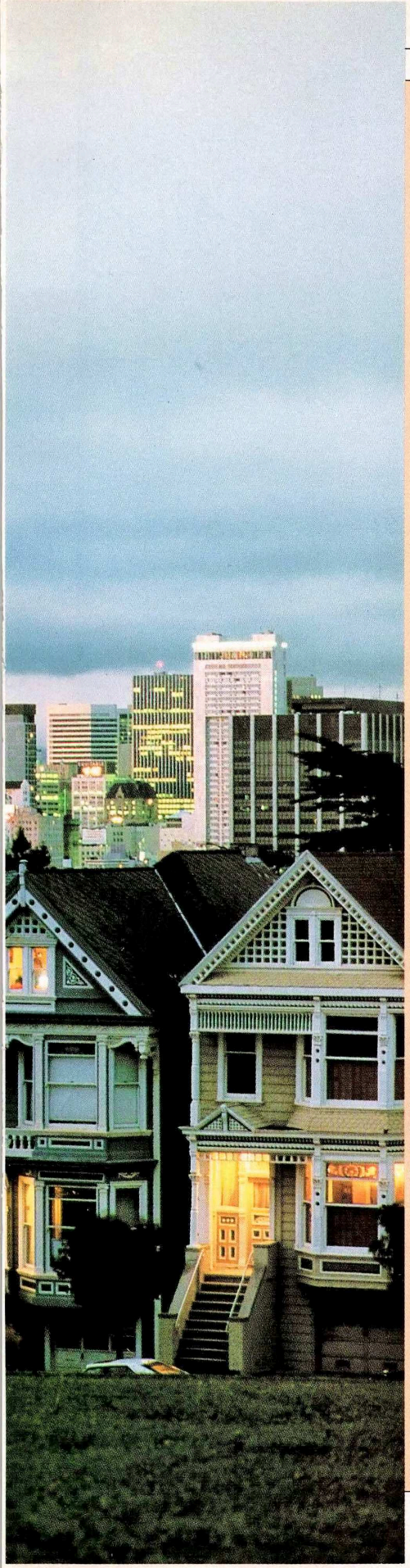
M. SILVER ASSOC.

A canoe ride on the Caribbean Sea under the eye of the evening sun.

Home, Sweet Home

There's No Place Like Home





FPG

We are all one family of man—thrust from the same Creator, and yet look at us! All of us very different indeed. And look at our homes. The place where we find warmth and shelter is likewise unique.

Home is where we fulfill much of our physical and spiritual needs; love, privacy, a sense of belonging, nourishment, and rest. Perhaps the ideal house reflects the history, culture, and natural surroundings as well as the pride and the unique creative force of its dwellers. In the age of the tract home, the two-wage earner family, and the mobile society, one's ideal can often be unreasonably expensive in terms of time, energy, and money. Yet, this is something that can and has been realized in the most humble hut or among the most nomadic peoples.

Sometimes the beauty of a home has more to do with perspective than the materials used to build it. And smells! I remember how my grandmother's house had a smell all its own, and ages since, it still lingers in my mind.

When coming home from a journey, long or even short, home comes as such a welcome place. And some of us long and search for a place called true home that dwells somewhere within the heart.

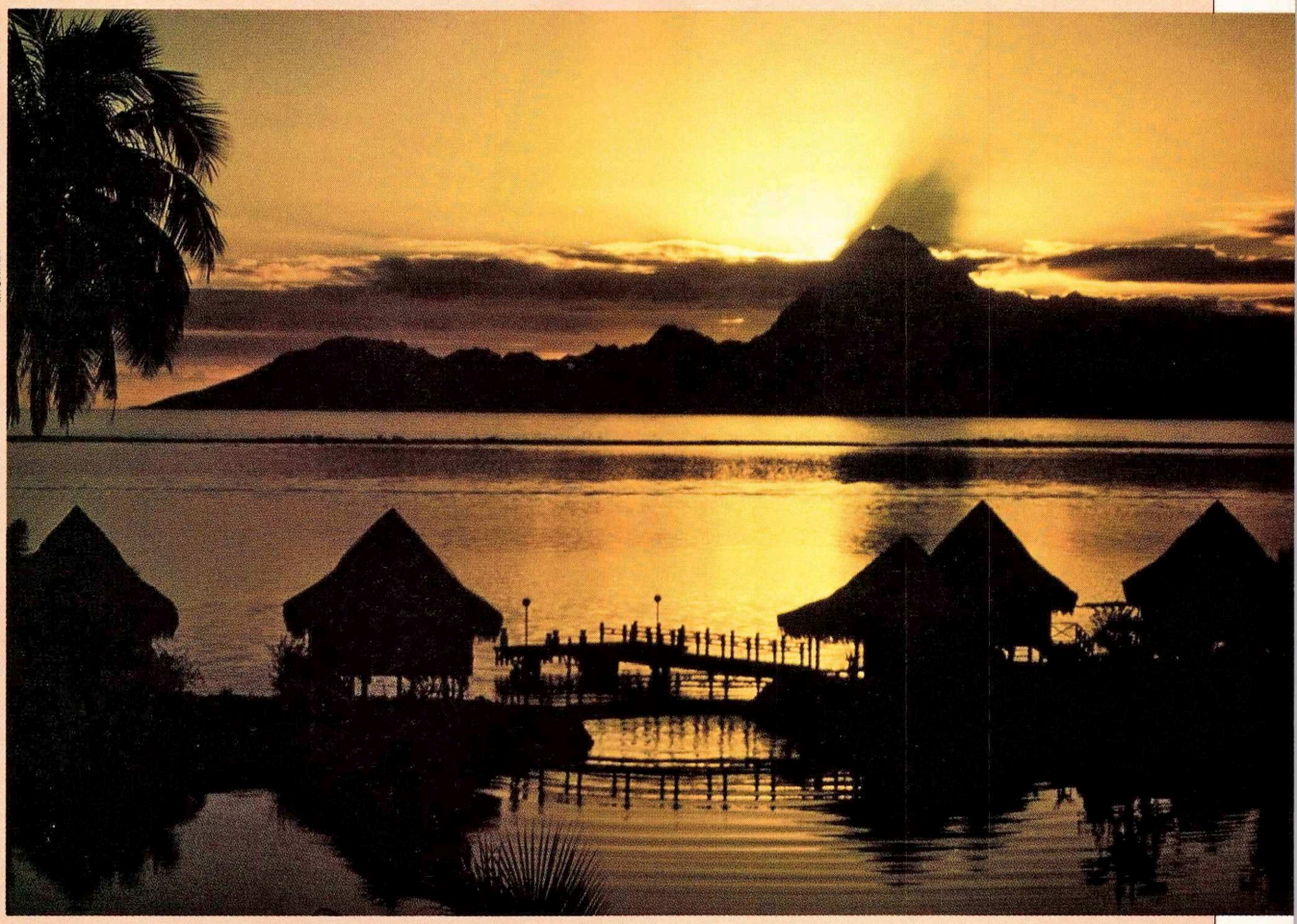
Isn't it interesting how we all live?

Laura Hjerpe

San Francisco, California

TIM KILBY/UNIPHOTO

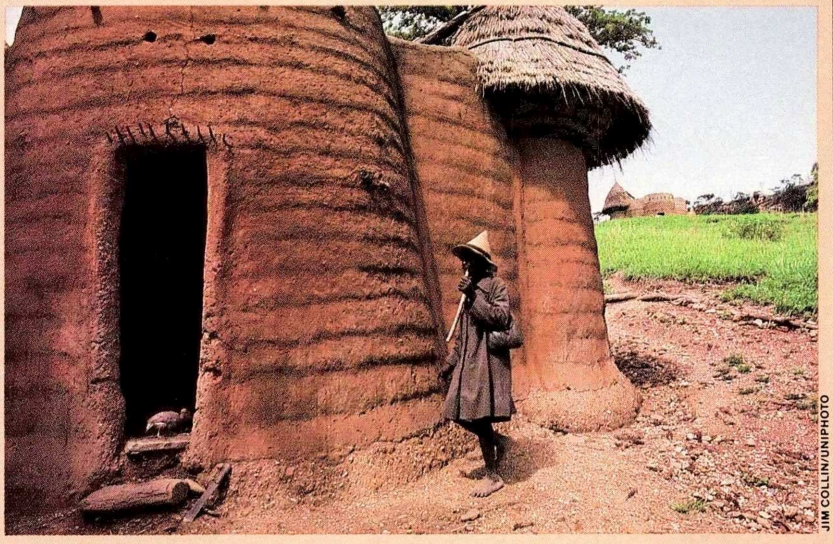
MICHAEL FRIEDEL/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOCIATES



Tahiti

Peace and rest at length have come,
All the day's long toil is past,
And each heart is whispering,
"Home, home at last."

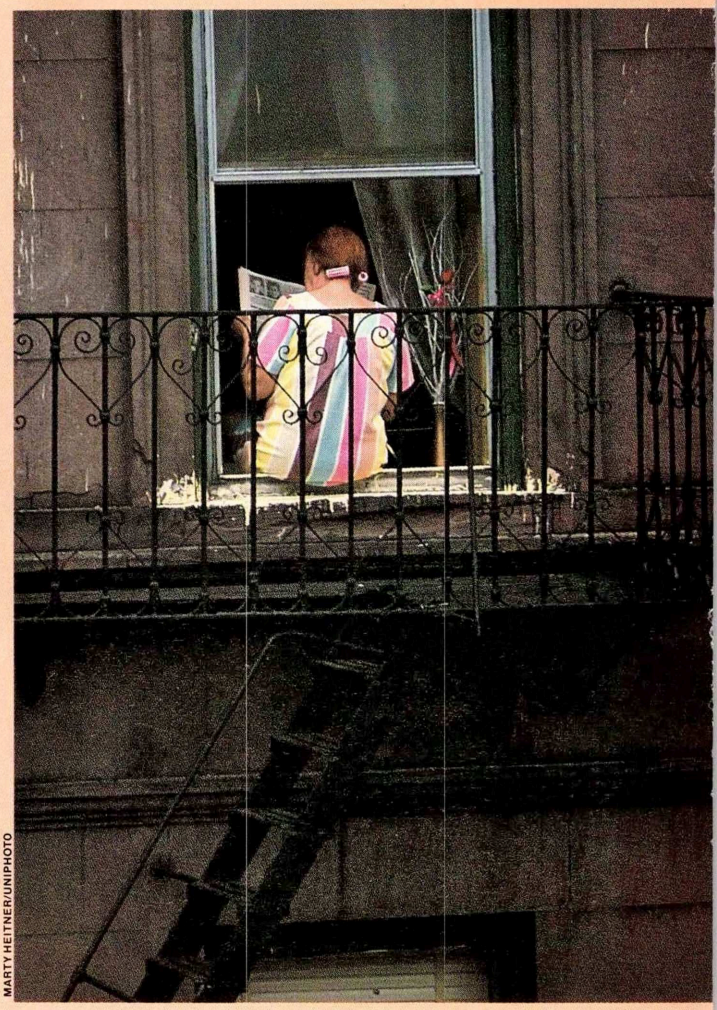
Thomas Hood



JIM COLLIN/UNIPHOTO

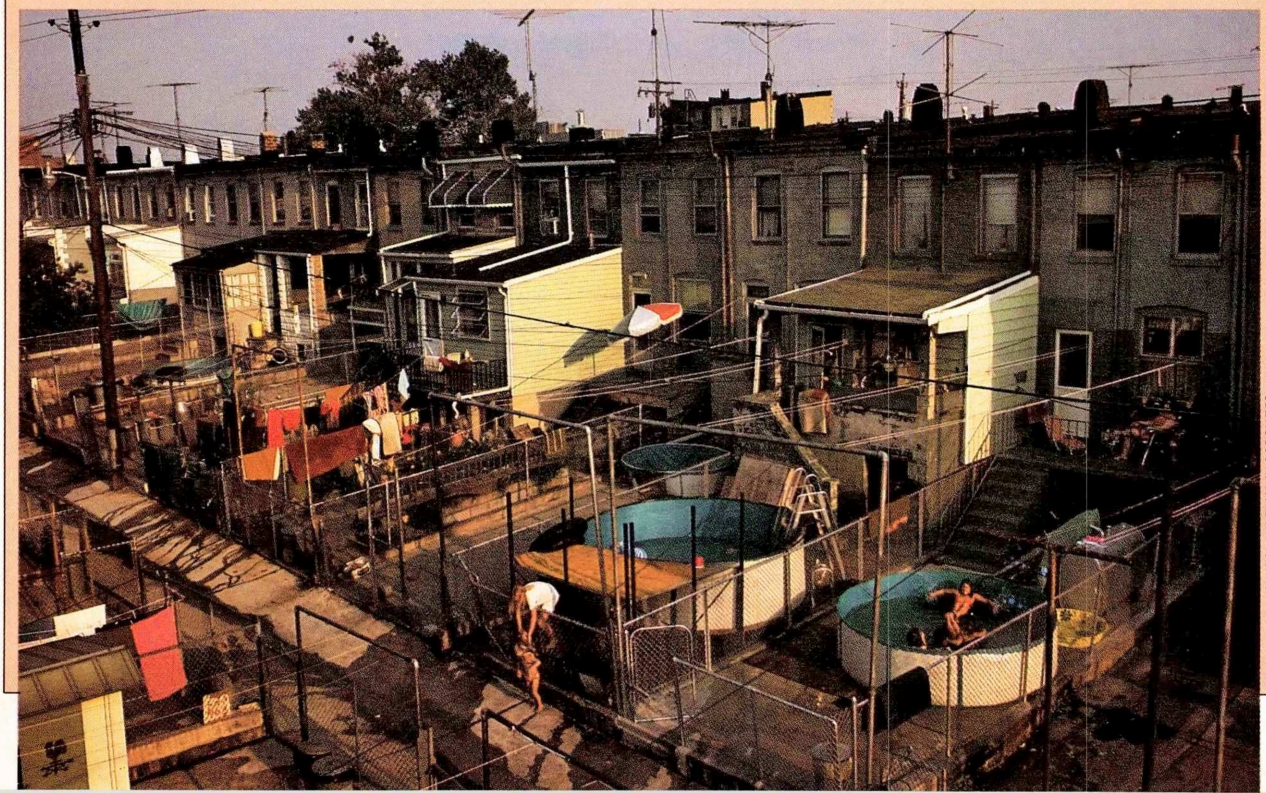
Africa

Mondo, Spain



MARTY HEITNER/UNIPHOTO

Baltimore, Maryland



MARTIN ROGERS/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOCIATES

ADAM WOOLFIT/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOCIATES

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

LOU JONES/UNIPHOTO

The big city is like a mother's knee to many who have strayed far and found the roads rough beneath their uncertain feet. At dusk they come home and sit upon the door-step.

O. Henry

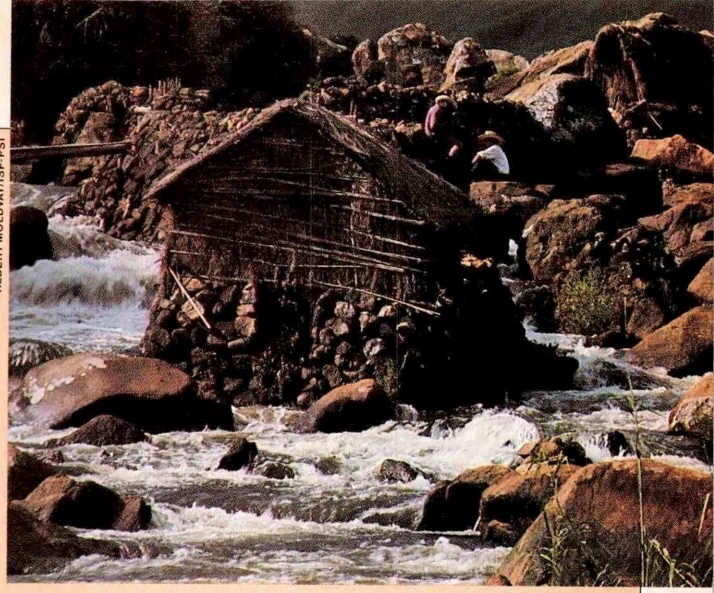
Amsterdam

A house is infinitely communicative, and tells many things besides the figure of the master's income. There are houses that confess intellectual penury, and houses that reek of enlightenment.

Robert William Chapman

ALBERT MOLDVAY/ISP-PSI

Japan



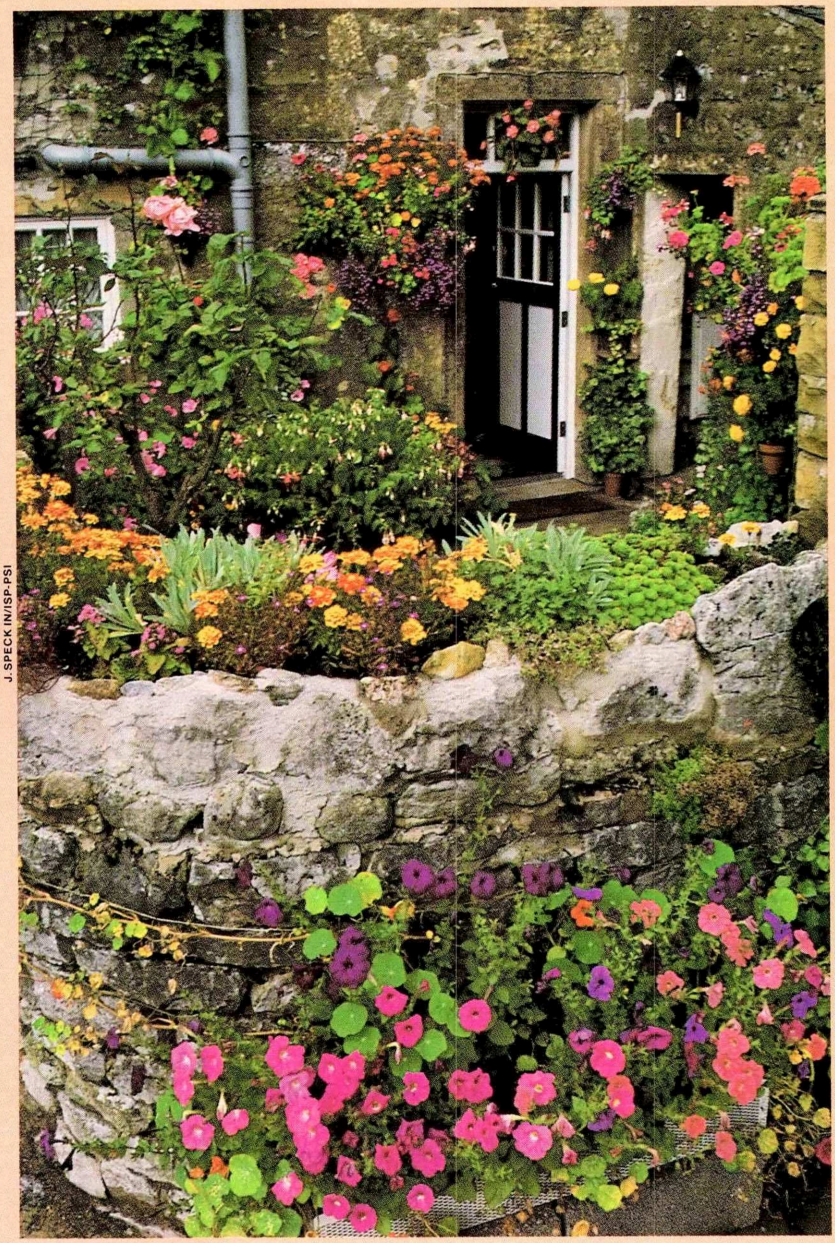
ALBERT MOLDVAY/ISP-PSI

Madagascar

West Germany

D. AND J. HEATON/UNIPHOTO

J. SPECK IN/ISP-PSI



ADAM WOOLFITT/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOCIATES

England

Ah yet, ere I descend to the grave
May I a small house and large garden have;
And a few friends, and many books, both true,
Both wise, and both delightful too!

Abraham Cowley

BENNER/ISP-PSI

CRAIG AURNESS/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOCIATES

Switzerland

ALBERT MOLDVAY/ISP-PSI

Madagascar

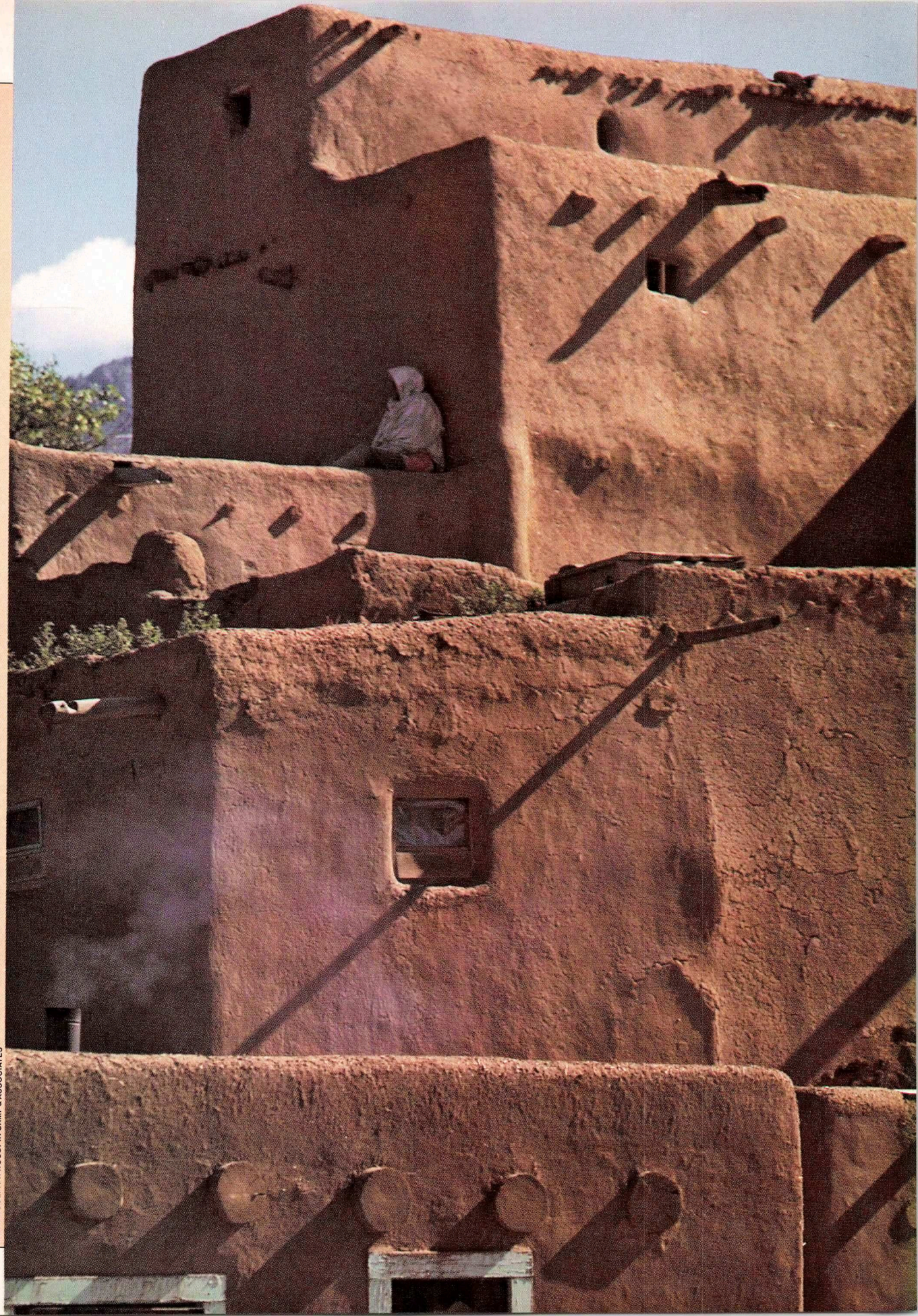
And I am praying God on high,
And I am praying Him night
and day,
For a little house—a house of
my own—
Out of the wind's and the rain's
way.

Padraic Colum

RICHARD HARRINGTON/FPG

Nunivak Island, Alaska

Taos Pueblo, New Mexico



ADAM WOOLFITT/WOODFIN CAMP & ASSOCIATES

The human race has today the means for annihilating itself—either in a fit of complete lunacy, i.e., in a big war, by a brief fit of destruction, or by careless handling of atomic technology, through a slow process of poisoning and of deterioration in its genetic structure. (p.544)

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists [1957]
Max Born

CURRENTS IN MODERN THOUGHT

NUCLEAR WINTER REAPPRAISED

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NUCLEAR WINTER: A STATUS REPORT
Thomas P. Ackerman
Ackerman examines the climatic impact of releasing into the atmosphere millions of tons of dust and smoke by nuclear explosions.

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NUCLEAR WAR: THE HUMAN AND ECOLOGICAL EFFECTS
Herbert D. Grover
Grover argues that human survival would be seriously endangered in the aftermath of nuclear war if the biosphere were severely depleted and its functional integrity impaired.

571
NUCLEAR WINTER OR NUCLEAR SUMMER?
S. Fred Singer
Singer maintains that the creation of a true nuclear winter requires that enough dust and smoke remain in the atmosphere for several weeks or months and be uniformly distributed around the globe. None of these conditions appears to be likely.

ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS

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ON ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS OF THE *TAO* AND THE *CH'I*
Chung-ying Cheng
Man and his environment may form separate orders of being; but they belong to the same universal process of transformation, the ***Tao.***

POLITICS AND ITS DISCONTENTS

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THE IDOLATRY OF POLITICS
Leszek Kolakowski
In his Jefferson Lecture, Kolakowski suggests that even if the Enlightenment did not necessarily foster relativistic ideas, it planted a seed that has borne dangerous fruit.

609
THE POLITICS OF ENVY
Gonzalo F. de la Mora
In de la Mora's first publication in English, the author maintains that in our present age envy has become the dominant political passion—and appealing to envy the dominant political tactic.

631
OF MEESE AND [THE NINE OLD] MEN
Philip B. Kurland
The phrase 'original meaning' has replaced 'strict construction' as the rallying cry for those who want a revamping of constitutional law to bring it into closer conformity with their own political philosophy.

RECONSIDERING PLATO

641
KARL POPPER ON PLATO: AN ANCIENT DEBATE REVIVED
John Caiazza
Caiazza reviews Popper's treatment of Plato and argues that Popper failed to escape his own biases when criticizing the father of philosophy.

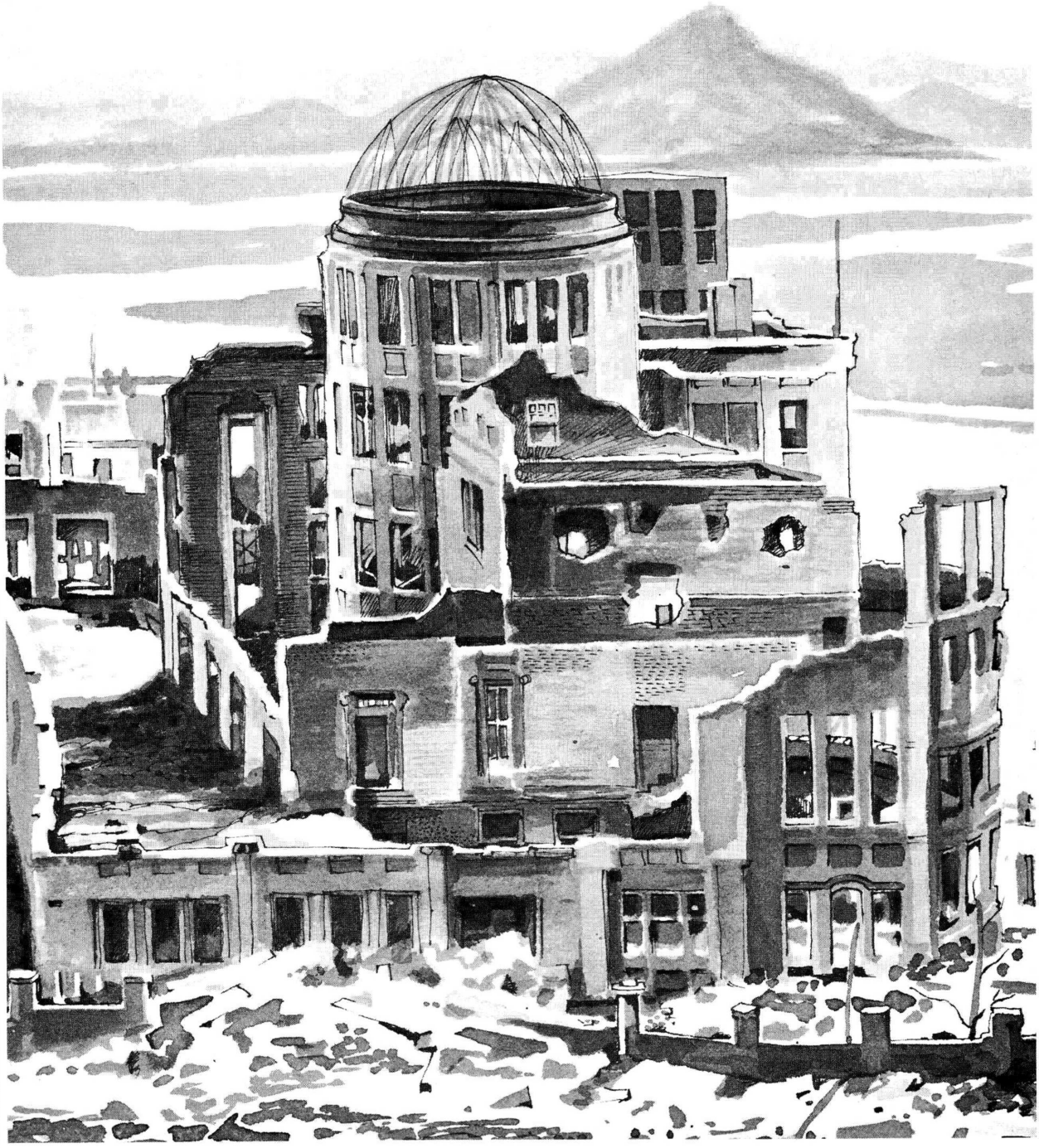
653
COUNTING AND RECOUNTING PLATO
John Bremer
Without the numbering of the dialogue, it is hard, if not impossible, to grasp the symmetries and other patterns inherent in Plato's construction of ***The Republic.***

ON EXISTENTIALISM

671
THE PARABOLIC KAFKA
William Kluback
Kluback writes that for Kafka, the parabolic man has been reduced to going his separate way, thinking his separate thoughts, and acting out his separate deeds. He communicates more easily with his dog than with his fellowman.

684
KIERKEGAARD AND THE ROMANTIC SOUL, THEN AND NOW
Vincent A. McCarthy
What is needed, in Kierkegaard's view, is an "eternal" cure, based on a correct understanding of the "eternal nature" of the self in relation to its Eternal Ground.

NUCLEAR WINTER REAPPRAISED



CAROL DUPRÉ

Nuclear Winter: A Status Report

Thomas P. Ackerman

It is now about two and a half years since the issue of the climatic consequences of nuclear war (sometimes called nuclear winter) was first brought to the attention of the American public.[1] Since that time, a number of technical articles have been published on the subject, which examine various aspects of the original study in more detail or extend the calculations with more detailed computer models. Comprehensive scientific reviews of the problem have also been commissioned by the National Academy of Sciences, the Royal Society of Canada, and the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU). As a result of this intense scrutiny, a great deal has been learned about the possible climatic consequences of nuclear war, and, while many uncertainties remain to be resolved, there is a growing consensus among the scientific community that the problem is both real and urgent.

The basic steps in the causal chain connecting nuclear war and potential climatic catastrophe can be stated fairly simply. Nuclear bombs, particu-

1. The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not reflect the official position of NASA.
P.J. Crutzen and J.W. Birks, The atmosphere after a nuclear war: Twilight at noon. *Ambio 11* (1982) 114-25; R.P. Turco, O.B. Toon, T.P. Ackerman, J.B. Pollack, and C. Sagan, Nuclear Winter: Global consequences of multiple nuclear explosions. Science, 222 (1983): 1283-92.

Thomas Ackerman is a research scientist at NASA Ames Research Center. He has a PhD in atmospheric sciences from the University of Washington and has been actively involved in climate research for over ten years. He is a coauthor of one of the original papers on the nuclear-winter hypothesis and of the SCOPE report on the Environmental Consequences of Nuclear War.

In the event of a nuclear exchange between the superpowers, many fires would be ignited and burn out of control, injecting millions of tons of black smoke into the atmosphere.

larly those detonated slightly above the surface of the earth, are remarkably efficient incendiary devices. In the event of a nuclear exchange between the superpowers, many fires would be ignited and burn out of control, injecting millions of tons of black smoke into the atmosphere, which would prevent the sunlight incident on the planet from reaching the ground. The ground and the atmosphere below the pall of smoke would consequently become so cold that frosts and freezing conditions might occur even in mid-summer. The smoke would eventually be dispersed around the globe by the atmosphere, bringing the cold and the dark to countries not directly involved in the nuclear holocaust.

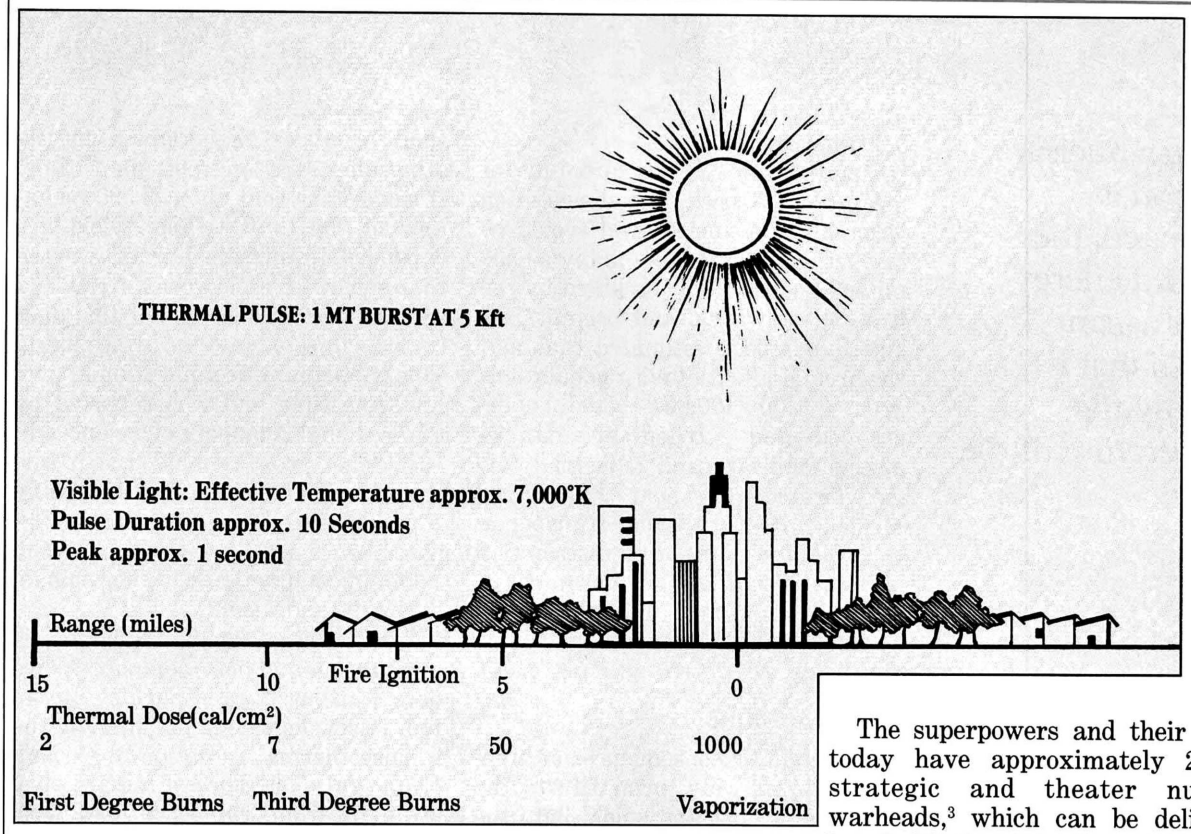
In the discussion that follows, each of the steps in the chain will be briefly elaborated and an attempt made to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the assumptions involved. For more detailed treatment of the issues, the interested reader is referred to the recent report prepared for the Scientific Committee on Problems of the Environment (SCOPE) as requested by ICSU,[2] which serves as the basic reference work for the material presented here.

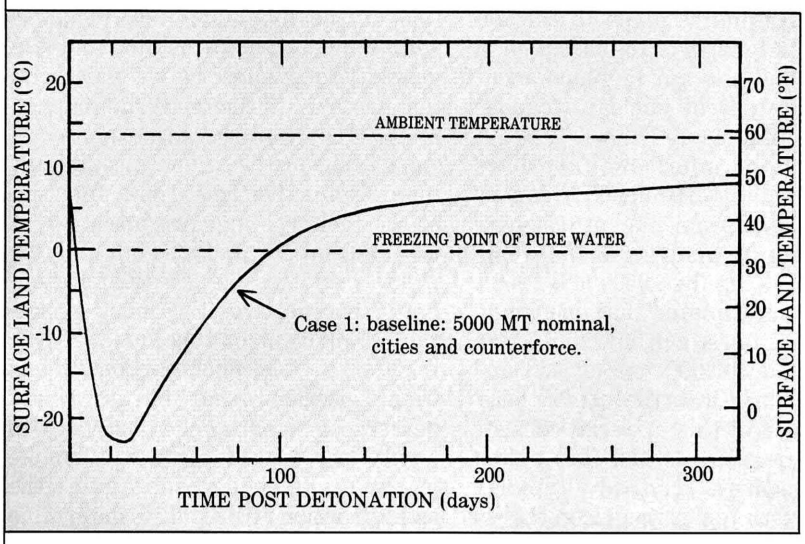
WEAPONS EFFECTS AND SCENARIOS

Nuclear-weapon detonations are usually divided into surface bursts and airbursts. The former would be used against such hardened military targets as missile silos and command bunkers. They typically loft large amounts of dust into the atmosphere through a variety of physical mechanisms that include (1) vaporizing the soil by the high temperature and pressure of the explosion followed by condensation in the atmosphere, (2) blowoff of soil as a result of steam formation in the soil by the intense thermal radiation, and (3) suction of dust and debris by the ascending fireball. Surface bursts result further in high levels of prompt radioactive fallout. Airbursts would be used against soft military targets such as air fields and submarine-port facilities and against such industrial targets as factories for building missiles or airplanes. They typically produce less dust and local fallout, but are far more effective at igniting fires.

When a nuclear weapon is detonated, the released energy forms a giant fireball that is roughly the temperature of the sun. The tremendous heat radiated by the fireball can spontaneously ignite combustible materials such as wood or plastics much as sunlight focused through a lens ignites paper or wood. Typical airbursts can cause ignition at distances as great as five miles and severe burns to exposed people at distances as great as fifteen miles (see illustration). A blast wave trails behind the heat radiation, breaking apart concrete walls, rupturing fuel tanks, crushing roofs and frame walls, and shattering windows. While the blast wave may temporarily snuff out some of the fires ignited by the radiation, it provides abundant fuel for the remaining fires by breaking open buildings, storage tanks, and gas lines. Only twice in history have nuclear weapons been detonated over urban areas. In both these instances, the entire area damaged by the blast wave burned to the ground. In Hiroshima, only the shells of a few buildings constructed of steel-reinforced concrete were left standing (see figure), and the nuclear weapons of today are ten to fifty times as powerful as the weapon detonated over Hiroshima!

2. A.B. Pittock, T.P. Ackerman, P.J. Crutzen, M.C. MacCracken, C.S. Shapiro, and R.P. Turco, *The Climate Consequences of Nuclear War: Atmospheric and Physical Effects*, vol. 1. Chicester: John Wiley and Sons, (1986).





The superpowers and their allies today have approximately 25,000 strategic and theater nuclear warheads,[3] which can be delivered by ballistic missiles, bombers, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, or cruise missiles. The combined yield of these weapons is about 12,000 megatons (Mt),[4] which is a little less than one million times the explosive yield of the Hiroshima weapon. Since nuclear wars have never been waged, it is extremely difficult to predict exactly how many of these weapons might be used and against which targets. A variety of plans for their use, however, in the event of a nuclear war (the so-called nuclear-war scenarios) have been developed. These scenarios indicate that, in a full-scale war, perhaps 6,000 megatons might be detonated. If the warring powers limited their attacks to military as opposed to industrial targets, the total expended megatonnage might be about half that—or

3. The term 'strategic' implies that the warhead can be delivered from one continent to another, while the term 'theater' implies intracontinental delivery.

4. One megaton (Mt) is the amount of energy released by the explosion of one million tons of TNT or dynamite.

When a nuclear weapon is detonated, the released energy forms a giant fireball that is roughly the temperature of the sun.

3,000 megatons.

Regardless of the amount of megatonnage used, the devastation wrought by a nuclear war would be beyond imagination. As many as 500 million people might be killed by the fires, blast waves, and prompt fallout. It has been estimated that half the area of all cities with populations greater than 100,000 would be destroyed and burned by attacks against military and industrial targets located in or near these cities. Medical-care institutions, transportation facilities, and food-distribution systems would all be disrupted or destroyed. And the atmosphere would be filled with dust, smoke, and toxic chemicals.

DUST AND SMOKE

The climatic consequences of a nuclear war are due primarily to the injection of dust and smoke into the atmosphere by nuclear explosions. The amount of material injected into the atmosphere depends, of course, upon the war scenario. Since an amount of uncertainty will always be associated with defining a scenario, there will also be uncertainty in estimating the amount of injected material. The estimates given in the following paragraphs are based on a full-scale nuclear war in which about 6,000 megatons of nuclear weapons are detonated.

Most of the information we have about the ability of nuclear weapons to inject dust into the atmosphere comes from an analysis of the weapons tests during the 1950s and 1960s. It has been estimated that one megaton surface burst can inject between 100,000 and 300,000 tons of soil and surface debris into the atmosphere. While much of this material consists of large particles (which fall out of the atmosphere relatively rapidly), about five to ten percent consists of small particles that remain in the atmosphere for long periods of time. If we assume that about 2,500 megatons of the total weapon yield are expended in surface bursts, we see that somewhere between fifteen and seventy-five million tons of fine dust could be injected into the atmosphere. This particular effect has been known for some time and was reported by the National Academy of Sciences in 1975. The report concluded that this amount of dust *by itself* probably would have no long-term climatic impact. As we shall see, however, when taken in conjunction with the smoke, it may be significant.

The issue of smoke injection is more recent and more complex. As we noted, airbursts (and surface bursts to a lesser degree) ignite fires by the intense thermal radiation of the nuclear explosion. These fires are very different from the large fires with which we are familiar—such, for example, as forest fires. A nuclear weapon can simultaneously ignite material over as large an area as 250 to 300 square kilometers per megaton. The resulting fire would be extremely intense because of its size and would tend to burn a large fraction of the available fuel. (That is what happened at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.) Somewhere between one and ten percent of the material burned is injected into the atmosphere as smoke. The precise amount is difficult to determine because it is a function of the fuel type and fire intensity; it is somewhat low for wood but high for plastics and fossil fuels. From a climatic perspective, the most important component of this smoke is the fraction that is black carbon. It has been estimated that ten to thirty percent of wood smoke and fifty to eighty percent of fossil-fuel smoke would be black carbon. Again, the exact fraction is difficult to determine

because we have only limited experience of the mass urban fires that occurred during World War II, and virtually no data from those fires. Putting all these factors together, several studies have estimated that the total amount of material injected into the atmosphere from fires would be between eighty and three hundred million tons, of which forty-five to sixty million tons would be black carbon.

In the aftermath of the nuclear explosion at Hiroshima, a phenomenon that became known as the black rain occurred. Downwind from the city, heavy rain fell; but this rainwater was as black as India ink due to the smoke scavenged[5] from the atmosphere. (The rain was also extremely radioactive!) Unfortunately, we have no idea what fraction of the smoke was removed by this early rainfall; we can, however, make some general statements about the processes that produce it.

First of all, because of the heat released by a fire, the smoke tends to rise. In general, the larger the fire, the higher the smoke rises. Secondly, the air near the surface of the earth is usually moist, both because it is near sources of moisture such as the ocean or lakes or the ground itself and because it is warm (warm air can hold more water than cold air can). Thirdly, when warm moist air is lifted in the atmosphere, it cools and eventually the moisture condenses to form clouds and, potentially, rainfall. Thus, in Hiroshima, the heat of the fire lifted the warm moist air filled with smoke. As it rose, the air cooled and the moisture condensed, forming cloud drops which then rained out. In the process of formation and rainfall, the drops scavenged some of the smoke particles. A similar process is often observed in forest fires, when a cumulus cloud forms at the top of the smoke plume. In these cases, however, rainfall rarely occurs, perhaps because of the limited amount of moisture available in the dry air usually associated with large fires (forest fires typically occur under conditions of low relative humidity when the air is warm and dry).

From the available evidence, we can infer that some fraction of the smoke injected into the atmosphere would be removed immediately by precipitation scavenging. The exact value of that fraction is uncertain and will vary with local meteorological conditions. In order to approximate this effect in simulations of nuclear-winter effects, it has generally been assumed that forty to fifty percent of the initially injected smoke would be promptly removed by rain. Attempts to refine this estimate by computer simulations of large fires have yielded somewhat contradictory results. This remains one of the large areas of uncertainty in the problem of nuclear winter, but one that may be reduced by further research.

Before discussing the effects of injecting this quantity of smoke and dust into the atmosphere, we digress to describe the interaction between light and particles. When sunlight strikes a particle, one of two processes occurs: It is either scattered or absorbed. If the light is scattered, its energy is unchanged but the direction of the light is changed. After most scattering events, the sunlight continues to travel forward, or downward, toward the earth's surface. In

5. 'Scavenged' is a meteorological term for the process by which small particles are incorporated into cloud drops and rain drops and thereby removed from the atmosphere.

The climatic consequences of a nuclear war are primarily due to the injection of dust and smoke into the atmosphere by nuclear explosions.

some cases, perhaps in twenty-five percent of the total scattering events, the light is redirected backward toward space. If the sunlight is absorbed by the particle, it is essentially removed from the atmosphere and its energy is converted into heat, which raises the temperature of the particle and the surrounding air.

Clouds provide a good illustration of the scattering of sunlight. Imagine the sky covered by a fairly uniform layer of clouds thick enough that the solar disk cannot be observed. Obviously, it is not totally dark under such a cloud layer; on the contrary, it may be quite bright. What has happened is that sunlight has been scattered by the cloud to such an extent that the sun itself is no longer visible. Most of that light, however, has been forward scattered toward the earth and still provides light and heat at the surface. If one flies over such a cloud layer, it appears brighter than the ground it covers because it reflects (backscatters) more of the light than the ground does, but the majority of the sunlight still penetrates the cloud unless it is very thick.

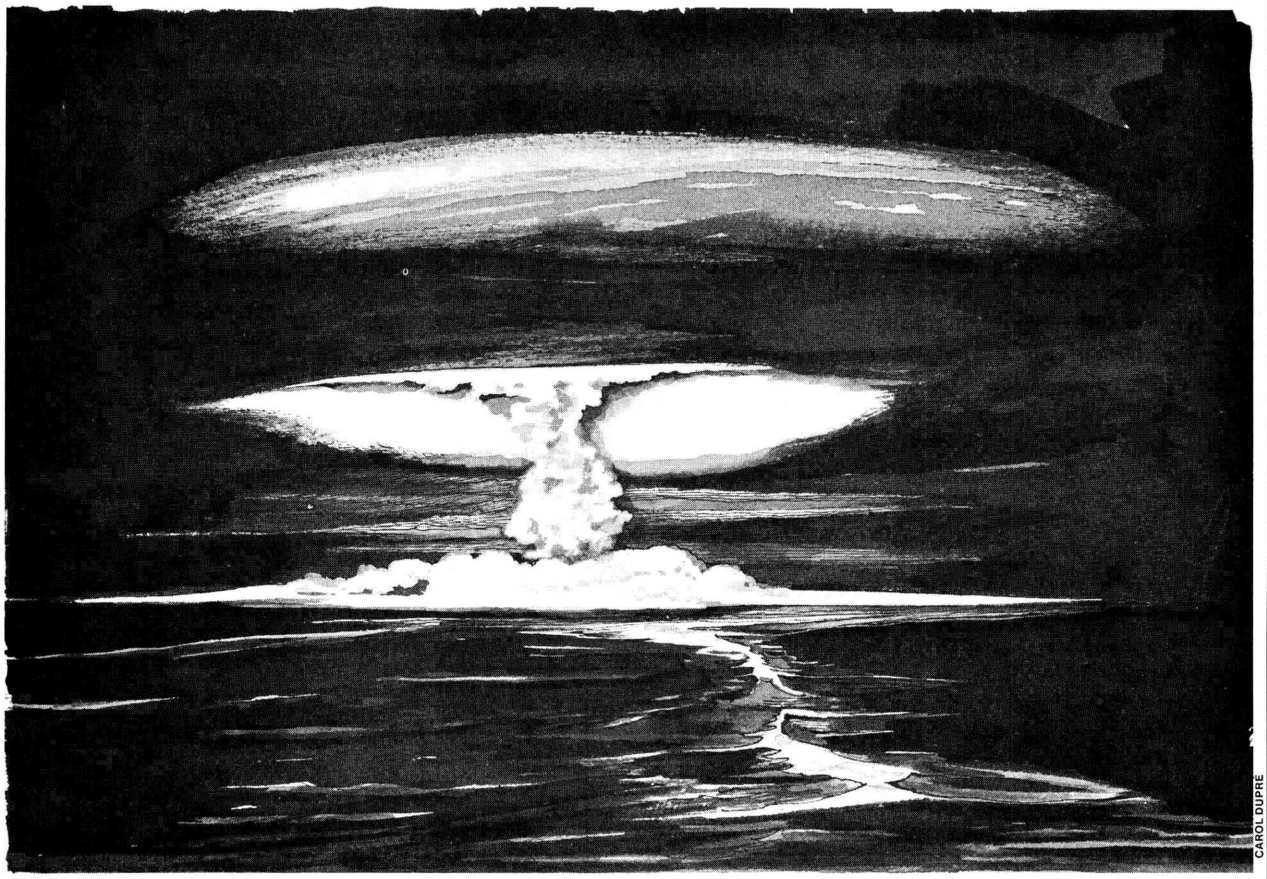
Smoke from urban fires, particularly those that involve fossil fuels or such materials as old tires, illustrates the effect of absorption. When viewed from below, this smoke usually appears quite black. In this case, the smoke also obscures the solar disk, but the light is removed by absorption rather than by simply being scattered and continuing on its downward path.

Whether the light is scattered or absorbed depends on the properties of the material the particle is composed of. Most commonly found materials such as water and soil tend to scatter sunlight; carbon, however, is an effective absorbent of sunlight. It is this property that makes urban fires so important in the evaluation of the climatic consequences of a nuclear war. Because urban areas contain large amounts of synthetic materials, urban fires produce smoke containing large amounts of black carbon.

Finally, a distinction between solar and infrared effects should be made. All warm objects (including people!) emit heat radiation. Stars—including, of course, our sun—are very warm (about 5,500°C) and they emit heat radiation, which we call light, at visible wavelengths. Objects with cooler temperatures, such as the surface of the earth, emit less energetic radiation at thermal infrared wavelengths that are not visible but can and do provide heat. Particles interact with radiation at any wavelength. They tend, however, to be far more efficient at interacting with solar radiation than with thermal infrared radiation. In fact, typical smoke particles are about ten times more likely to interact with solar radiation than with the thermal radiation emitted by the earth or the atmosphere. As we shall see, it is this property that prevents the particles from generating a "nuclear summer."

THE COLD AND DARK

Imagine the United States in the immediate aftermath of a nuclear attack. About 1,000 to 1,300 megatons of nuclear weapons have been used to attack such hardened military targets as missile silos and have injected large amounts of dust and soil debris high into the atmosphere. Between 1,500 and 2,000 megatons carried by some 3,000 warheads have been detonated over soft military and industrial targets. In almost every case, fires have been ignited by these airbursts. Many of the targets are co-located with urban business and manufacturing areas, suburban residential areas, and port facilities. Because of the size and intensity of the fires, smoke from the individual fires


CAROL DUPRÉ

rises several miles into the atmosphere. The smoke then begins to spread horizontally, eventually merging with the smoke from many other fires. A thick smoke layer, mixed in some cases with dust and soil debris, begins to form over many parts of the United States and drifts slowly eastward. Similar layers form over Europe and parts of the Soviet Union. After a short period of time, perhaps a week or ten days, these large patches begin to merge and form a continuous pall covering the northern midlatitudes. What is the impact of all this smoke and dust on the climate at the earth's surface?

As mentioned earlier, the particles either scatter or absorb the incoming sunlight. The dust tends to scatter the sunlight, most of it forward but some of it backward away from the earth. The black carbon in the smoke from urban fires tends to absorb the sunlight. Thus a large fraction of the incident sunlight that normally reaches the earth is no longer able to do so. It is either reflected into space or absorbed by the smoke, in which case it heats the smoke and surrounding air. If the dust and smoke emissions estimated above—reduced by a factor of half to account for prompt rainout—were uniformly distributed over the northern hemisphere north of about 25° latitude, they would be sufficient to reduce the sunlight reaching the ground to less than one percent of the normally incident amount. This level of light, although

In the aftermath of the nuclear explosion at Hiroshima, a phenomenon that became known as the black rain occurred.

brighter than a moonlit night, would be much lower than that of a heavily overcast day. Therefore, the immediate and most obvious effect of the injected material would be to produce darkness at the earth's surface.

The second effect of this injection would be to produce cooling of land surfaces. The temperature of land surfaces is maintained by a balance of energy gains (often called energy sources) and energy losses (sinks). The prime energy source is absorbed solar energy, while thermal radiation emitted downward by the atmosphere is an important secondary source. The principal sinks are thermal radiation from the surface, direct transfer of heat to the atmosphere through contact, and evaporation of water from the surface. When the prime source of heat is removed, the sink processes operate less efficiently. But they do continue to operate, cooling the surface just as they do each night when the sun sets. And in this case, the sun may not "rise" the next morning due to the thick cloud of smoke and dust. As a result, the land surfaces continue to cool day and night, primarily through the emission of thermal radiation, until an equilibrium is reached between the loss of radiation from the surface and the downward radiation received from the atmosphere and the smoke and dust cloud.

At this point, some remarks about the greenhouse effect become relevant. It is well established that the temperature at the earth's surface can be raised by adding to the atmosphere some substance that absorbs infrared radiation. Such a substance absorbs the thermal radiation normally emitted from the surface and reradiates it down toward the surface, thereby increasing the energy received by the surface. The surface now must increase in temperature to get rid of this extra energy either by emitting more thermal radiation or by transferring energy to the atmosphere. It is precisely in this way that increasing the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere acts to warm the earth's surface, since CO_2 is a very efficient absorbent of thermal radiation. One might consider this process as crudely analogous to the function of insulation in buildings. Adding material that absorbs thermal radiation to the atmosphere is like adding insulation to the attic of a house. It makes it more difficult for the heat to leave, thereby making the surface warmer in the one case and the building warmer in the other.

Absorbing particles, however, do not act as a greenhouse substance. They preferentially interact with solar radiation to reduce the primary energy source to the surface. Although they can also interact with thermal radiation from the surface to prevent heat loss, they are about ten times more effective at interacting with solar radiation. Thus they have a much stronger impact on the incoming solar radiation than on the outgoing infrared radiation. Since the particles would likely heat the atmosphere locally by absorbing solar radiation, it has been argued that this would dramatically increase the downward infrared radiation reaching the surface. Careful calculations show that this is not the case. In fact, because the surface currently receives an appreciable amount of thermal radiation from a relatively warm atmosphere, and because the cold atmosphere between the particle layer and the surface would tend to absorb the warm downward radiation and prevent it from reaching the surface, the surface could actually receive *less* downward thermal radiation from the atmosphere. Furthermore, because the particle layer must

radiate energy both upward toward space and downward toward the ground, it can be shown that all the additional thermal radiation emitted downward by the particle layer, even if it were to reach the surface, could not replace the lost solar radiation.

In short, if a moderately thick layer of absorbing particles is injected into the atmosphere at any height greater than a mile or so above the surface, those particles will cool the surface. If the particle interaction with thermal radiation is taken into account (as it has been in several of the computer simulations discussed in the following section), there will be some mitigation of the surface cooling effect. This is similar to our experience on cloudy nights when the surface cools less than it does on clear nights; nonetheless, the surface cools in either case. Much has been made of the greenhouse effect by several critics of the nuclear-winter hypothesis. Unfortunately, these criticisms have relied more on speculation and simplistic, back-of-the-envelope numbers than on rigorous evaluation of the physical effects. In all cases where detailed calculations of the radioactive exchange between particles, atmosphere, and surface have been carried out, the calculations clearly show that a surface cooling results.[6]

COMPUTER SIMULATIONS OF NUCLEAR WINTER

The first computer simulations of the nuclear-winter effects were carried out with a one-dimensional model —that is, a model which approximates the entire atmosphere as a single vertical column.[7] In these simulations, the dust and smoke injected into the atmosphere by a nuclear war were assumed to be spread over the northern hemisphere instantaneously and were further assumed to be removed from the atmosphere at the same rate that particles are currently removed from the atmosphere.

The resulting land surface temperatures for several cases are shown in the accompanying figure. For the "baseline" 5,000-megaton scenario, the maximum temperature decrease is on the order of 35°C or 63°F. Inasmuch as this model does not include the moderating effect of the oceans, this result should be viewed as a maximum decrease appropriate for deep continental interiors—such as the Great Plains of the United States or the steppes of the Soviet Union —and not as an average decrease for all land surfaces in the northern hemisphere. The authors of this study suggested that this maximum decrease ought to be reduced by a factor of as much as a third to a half to arrive at an average value for all land surfaces. What is clear from these results is that the injection of dust and smoke into the atmosphere has the potential for drastically affecting the climate. A second interesting result is the long recovery time evident from these calculations. This is due to the fact that particles injected high into the atmosphere where condensation does not occur are removed very slowly, thereby prolonging their cli-

6. While I do not intend to provide an exhaustive literature review on this point, a few references may be in order. (1) R.P. Turco et al., *Scientific American*, 1984; V. Ramaswamy and J.T. Kiehl, *Journal of Geophysical Research* 90 (1985): 5597-5613; R.D. Cess, *Journal of Geophysical Research*, 1986.

7. Such models have proved to be very useful in studying such climate problems as the effect of increasing the concentration of carbon dioxide or the impact of volcanic eruptions. Because of their simplicity relative to three-dimensional models of the atmosphere, they can be run on a computer at substantially less cost and their results are more easily understood. The primary value of one-dimensional simulations is to define the important parameters for a given problem. These parameters can then be investigated in greater detail using more complex models.

If a moderately thick layer of absorbing particles is injected into the atmosphere at any height more than a mile or so above the surface, those particles will cool the surface.

matic impact.

These results initiated a series of further studies with two- and three-dimensional atmospheric models. Although these studies cannot be discussed in detail, some generalizations can be drawn from them. All the simulations showed that the land surface temperatures decreased because of the injection of dust and smoke. The temperature decrease was small for small amounts of injected material, but became substantially larger when enough material was injected to prevent about 95 percent of the solar radiation from reaching the surface. As expected, temperature decreases tend to be the largest in continental interiors and smallest along the coasts.

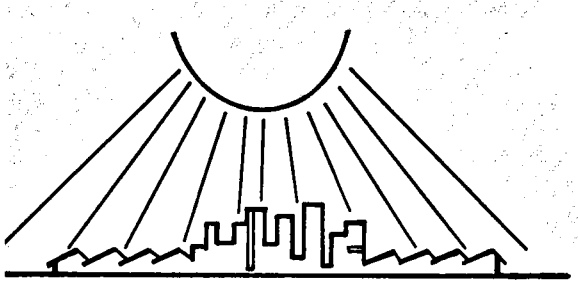
It was initially suspected by some scientists that the distribution of smoke and dust would remain patchy for a considerable length of time —that is, that the distribution of injected material would somewhat resemble the distribution of clouds in the current atmosphere with clear areas and partially covered areas. This is, however, inconsistent with experience of particles injected into the atmosphere by natural means such as forest fires and volcanos, where rapid spreading and mixing take place in the atmosphere. It is particularly inconsistent with the idea of many sources of material. In the computer simulations that have been carried out, if the dust and smoke are injected in specific regions over the United States and Eurasia, they tend to spread rapidly around the globe in a more or less uniform distribution. In a surprisingly short period of time—on the order of 10 to 15 days, some of the material even begins to drift southward into the tropics and across the equator.

One of the more intriguing results was that the smoke cloud tended to rise in the atmosphere above its initial injection height. The reason for that is that the smoke absorbs solar radiation and heats the surrounding air, which then rises carrying the smoke with it. The entire atmosphere becomes more stable because the air below the smoke layer and the ground below the smoke are both cooling. This means that less rain is produced and that the particles remain in the atmosphere for a longer period of time. At the same time, the models predicted that in the first few days following injection, a sizable amount of the material could be removed by the normal rainfall occurring in the atmosphere. Thus the climatic impact becomes in some sense a competition between opposing processes. If most of the smoke can be removed before it has a chance to heat and stabilize the atmosphere, the climatic effects will be minimized; but if the smoke heats and stabilizes the atmosphere before it can be scavenged by normal processes, the duration of its effect will be extended and the climatic consequences exacerbated.

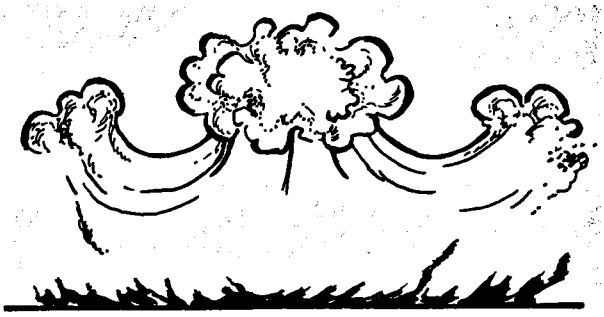
This competition is also partially responsible for the seasonal differences seen in the model simulations. The largest temperature decreases are observed for mid-summer (July) simulations, while the smallest impact is seen in mid-winter (January) simulations. In the winter when the sunlight is less intense, the particles absorb less energy and heat the atmosphere less. They therefore tend to be removed by winter storm activity before they can stabilize the atmosphere. In addition, surface temperatures are already cold and are only marginally reduced by the reduction in winter sunlight.

For the most part, the subsequent model simulations have confirmed the original hypothesis. As more physical processes have been incorporated into

the computer models, some have tended to reduce the severity of the climatic consequences and others have tended to enhance it. The average temperature decrease has been reduced somewhat from approximately 20°C to about 12°C to 15°C. This is not insignificant, however, particularly since temperature decreases in continental interiors may substantially exceed this range. Indeed, as the following article on the ecological implications shows, the difference may be unimportant as far as many plant communities are concerned because they would be severe-

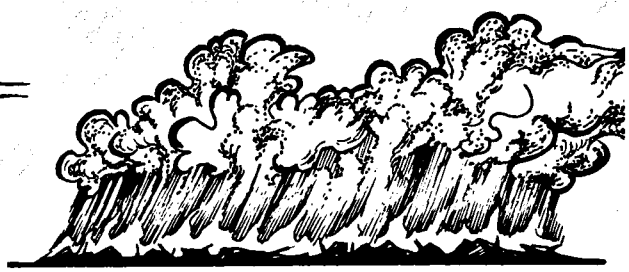


Phase I. Thermal Pulse

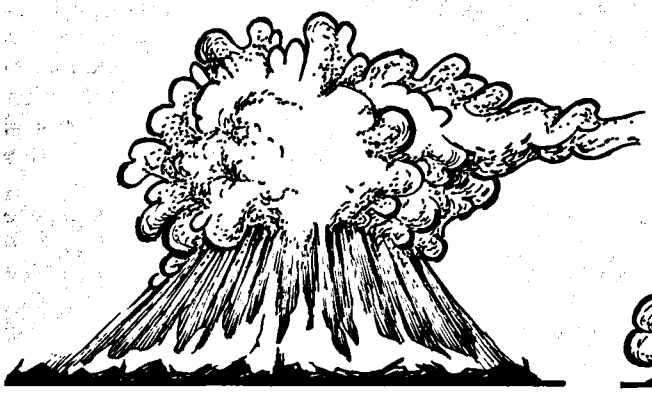


Phase II. Blast

Phase III. Fire Growth



Phase IV. Fire Coalescence



Phase V. Fire Storm

Phase VI. Burnout

In the computer simulations that have been carried out, if dust and smoke are injected in specific regions over the United States and Eurasia, they tend to spread rapidly around the globe into a more or less uniform distribution.

ly damaged in either case.

BEYOND THE MODELS

For all their complexity, the current models do not contain all the important processes needed to understand the nuclear winter, and many of the processes are modeled crudely. In some cases, this is a result of a lack of physical understanding; in other cases, it is a limitation of computer resources; in other cases still, it is a limitation of financial and personnel resources. With this in mind, it is worth raising some issues that are not adequately dealt with in current models, not so much to offer answers as to indicate questions that need to be asked.

Most of the discussions of computer simulations have focused on temperature effects while neglecting the effects on the other dominant climatic variable—namely precipitation. In part, this is because the prediction of precipitation is very difficult. While some critics of the nuclear-winter hypothesis have suggested that rainfall should increase, quite the opposite occurs in the computer simulations for a number of reasons. The predominant reason is that the enhanced stability of the atmosphere caused by the presence of the smoke suppresses the formation of clouds and rain.

Much of the rainfall in tropical and sub-tropical regions such as southern Asia and parts of Africa is the result of the monsoons. These monsoons are driven primarily by solar heating of the land, which produces a large difference in temperature between land and ocean. If the land is covered by a pall of smoke and dust, heating will not occur and the monsoon will fail, producing potentially catastrophic results in many of these areas.

Somewhat analogously, a similar land-sea temperature contrast might be expected to develop along mid-latitude coastal zones. This contrast might produce severe storms such as the cold outbreaks that occur in winter, sweeping out of eastern Siberia over Japan and the Great Lakes. The exact nature of these effects cannot be described without further research and better definition of the nuclear-winter problem.

The entire subject of atmosphere-ocean interactions has not been addressed. Although the ocean has a large heat capacity (which means that its temperature changes slowly) and the length of time that the smoke and dust are in the air would be relatively short on ocean time scales, we also know that changes in atmospheric circulations can produce changes in oceanic circulation and temperature. These can then feed back into the atmosphere. In the normal atmosphere-ocean system, these interactions are responsible for major year-to-year climate variations. The nature of these interactions and their associated climate variations in a highly perturbed atmosphere remains an open question.

Finally, cloud interactions have only been touched upon. The normal climate is very sensitive to variations in the amount and type of clouds. In many respects, clouds are the least understood component of the present climate system and are the most difficult to model within the context of current climate models. Predicting the changes in clouds that might occur following a nuclear war is almost impossible at this point. It is reasonable to assume, however, that there would be substantial changes in the amount of clouds, the type of clouds, and in their ability to reflect and absorb sunlight. Such changes would have a considerable impact on the climate following the nuclear war.

A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE

In the preceding sections, I have tried to provide a brief statement of the physical basis of the nuclear-winter hypothesis and a synopsis of the current status of the problem. The scientific understanding on which this statement is predicated derives from several years of research on various aspects of the problem and participation in numerous workshops. No doubt, this account is also biased by the intense debate, both scientific and political, that has surrounded the entire issue. As with any controversial subject, it is difficult for those directly involved to maintain a totally clear and objective perspective. The validity of the various arguments, pro and con, will become more clearly established in time by further research.

It is my opinion that a large-scale nuclear war presents the clear possibility of a climatic catastrophe. The exact dimensions of this catastrophe cannot be determined at this time because of the uncertainties associated with the problem. Indeed, the irreducible uncertainties of the problem make it unlikely that we will ever be able to predict the climatic consequences accurately; for this reason we should approach the matter with caution, neither exaggerating nor minimizing the risks.

I believe, furthermore, that there is considerable consistency in the results of the research that has been conducted. While there remains some disagreement within the scientific community about such quantitative characteristics as the magnitude of the surface cooling and the duration of the effect of the injected particles, the general features of nuclear winter have been substantiated by a number of scientific studies and commission reports. The critics of the nuclear-winter hypothesis have in many cases misled the public by emphasizing relatively small differences among the various studies while neglecting the essential unanimity of their major conclusions.

The critics have similarly sought to discredit the conclusions by emphasizing the relative simplicity of our most sophisticated climate models. They suggest that, if all the physical processes operant in the atmosphere were properly included, the climate would heal itself even if subjected to such a massive perturbation. Such an argument is disingenuous. There is no a priori reason to believe that all the processes not included would act to mitigate the climatic consequences. On the contrary, they might very well make them worse!

Finally, I should like to raise the specter of possible synergistic effects. The planet Earth as we know it is a complicated system of interacting components, including atmosphere, oceans, snow and ice reservoirs, and ecological communities of all kinds. We are woefully ignorant of the mechanisms and forces by means of which these systems interact. We do know, however, that they interact and that those interactions can produce unpredictable results. Sea surface temperatures grow warmer in the tropics, and storm patterns in mid-latitudes change as a consequence. Plant communities are stressed by cold or drought, and diseases and insect pests suddenly run rampant. Tropical forests are destroyed, and the local climate changes with concomitant changes in ground-water hydrology. Given our truly limited understanding of this system upon which life itself depends, does it make sense to risk the consequences, uncertain though they may be, of a nuclear war?■

CAROL DUPRÉ

Nuclear War: The Human and Ecological Effects

Herbert D. Grover

The future of humankind now rests squarely on the horns of a dilemma. Over the last forty years or so, a handful of nation-states have acquired the technological capability to destroy human civilization and perhaps to threaten the survival of other species with which we share this planet.

The development and deployment of nuclear weaponry has been deliberate and goal-directed. At the superpower level, nuclear armaments are considered the most effective deterrent to conventional and nuclear world war. Yet can we be certain that the correct choices have been made and are being made in configuring these arsenals? How many of what type of weapons are sufficient to effectively deter aggression by either superpower toward the other? In order to answer these and other questions related to nuclear arms policy, we must understand fully the relative costs and benefits (the risks) associated with nuclear weaponry.

A series of reports produced in the late 1960s and during the 1970s examined the potential consequences of nuclear war in terms of health effects on humans and social and economic effects, but these are only a

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small part of the issue to be considered.

In preceding articles, physical scientists have described the potential effects of multiple nuclear-weapon detonations on the composition of the atmosphere and related potential effects on climate. Knowing these effects is important only if the biological implications of such changes are understood. This article deals with the serious implications of nuclear war for humans and for the other species with which we share this planet.

THE DIMENSIONS

Certainly the habitability of our continent, hemisphere, and the entire planet for the immediate survivors of nuclear war must be of central concern. If the environment could be severely affected by the direct and indirect effects of hundreds or thousands of nuclear-weapon detonations, thereby threatening all life on Earth, then we should know this. Such knowledge entails the imperative that the risk of a nuclear catastrophe's occurring by miscalculation, misperception, or accident be eliminated. And so the scientific community has shifted some of its effort to studying the long-term effects of nuclear war on the global ecosystem. We do this not only in an effort to avert nuclear war, but also to come to a clearer understanding of how the global ecosystem operates in the absence of nuclear war, and how human activities even today are altering the function of our planetary life-support system.

As we pursue an assessment of the human and ecological effects of nuclear war, there are a few major points to emphasize. First, even if there were no climatic effects of nuclear war, the direct cumulative effects of thousands of nuclear weapons on human societies would be devastating and unprecedented in our history. As I will review later, as much as 30 percent to 50 percent of the global human population could be killed or mortally wounded even if targeting were limited to military-industrial sites in the superpower and allied nations. The U.S. Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) estimates that 95 percent of the U.S. population lives within 100 miles of important military-industrial targets, and 60 percent lives within 20 miles. Although the population of the Soviet Union is more dispersed than our own, many strategic targets are located near population centers. The cities and towns of West Germany are said to lie "2 kilotons" apart, suggesting that a barrage of tactical nuclear weapons in the western European theater, an event considered to be on a scale of escalation to global nuclear war, would prove devastating for this region.

Second, "nuclear winter," as the climatic effects of nuclear war are commonly referred to, could have devastating effects for biota even if climatic changes were only one-tenth as bad as present models suggest. In 1815, a volcano erupted on an island in the area now known as Indonesia. This was one of the worst eruptions of the last several centuries. In the New England states and Western Europe, massive crop failures occurred in 1816 because of killing frosts in every month of that year. This resulted in rampant human starvation, malnutrition, and disease outbreaks. Thus, 1816 is now known as the year without a summer, but cli-

As much as 30 percent to 50 percent of the global human population could be killed or mortally wounded even if targeting were limited to military-industrial sites in the superpower and allied nations.

matologists still debate whether a statistically detectable change in climate occurred since average temperature drops may have been only on the order of 1 °C or so. Such small changes in climate are detectable in tree-ring data, indicating that the biological effects of moderate variations in climate may be felt even when these effects are not so obvious from the physical data. Why is this important to our discussion here? The reason is that physical scientists are now trying to resolve whether temperature drops over continental land masses following nuclear war might be in the range of 15 °C or so, while severe biological consequences may occur with climatic perturbations one-tenth as severe.

Finally, why be concerned with the rest of the biosphere when the existence of so many humans would have come to an end in a nuclear war? To this I can only reply that, although humans as a species clearly dominate the planet, our continued existence depends upon the integrity of the global ecosystem to provide foodstuffs and shelter materials, maintain the atmosphere, drive the hydrologic cycle, and, essentially, process our wastes. Human survival would be seriously compromised in the aftermath of nuclear war if the biosphere were severely depleted and its functional integrity impaired. This outcome, of course, could occur on a global scale, thereby threatening the survival of humans in regions far removed from direct involvement in the scenarios of nuclear war thought to be most plausible today.

Thus, an examination of the global consequences of nuclear war does much more than further quantify the horrors of such a catastrophe; by viewing the interdependencies that now exist between nation-states, between the different peoples of the globe, we are brought to a clearer understanding of humanity as an integrated whole. As this realization becomes complete, perhaps the necessity for cooperation among nations in solving problems related to the human condition will receive greater attention, and armed conflict as a political tool will diminish in importance.

THE DIRECT EFFECTS

In evaluating the consequences of nuclear war from any perspective, it is important to recognize that no one can be certain how a nuclear war might be fought. The scenarios that we develop for these studies are simply based on reasonable assumptions. When uncertainties arise, it is best to follow a conservative approach. But when deciding what is reasonable and conservative, we must also adhere to some basic principles of risk analysis, the most important being that a worst-case scenario, given reasonable and conservative assumptions, is the best guide for decision making. This is another way of stating that "a chain is only as strong as its weakest link."

There are a few basic parameters that must be considered in developing nuclear-war scenarios. Among these are the targeting strategy assumed, the numbers and kinds of weapons used, the proportion of airbursts to surface bursts, and even the time of day and existing weather conditions.

In recent studies of the consequences of nuclear war, most major cities in the Northern Hemisphere were targeted by one or the other superpower; the numbers and sizes of weapons received by each city was determined on the basis of population densities. To some this may seem unreasonable because, since the United States has indicated a targeting strategy designed to minimize dam-

age to urban centers having nonmilitary value, the Soviet Union may also espouse such a strategy. As was noted earlier, however, the power contained in nuclear weapons is great enough to inflict collateral damage on population centers in the general vicinity of a military or industrial target, thereby endangering a large proportion of the population of North America, Europe, and the USSR.

Table 1 compares the Hiroshima experience with studies done in recent years concerning city attacks, limited wars, and global nuclear wars. In the case of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima in 1945, twenty-five percent or more of the city's population was killed by the direct effects of the 15-kiloton weapon used in the attack.

Note that the explosive yield of nuclear weapons is expressed in the equivalent weight of TNT required to cause the same degree of destruction. Thus, the Hiroshima bomb was equal in yield to 15,000 tons of TNT. Today, weapons in this yield range are considered "tactical" or "battlefield" weapons for use in local theaters of conflict. "Strategic" warheads are commonly in the yield range of 100 kilotons to a few megatons, megatons being equivalent to millions of tons of TNT.

Today, an attack on a city the size of Hiroshima (population of about 1.1 million) could conceivably involve nuclear weapons with a collective yield of about one megaton (see Table 1). The result would be much worse than was experienced in 1945, with 40 percent to 60 percent of the population killed immediately, while another 20 percent of the population might be injured so seriously that many of them would die within a few days or weeks without extensive medical care.

As the scenarios of nuclear war scale up to limited attacks on nations, and finally to the global level, additional effects on social support systems jeopardize larger proportions of the populations attacked. In the limited scenarios, different targeting assumptions were followed, accounting for the differences in projected casualties. The projections of 120 to 130 million dead and 3 to 5 million injured assumed targeting of population centers, while the other limited scenario focused on military targets.

Estimates of worldwide deaths from a global nuclear war suggest that 30 percent or more of the global human population could become immediate casualties. Again, disruptions in various support functions modern societies depend upon would cripple involved nations, making recovery doubtful if not impossible, and would at the very least lead to very high death rates in the postwar months as war-related injuries, disease epidemics, and starvation claimed the lives of many survivors.

Are these scenarios plausible? Do we have in our combined nuclear arsenals enough firepower to cause the scale of destruction suggested in the latter two studies? In 1982 the United Nations released a report suggesting that between 37,000 and 50,000 tactical and strategic warheads, having a total yield of 11,000 to 20,000 megatons existed at that time in the world's nuclear arsenals. Today, we can safely assume that the best estimates lie at the upper ends of these ranges, with about 12,000 to 14,000 strategic warheads having a combined yield close to 18,000 megatons. Certainly, we cannot know how

Table 1. Summary of casualties projected for several nuclear-war scenarios compared with the 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima, Japan. (Adapted from data summarized in M.A. Harwell and T.C. Hutchinson. 1986. *Environmental Consequences of Nuclear War*. SCOPE Rep. No. 28, vol. 2, John Wiley and Sons, Chichester, U.K.)

	Deaths	Injuries	Scenario
City Attacks:			
Hiroshima	$.12 \times 10^6$	$.2 \times 10^6$	15 kt, 1945 bombing.
Hiroshima	$.4–.6 \times 10^6$	$.2 \times 10^6$	1 Mt hypothetical attack.
Limited Wars:			
On U.S.	$8–14 \times 10^6$	$8-14 \times 10^6$	U.S. military-industrial targets
On U.S.	$1.2–1.3 \times 10^8$	$3-5 \times 10^6$	U.S. cities
Global Wars:			
AMBIO[1]	$.75 \times 10^9$	$.34 \times 10^9$	5,700 Mt war
WHO[2]	1.15×10^9	1.1×10^9	10,000 Mt war

Notes To Table 1:

1. AMBIO refers to a study conducted for the Royal Swedish Academy Sciences and published in a special 1982 issue of the journal *AMBIO*.

2. WHO refers to a study conducted by the World Health Organization, Pub. A36.12, Geneva, Switzerland.

a nuclear war might be fought, but the sizes of the arsenals suggest that a 5,000- to 6,000-megaton war could easily occur, even allowing that some warheads may not reach their targets.

To put these very large numbers in perspective, consider that the total explosive yield of World War II probably came to about 3 megatons. Even a Poseidon submarine can carry a combined yield on its 16 missiles of 9 megatons, and the Trident can carry up to 24 megatons. A single B-52 is capable of carrying 5 megatons or more in its combined payload, a yield equivalent to the first hydrogen bomb the U.S. tested in 1952. A 5,000-megaton nuclear war using Hiroshima-sized bombs, one dropped every second—60 bombs dropped per minute, 3,600 per hour—would last 4.5 days. Finally, there are in the world's nuclear arsenals about 4 tons of TNT equivalent for every human being on the planet.

THE INDIRECT EFFECTS

The preceding discussion focused on the potential consequences of nuclear war when considering only the immediate effects of nuclear weapons. These effects include the blast/shock waves that cause physical inju-

ry, thermal radiation that causes burns to exposed tissues, and ionizing radiation that can result in prolonged effects on an individual's resistance to disease or susceptibility to cancer. We will now shift focus to how other species might be affected by nuclear war, not only by these kinds of direct effects, but through prolonged adverse changes in their environment as well, and how the effects of nuclear war on the global ecosystem might influence human survival in a postwar world.

In the other articles in this series, the potential for climatic change in the aftermath of nuclear war is clearly discussed. Given that uncertainties exist in these projections, it is still not difficult to envision drastic effects resulting from smoke emissions occurring in the few days or weeks following a nuclear war.

Smoke absorbs all wavelengths of light because it is black, yet it is transparent to heat radiation. Therefore, if a smoke cloud is present over a continental area for only a few days, heat gain to that area in the form of sunlight would be impeded while heat loss would not. Thus, even if freezes did not occur immediately, severe chills could occur causing serious damage to plant tissues if exposed during the growing season.

When one compares the temperature susceptibilities of plants growing in north temperate with those growing in equatorial latitudes, the vulnerability of subtropical and tropical species to variations in climate is striking. Plants of northern latitudes may easily withstand temperatures below freezing when in a dormant state, while tropical species show injury at temperatures well above freezing (about 5 °C) if exposed for periods of only a few hours. Similarly, temperate species are highly susceptible to chilling injury if temperatures of 0 to 5 °C occur during the growing season.

Some agricultural plants may show significant drops in crop yield if temperatures only as low as 10 °C or so occur when flower pollination is under way. Indeed, simulation models of crop yield as affected by temperature indicate that a 3 °C drop in average growing-season temperature could all but eliminate wheat production in Canada. Other crops, such as corn or rice, are somewhat more sensitive than wheat to such climatic changes.

While reductions in atmospheric temperature may prove most important in determining the direct effects of nuclear war on terrestrial systems, prolonged darkness would be of greatest significance for aquatic and marine ecosystems. Food chains in large freshwater bodies, and particularly in the oceans, are dependent upon small, short-lived plants called phytoplankton. Although phytoplankton are small, they support a diverse food chain of small and large grazers and carnivores because they are highly productive and reproduce rapidly. Simulation models suggest that elimination of sunlight for several days to a few weeks could severely reduce phytoplankton productivity, leading to starvation for various other aquatic and marine organisms. Included among the vulnerable organisms would be many fish species that otherwise might be important food sources for surviving humans, if not in an immediate postwar period, then in the months and years that followed.

Human survival would be seriously compromised in the aftermath of nuclear war, if the biosphere were severely depleted and its functional integrity impaired.

The image we are left with is one of a landscape and seascape dominated by large and small plants damaged to varying degrees by cold temperatures or lack of sunlight. Survival of grazers and carnivores in these ecosystems would be impaired by the lack of adequate food that plants normally provide. Some species would survive such adverse conditions; others would not. Locally, some species would become extinct, while some opportunistic species, most of them pest species like the cockroach, could become locally abundant. But as the smoke clouds clear and sunlight returns, the organisms not killed by the initial cold and dark would begin to recover, only to encounter the additional disturbance of biologically damaging ultraviolet light.

We have known since the late 1960s that nitrous oxides introduced into the upper atmosphere, the stratosphere, cause a breakdown in ozone. Ozone is a form of oxygen that absorbs high-energy ultraviolet light that is the cause of sunburn and, in more extreme cases, contributes to the incidence of many skin cancers. Nitrous oxides are produced in high-temperature reactions, such as occur in many industrial processes, in internal combustion engines, and in the explosion of nuclear weapons. If enough of the weapon-produced nitrous oxides penetrate to the stratosphere during a nuclear war, catalytic breakdown of the ozone layer would occur over a period of months, so that by the time the smoke clouds cleared, ultraviolet light incident to the Earth's surface would be two to five times current levels. We really don't know how severe the effects of such levels of ultraviolet-light exposure might be for terrestrial ecosystems, but available evidence suggests that tropical plants and marine organisms may be particularly vulnerable.

Superimposed on sunlight, temperature, and ultraviolet-light effects would be the long-term effects of ionizing radiation spread over broad areas as fallout. But we can assume that these effects would be most severe in areas near surface bursts.

Fallout is composed of particles of radioactive-weapon debris attached to nonradioactive debris entrained by the rising fireball. Together, the radioactive and nonradioactive debris form the mushroom cloud associated with nuclear blasts. For airbursts, these particles are very small and are carried great distances before falling to the surface. However, in the case of surface bursts, the weapon is detonated close enough to the ground to sweep up tons of dirt and other materials, forming relatively large fallout particles that are deposited near the site of the explosion. As a result, radiation levels near blast epicenters may exceed several thousand rads (a rad is a measure of radiation absorbed dose), or many times the lethal dose for humans, which is between 400 and 600 rads.

Susceptibility to radiation exposure varies among species, and among individuals of a species, just as susceptibility to light and temperature effects varies. Generally, species having large chromosomes (for example, mammals and birds), are more vulnerable to ionizing radiation effects than are species with small chromosomes (for example, insects and microorganisms). Humans are among the most vulnerable mammals, with an LD_{50} (lethal dose to 50 percent of the exposed population) of around 450 rads. Cows and horses have slightly higher LD_{50}'s. Birds have LD_{50}'s in the range of 600 to 1,000 rads. Higher plants have a wide range of susceptibilities, from around 500 rads for many conifers up to 80,000 rads for some sedges. Among

the most resistant groups of organisms to ionizing radiation are bacteria and viruses.

The picture becomes more complicated when we consider that the biological effects of these disturbances to the environment need not be lethal; sublethal and nonlethal effects can be expected. In general, younger and more vigorously growing individuals of a species are more susceptible to environmental extremes or ionizing radiation than are mature individuals. Older individuals may also be more vulnerable.

Although survival of many species may be threatened because of the lack of food, there are a host of synergistic effects that we really have not thought much about that could be very important. For example, many insects serve as plant pollinators. Some of these pollinator species may be severely affected by dust in the air, or may even be blinded by ultraviolet light. As a consequence, some plant species may not reproduce effectively, altering the abundance of these plants in subsequent years and resulting in unkown effects on other interdependent species.

The fabric of nature is indeed complex, and it is certainly true that human survival is linked to a more diverse array of organisms than we generally appreciate. Many pest outbreaks occur because the abundance of grazing vs. predatory insects has been altered, sometimes by weather conditions during critical times of the year or even by careless use of insecticides. Although the agents of disturbance would be very different in the case of nuclear war, the principles by which indirect effects could be propagated through the food web, or through other sets of species interactions, would be the same. More importantly, these changes would occur at a time when human societies would be reeling from the direct effects of war, and would be less able to compensate.

GLOBAL IMPLICATIONS

Our global population now far exceeds the human-carrying capacity of natural ecosystems; sustained agricultural production is critical to our survival. Witness the famines experienced by various societies throughout history, and most recently the mass starvation experienced by peoples of the African Sahelian region. What effect might nuclear war have on food availability and how important might this effect be in the postwar period?

In a study I participated in for the Canadian government, we concluded that food availability may become the most critical factor for human survival, following even a limited nuclear war or a conventional war involving the food-exporting nations. More recently, an international study sponsored by SCOPE (Scientific Committee on Problems in the Environment; a committee of the International Council of Scientific Unions, a very mainstream and conservative consortium of scientific academies and unions) examined in detail the potential for human starvation in the aftermath of nuclear war. The findings of this project are now available in a technical volume coauthored by Drs. Mark Harwell of Cornell University and Thomas Hutchinson of the University of Toronto. An abridged version written for a more general audience is available as a paperback entitled *Planet Earth in Jeopardy,* by Lydia Dotto.

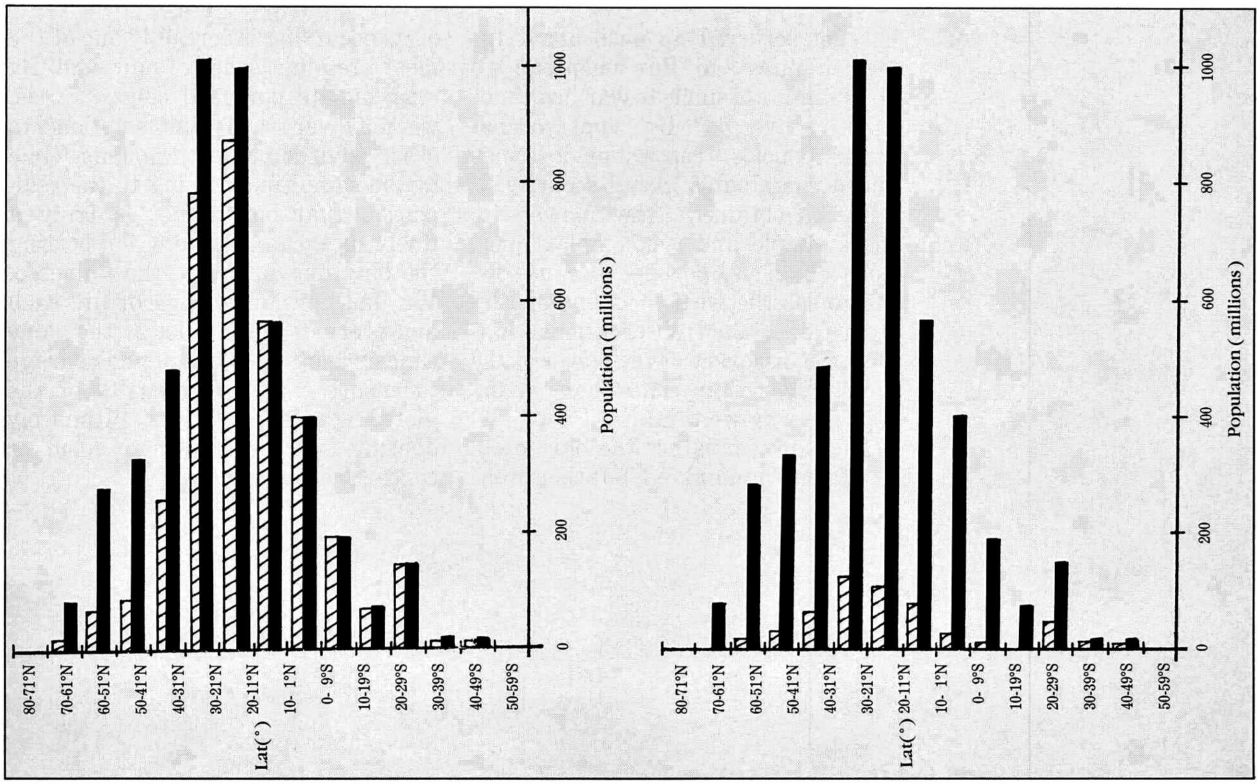
Disruptions in the various support functions that modern societies depend upon would be crippled, making recovery doubtful, if not impossible.

The overall findings of this study indicate that the human endeavor is indeed in a precarious situation. As stated earlier, temperature reductions of only a few degrees to averages well above freezing during the growing season can still reduce yield for most major crop species. If reduction in crop yield is coupled with disruptions in food distribution, particularly between the Northern and Southern Hemispheres as well as within nations, then massive human starvation could result in as many deaths within a year as had been caused by the weapons themselves.

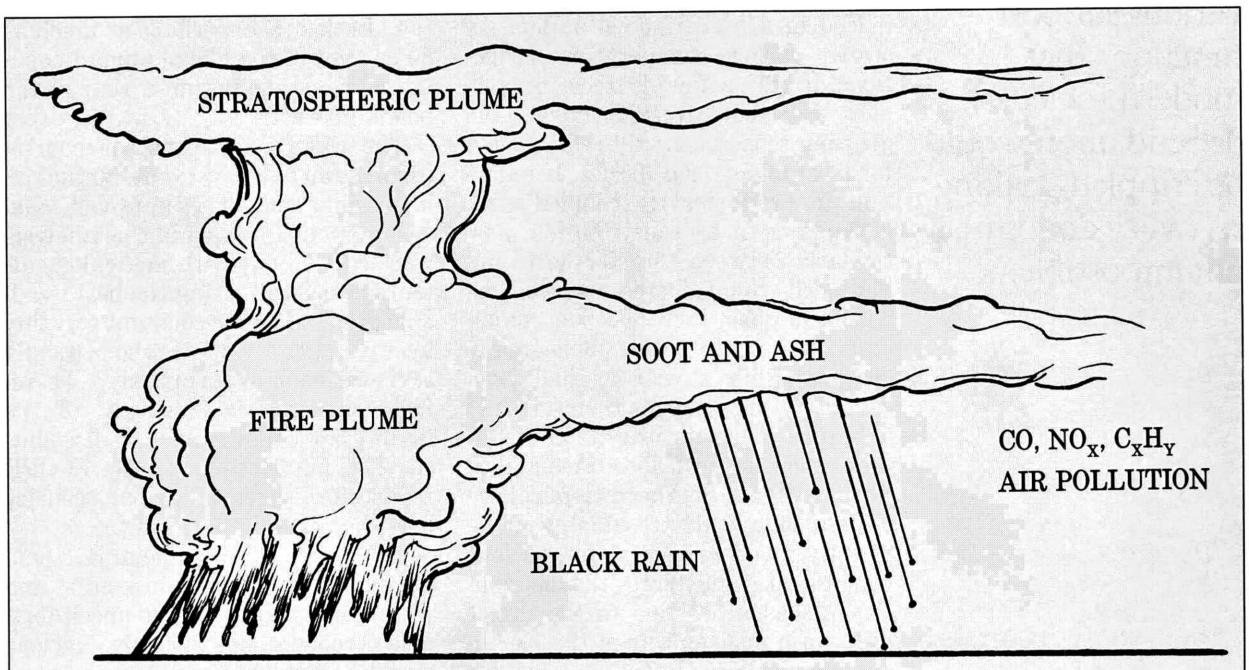
Figure 1 depicts in graphic detail the seriousness of food availability to survival for Southern Hemisphere nations that would presumably not be directly involved in a major nuclear war. Panel A illustrates the distribution of casualties due to the direct effect of a nuclear war in the Northern Hemisphere. Panel B depicts a worst-case scenario in which food imports are eliminated for all nations, so that survival is dependent upon intra-national food stores and production. In this case, perhaps as much as 80 percent of the global human population would die within a year of the postulated war.

The SCOPE analysis, of course, assumes an extreme event, but not an impossible one. The approach and assumptions followed in this analysis were carried out with meticulous attention to detail, using the best available data, all under constant scrutiny by a panel of scientists who critically reviewed each important step. Therefore, one may be skeptical of the findings, but they cannot be discounted. The implications of the SCOPE report for issues of global security must be taken into account.

The horns of our dilemma, then, have been honed to keen points, and we cannot help but feel uncomfortable perched so precariously. Nuclear war has not occurred for forty-one years; it did not occur yesterday or today—at least we can be certain it



NUCLEAR FIRE: 1 MT AIRBURST



Fire Area approx. 150 sq. miles **Mass Burned approx. 10^7 tons** **Soot and Smoke approx. 10^6 tons**

has not occurred up until about fifteen minutes ago. But when can we be certain that nuclear war has finally been averted? By what mechanisms, policies, treaties, or doctrines will a sustainable global security finally be obtained? The answers to these simple and yet complex questions elude us, perhaps because we fail to see the wisdom in one of Einstein's oft-quoted observations that, with the discovery of the power of the atom, "everything had changed except the way we think."

Nuclear war is not the only problem facing humankind, but the threat of its occurring is certainly one of the most pressing issues of our time. By studying its potential consequences, we may very well find solutions to other environmental problems while at the same time coming to the realization that our planet is truly a finely integrated system, supporting the only known life in the universe. We find new knowledge of life each and every day; we must at the same time develop the wisdom and courage to ensure that the integrity of the global ecosystem is not ultimately disrupted by human chauvinism or carelessness.

Nuclear Winter or Nuclear Summer?

S. Fred Singer

THE CONTROVERSIES

The hypothesis that a major nuclear war would lead to severe climate consequences affecting the whole earth has become quite controversial. On the one hand, supporters of the theory argue that weeks and months of darkness and freezing (the "nuclear winter") would destroy agricultural crops and much of the world's biota, causing misery to the surviving human population; some have gone further and speculated that such a climate event would spell the end of the human species on this planet.

On the other hand, the theory has been attacked as a scientific hoax, with political motives ascribed to its originators, who are most charitably described as political simpletons.

There is some middle ground, but not a great deal. Careful reading of the main scientific paper reveals that the authors—Turco, Toon, Ackerman, Pollack, and Sagan (hereafter, TTAPS)—leave open many loopholes that would make the nuclear winter less certain. A subsequent report by the prestigious U.S. National Academy of Sciences (NAS) raises even

S. Fred Singer, currently visiting Eminent Scholar at George Mason University, is an atmospheric and space physicist. He earlier served as director of the U.S. weather-satellite program and is currently principal investigator of a space-shuttle experiment on cometary dust.

more uncertainties. This has given rise to a sub-controversy, with Professor Sagan claiming that the NAS report supports the TTAPS work, while at least one member of the NAS panel strongly disagrees.

A separate controversy has developed about the policy implications of the TTAPS study. On the one hand, supporters of the nuclear-freeze movement have taken over the theory to prove their point, with the willing cooperation of Professor Sagan. On the other hand, the nuclear-winter phenomenon has been used to support the case for the Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars"). One interesting point: Soviet use of nuclear weapons is more likely to lead to worldwide climate effects than use by the United States; also, the Soviet Union is more vulnerable to these effects than the United States. European Russia could be wiped out, leaving the Asiatic parts of the USSR as a "greater Afghanistan."

A veritable cottage industry has sprung up around the nuclear-winter /nuclear-freeze issue, complete with bumper stickers, T-shirts, and, of course, a "grass roots" committee with offices in Washington, D.C. The "bible" of the movement is *The Cold and the Dark,* a book that reprints or rehashes what has been published. It has been gushily reviewed as the most important work since the Bible and the collected works of Shakespeare.

Even the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU) has weighed in with yet another study that elaborates much of the earlier work. An expensive undertaking, it has been expensively published. According to ICSU, all of humanity would not be wiped out, merely two to three billion people. By contrast, a sober analysis of the aftereffects of nuclear war leads to quite different prescriptions on how to avoid a holocaust.

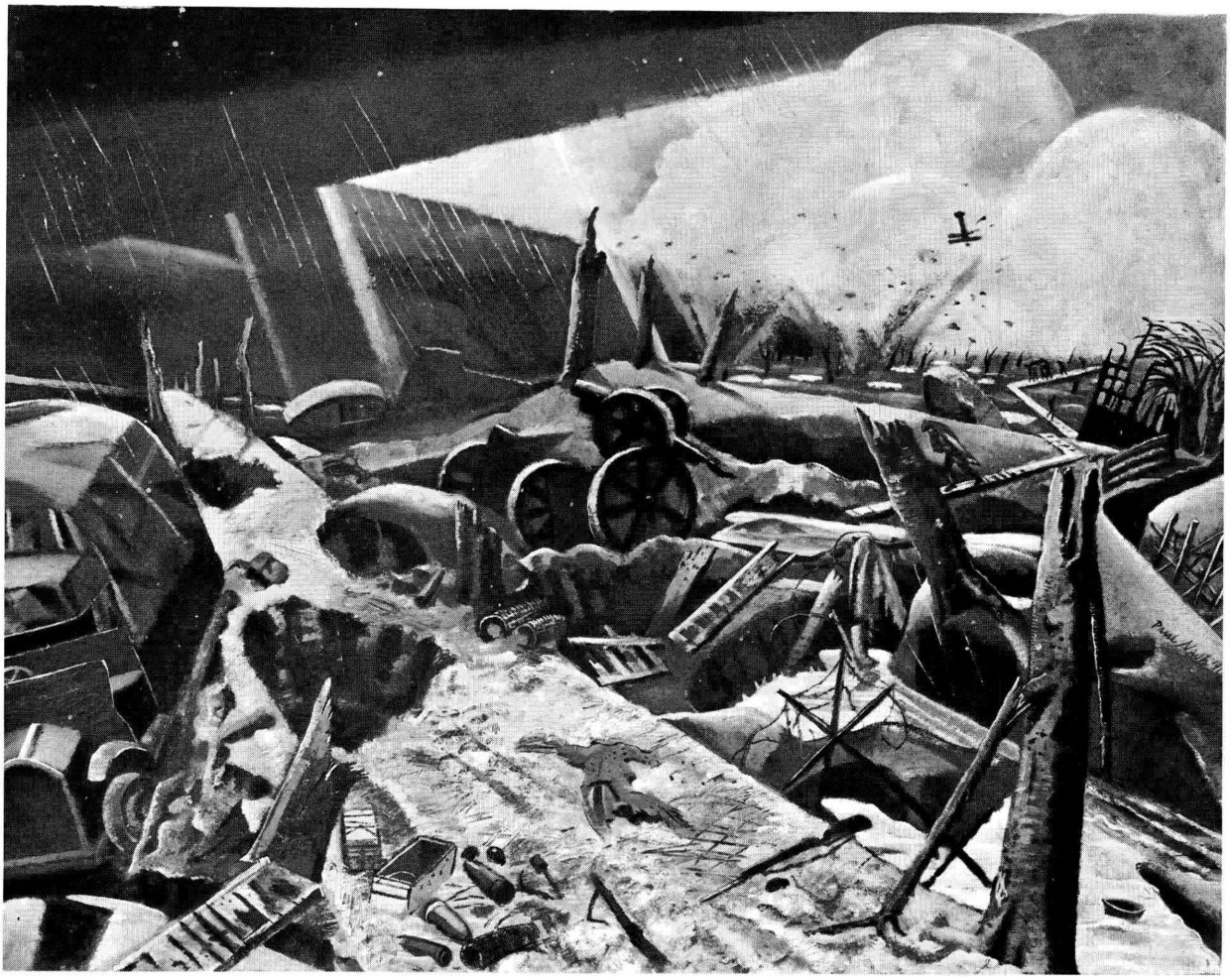
THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS

During all this controversy, sight has been lost of the essential scientific issue: Is the nuclear-winter phenomenon real? My thesis is simple: even granting many of the artificial assumptions made by TTAPS and by the subsequent NAS study, a worldwide cooling is unlikely. On the contrary, if we take proper account of the so-called atmospheric greenhouse effects, then a *warming* is a possible outcome. Most likely, the greenhouse effects will roughly cancel the cooling effects, producing little change in global temperature.

Before explaining the greenhouse effects, I will review some of the history of nuclear winter and then deal with the assumptions that enter into the theory.

As far as I know, Robert Ayres first studied the optical absorption effects of dust and smoke produced by nuclear bursts. Many years later, in 1982, Crutzen and Birks independently hit upon the idea that nuclear explosions could ignite many widespread fires whose smoke could absorb enough of the incoming sunlight to cause darkness and cooling of the surface of the earth—at least in the northern hemisphere. They may have been stimulated by the earlier publications of Luis Alvarez and colleagues who had surmised that the extinction of the dinosaurs 65 million years ago was caused by the absorption of sunlight by dust created by the impact of a large asteroid.

Even earlier, Sagan and colleagues had observed cooling of the Martian



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surface during occasional dust storms on Mars. But they did not extrapolate these findings to the earth until after the appearance of the work of Crutzen and Birks. Since then, of course, they have been following up the subject with a vengeance, coining the term 'nuclear winter' and promoting the concept politically as well as scientifically.

PHYSICAL ASSUMPTIONS

But the nuclear winter is based on many assumptions, some of which are quite unrealistic and others merely uncertain. If any of these fail, then the nuclear winter fails to appear or becomes insignificant. And as mentioned earlier, if greenhouse effects are introduced, a nuclear summer instead of cooling is produced. This result indicates that the theory of nuclear winter is not very robust.

I called attention to the tenuous assumptions and to the neglect of greenhouse effects shortly after the TTAPS paper appeared, first in *The Wall Street Journal,* later in scientific journals where publication was delayed by as much as a year, and finally in the *Scientific American.* Sagan has disagreed heatedly, denying the relevance of greenhouse effects. The controversy is clear-cut.

To make a respectable nuclear winter, TTAPS requires (i) enough smoke that (ii) survives for several weeks or months and (iii) is reasonably uniformly distributed. None of these conditions appears particularly likely.

(i) To get much smoke requires burning down many cities. In cities, the loading of combustible material is much higher than in forests, prairies or tundras. But nuclear-attack scenarios target missile sites more than they target cities.

Even if enough material is burned, much of the smoke created washes out in rainstorms. The scavenging of smoke particles is one of the major physical uncertainties in the theory; it determines the amount of smoke that survives.

(ii) Eventually all of the smoke must be washed out of the atmosphere. Smoke particles typically survive only a few days in the lower atmosphere below 5 km (15,000 feet), their lifetime aloft depending on their physical properties and atmospheric moisture. The lifetime can be much longer—of the order of weeks—for smoke particles that reach altitudes above the appreciable water vapor of the atmosphere. Hence, the altitude distribution of the smoke is important, but it is another major uncertainty. TTAPS favors high-altitude smoke—naturally—but theory and observation point the other way. The analysis of the NAS report, when corrected, does not support high-altitude smoke, nor does the analysis of the Livermore Laboratory of the University of California, especially in the presence of crosswinds. Firestorms can certainly carry some smoke to high altitudes, close to the stratosphere. But what fraction? I have pointed out that much of the burning will really be smoldering that lasts for days; therefore, a goodly fraction of the smoke will end up at low altitudes and be quickly removed by rain.

(iii) The smoke clouds must start out as patches or plumes, and then gradually diffuse toward a more uniform pattern—provided the smoke survives long enough. While in the form of patches, the smoke will not be effective in cooling the surface. Once the smoke cloud is thick enough to cut off, say, 95 percent of sunlight, making it much thicker will not change the result by much. But patchiness means that periods of surface darkness will alternate with bright periods as the smoke patches drift with the wind.

It is worth noting that the TTAPS work has been done in one dimension —only up and down. Both latitude and longitude variations are ignored. This means that the diffusion of the smoke patches cannot be studied in their simple model; instead TTAPS assumes, quite unrealistically, that the smoke cloud is uniform to start with. Three-dimensional (3-D) model calculations have now been done by a number of research groups; they find a more moderate cooling of the land surfaces than did TTAPS, largely because they take account of the influence of the oceans, which do not change temperature. But these calculations are not independent confirmations of the TTAPS work; they make the same physical assumptions, including an initial uniform smoke layer, and, of course, must end up with similar results. But even more advanced 3-D models cannot realistically represent the atmosphere. The models are too coarse to show the diffusion of smoke and cannot yet calculate the rainout. Nevertheless, better models are being built, including some that operate on a scale small enough to show rainout in clouds.

GREENHOUSE EFFECTS

We turn finally to the discussion of the greenhouse effects that are not dealt with in the TTAPS study but drastically change the outcome of their calculations from cooling to warming. I have called attention to

and performed model calculations on three greenhouse effects; there may yet be others that add to an overall heating result.

First, a word about greenhouse effects.

(1) If the earth had no atmosphere or an atmosphere that was completely transparent, not only to the visible incoming solar radiation, but also to the outgoing infrared [heat] radiation from the earth's surface, the average surface temperature would be slightly below freezing. This result is derived from a simple energy balance in which the incoming visible energy, absorbed by the earth's surface, equals the outgoing IR radiation. This temperature is sometimes called the "planetary temperature" (T_p); we will use it as a reference temperature.

(2) A real atmosphere is not transparent to the infrared because of the IR-absorbing properties of water vapor (H_2O) and carbon dioxide (CO_2) that are important constituents. Their effect is to hold back some of the escaping IR radiation (in a part of the IR spectrum), reflect it back to the surface, and thereby raise the surface temperature above T_p—hence the name 'greenhouse effect'. A simple one-dimensional atmospheric climate model shows the temperature increase as 53°C (95.4°F). If we take account of the reflecting properties (albedo) of clouds, then the increase is only 25°C (45°F). We call this the ambient temperature (T_A); it corresponds to the present average temperature.

(3) The TTAPS case can be represented by a smoke cloud so high in the atmosphere that the amounts of overlying H_2O and CO_2 are too small to give an appreciable greenhouse effect. With solar radiation virtually cut off, the surface temperature drops to 44°C (79°F) below T_p. Hence the full freeze effect of nuclear winter is a drop of (25°+44°), which equals a 69°C drop below ambient T_A.

(4) But if the TTAPS smoke cloud is placed at low altitude, the normal greenhouse effect raises the temperature to a full 30°C (54°F) above T_p, or 5°C (9°F) above T_A. One reason for this surprising result is that the albedo is zero; the black-smoke cloud absorbs all incoming solar radiation.

(5) We now alter the physical properties of the TTAPS cloud in a significant but plausible way. We assume a size distribution of smoke particles that extends beyond the wavelength of visible light, so that the cloud becomes IR-absorbing. This IR absorption is greatly enhanced when we consider in detail the optical absorption properties of the combustion gases created in the fires: complex organic molecules that now reside in the smoke cloud. If we assume full IR absorption by the smoke cloud (plus combustion gases), we get surface temperatures ranging from T_p to 53°C above T_p, which correspond to temperatures ranging from 25°C below to 28°C above T_A. We get either moderate surface cooling or moderate surface heating, depending on whether the cloud is high in the atmosphere or low. An "in-between" cloud altitude will yield intermediate temperature values. (Keep in mind also that a three-dimensional calculation would bring in the moderating influence of the oceans and lower the size of all temperature deviations from the ambient temperature T_A.)

(6) We now add another physical effect not considered by TTAPS or the NAS study. The thousands of nuclear explosions that precede and ignite the smoke-generating fires create nuclear fireballs that lift dust and water vapor into the stratosphere. The amounts are given in the NAS study. Using their numbers, the formation of a veil of cirrus in the lower strato-

Most likely, the greenhouse effects will roughly cancel the cooling effects, producing little change in global temperature.

sphere can be calculated. The cirrus cloud particles are dirty ice crystals with well-known strong IR-absorption properties. The thin cirrus clouds, which may be barely visible, thus create a long-lasting *additional* greenhouse effect. I have estimated that this will raise the earth's surface temperature from 17°C to 78°C (31° to 140°F) above T_A, depending on the albedo value of the cirrus cloud. This astounding *theoretical* temperature rise would of course be moderated by the oceans, and through complicated feedbacks by the increased evaporation of H_2O from the ocean and land surfaces.

On second thought, the high temperature is not so surprising. After all, the planet Venus has a surface temperature of about 700°C, which is created by the extreme greenhouse effects of the Venus atmosphere—according to the original studies by Professor Sagan and his colleagues.

CONCLUSION

I have presented scientific arguments to establish that a surface heating (nuclear summer) is more likely than a nuclear winter. A small temperature change either way (at different points on the earth) may be the most likely outcome overall.

The analysis given here confirms my original doubts about the validity of a nuclear winter. Having made this point, however, I must immediately state that a general surface warming may have adverse ecological effects also, especially if accompanied by darkness. In fact, prolonged darkness, even with no surface temperature change, can be ecologically harmful—just by suppressing photosynthetic activity on the earth.

The discussion here presents the climatic and ecological aftereffects of a nuclear war in a new light. Above all, we must get the physics of the phenomenon straight and reduce uncertainties wherever possible. A whole host of experiments and calculations must now be carried out. The debate on nuclear winter has opened up a fascinating new area of research into earth-climate processes. The investigations on nuclear winter (or summer) will enable us also to deal better with predicting the climate consequences of large-scale natural phenomena that are beyond our present control: volcanism and impacts of extraterrestial bodies. ■

We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations, far away. We have learned that we must live as men, and not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger. We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community.

Fourth Inaugural Address
[January 20, 1945]
Franklin Delano Roosevelt

On Environmental Ethics of the *Tao* and the *Ch'i*

Chung-ying Cheng

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Although environmental ethics is one of the applications of ethics arising from contemporary interest in applying and exploring certain ethical concepts and positions in relation to a set of concrete situations that human persons confront in their daily world,[1] close reflection on this particular application leads to a metaphysical critique of certain basic ethical positions concerning relationships of human beings to nature, other human beings, and themselves. At the outset it must be said that ethics cannot be applied until we have a clear understanding of the underlrying concepts of the human person and his/her end-values as well as a clear understanding of the objects or situations to which the applications pertain. Both understandings require a disclosure of presupposed reality and, therefore, a resolution on the order or scheme of things in which humans find themselves.

Methodologically speaking, we can treat problems of applied ethics at three levels: the metaethical level, where meanings of ethical terms are

1. J. Baird Callicott has traced the beginning of the origin of environmental ethics in some of his papers. See his "Conceptual Resources for Environmental Ethics in Asian Traditions of Thought: A Propaedeutic," unpublished paper.

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It is in the nature of the *Tao* that man should find his true self.

clarified; the metaphysical level, where the fundamental premises of the nature of reality are examined; and finally, the normative level, where ethical norms for actions and attitudes are formulated. Environmental ethics thus cannot be fully understood unless we deal with these three levels of the subject. This approach is particularly appropriate in view of the fact that environmental ethics is not yet a well-formed system of ethical concepts and no system of norms has been fully formulated and agreed upon. This fact is not to be deplored, but welcomed, since identifying the problems, not to speak of resolving them, is itself a worthy methodological and metaphysical undertaking, with possible rewards of insight, not only into environmental-ethical issues but also into the foundations of ethics in general. We may consider the three levels of understanding as dealing with the analytical, the teleological, and the deontological dimensions of environmental ethics.[2]

ANALYTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

One central question for environmental ethics that must be raised before others concerns the meaning of the term 'environment'. 'Environment' is derived from *environs,* meaning "in circuit" or "turning around in" in Old French.[3] The word is apparently a preposition, indicating an external relation without a context, and also certainly devoid of a relationship of organic interdependence. When we reflect on the experience of environment, however, we encounter many different things and processes in the context of organic interdependence. We might say that what we experience presupposes the existence of life and living processes of many forms. This experience of environment is better expressed by the Chinese philosophical paradigm, *sheng-sheng-pu-yi*[a] ("incessant activity of life creativity").[4] Therefore we must make a distinction between surface meaning and depth meaning for the term 'environment'. Without understanding life and the living process of life, we cannot understand the depth meaning. On the other hand, without understanding the constituents and conditions of life, we cannot understand life and the process of life. Hence, the very essence of environment requires an understanding of reality and the true identity of life in both the aspects of state and process. This means we have to understand the *Tao* content and the *Tao* process in the environment, whereas *Tao* indicates the way of life-creativity in ceaseless movements and multitude of forms.

With the above analysis of the meaning of 'environment', it is clear that the essential depth meaning was lost in modern man's conception of environment. The modern conception is based on the surface meaning, which is typified by technology and science with their underlying philosophy of materialism, Cartesian dualism, and mechanistic naturalism. The modern concept of environment was thus very much objectified, mechanized, rigidified, dehumanized, possibly

2. By 'teleology' I mean the study of the metaphysics or ontology of ends or values for a given ethical concern. Therefore the teleological corresponds to the metaphysical level of consideration. Similarly, the analytical corresponds to the metaethical level of consideration, whereas the deontological corresponds to the normative level of consideration.

3. Cf. Ernest Weekley, *An Etymological Dictionary Of Modern English* (New York: Dover Pub., Inc., 1967), pp. 516 ('environ'), 1583 ('veer').

4. '*Sheng-sheng*' is derived from the Great Appendix of the *I Ching*, section 5, where it is said, "*Sheng-sheng* is called the change." '*Pu-yi*' is derived from the *Book of Poetry* in "Chou Sung," where it is said, "The mandate of Heaven is indeed profound and incessant (*pu-yi*)." This stanza is quoted in *Chung Yung* to describe the depth and width of the reality of Heaven and Earth. It is quite clear that the incessant activity of life creativity is precisely what the *Tao* is. As a life-experience-based concept of reality, *Tao* was universally conceived by ancient philosophers as a universal process of change and transformation as well as the fountainhead of all forms of life in the world. Therefore, *Tao* can be said to be the in-depth foundation, background, and context of the so-called environment for any sentient being. We shall see a more metaphysical consideration of the *Tao* in the writings of Lao Tzu.

COURTESY OF THE FREER GALLERY OF ART

A LADY UNDER A GNARLED PINE TREE

No life process or creative effort can be achieved without taking into consideration the interrelationships of things.

even de-enlivened, and so de-environmentalized.[5] Environment then is no longer environment at all; it becomes simply the surroundings, the physical periphery, the material conditions, and the transient circumstances. The environment is conceived as passive deadwood and very often as only visible and tangible externalia. But the depth meaning of 'environment' suggested above—namely, environment is active life—is not necessarily visible or tangible, and it certainly cannot simply be a matter of externality. Hence, it cannot be treated as an object, the material conditions, a machine tool, or a transient feature. Environment is more than the visible, the tangible, the external, more than the matter of a quantified period of time or expanse of space. It has a deep structure as well as a deep process, as the concept of *Tao* indicates.

The distinction between the surface meaning and the depth meaning of environment suggests a distinction between the Western and the Chinese approach to environment. Whereas the West focuses on the external relation of man to his surroundings based upon a qualitative separation and confrontation between the human and nonhuman worlds, the Chinese focus is on the internal relation of man to his surroundings based upon an integrative interdependence and a harmony between man and the world. For modern Western man after Descartes, the nonhuman world is to be rationally studied, researched, and then scientifically manipulated and exploited for the maximum utility of man. This will to conquer and dominate nature is of course premised on the externality of nature to man, but there are two other rational principles or assumptions involved in exercising this will to conquer and dominate.

First, it is assumed that nature is a completed work of mechanical forces with one-dimensional natural laws controlling its workings. The one-dimensional natural laws are revealed in the physical sciences and the reductionistic methodology of physicalism. Hence, biological laws are very often reduced to laws of physics and chemistry; no other laws are permitted to stand on their own. Yet the relationship between various forms of life in the totality of nature cannot be said to be fully captured by physicalistic laws nor can the relationship between man and the world of things be said to be regulated by these laws. The very fact of the breakdown of the environment in industrialized societies, as reflected in the problems of water, air, noise pollution, points to a lack of understanding of the relationship between various forms of life and man's environment.

There is a second assumption of modern mechanical science: that everything in the world constitutes a distinct, separate entity of its own and can therefore be individually and separately dealt with as a closed system. This is the isolationistic and atomistic assumption in the problem-solving methodology of modern science, which is reflected in Western medical diagnostic and treatment. It was not until recently that modern medical and health-care researchers became aware of the limitations of this isolationist and atomistic approach and became awakened to a holistic approach. In contrast with the Western externalistic point of view on environment, Chinese tradition as represented both by Confucianism (with the *I Ching* as its metaphysical philosophy) and

5. When I use the word 'objectified', I mean "being treated as an object"; when I use the word 'mechanized', I mean "being used merely as a machine"; when I use the word 'rigidified', I mean "being placed in the state of rigor mortis"; and when I use the word 'de-enlivened', I mean "being depleted of life and the living process"; when I use the word 'dehumanized', I mean "being given no consideration of human feeling and care"; finally, when I use the word 'de-environmentalized', I mean "being devalued as environment."

Taoism (with Chuang Tzu and Lao-tzu as its content), has developed an internalistic point of view on environment. The internalistic point of view focuses on man as the *consummator* of nature rather than as the conqueror of nature, as a participant in nature rather than a predator of nature. Man as the consummator of nature expresses continuously the beauty, truth, and good of nature, and articulates them in a moral or natural cultivation of human life or human nature. This is paradigmatically expressed in Confucius' saying, "Man can enlarge the Way (*Tao*) rather than the Way enlarging man."[6] It is also expressed in Chuang Tzu's saying, "The *Tao* penetrates and forms a Unity."[7] As part and parcel of nature, man does not stand opposite nature in a hostile way. On the contrary, he has profound concern and care for nature at large, as befitting his own nature. For his own growth and well-being, man has to cultivate the internal link in him between himself and Mother Nature. To conquer nature and exploit it is a form of self-destruction and self-abasement for man. The material consequence of the conquest and exploitation must he forestalled by awakening to what man really is and what his nature really consists in.

In contrast with the other two Western assumptions on environment, Chinese philosophy clearly asserts that nature, and therefore man's environment, is not a complete work on production by a transcendent God, but is rather a process of continuous production and reproduction of life. In Bruno's words, nature is *Natura naturans,* not merely *Natura naturata.* In other words, nature is an organism of continuous growth and decay, but never devoid of internal life. With this understanding, men cannot treat nature as an isolated and atomic part without regard for the totality involving a past and a future. This leads to the second understanding contrary to the Western methodology of atomism: man has to interact with nature in a totalistic manner, realizing that there is no single linear chain of causality. There is always a many-to-many relationship between cause and effect. Hence, man has to consider a many-to-many approach to relate the needs of man to nature. Man has to naturalize man as well as to humanize nature, treating nature as his equal and as a member within the family of the *Tao.* This approach to nature is reflected in the holistic approach of Chinese medicine in both its diagnostic and medical health-care aspects.

The modern mandarin translation for 'environment' is *huan-chin,* meaning "world of surroundings." This translation reflects the surface meaning of 'environment' correctly. But when embedded in the context of Chinese philosophy and Chinese cultural consciousness, "world of surroundings" does not simply denote individual things as entities in a microscopic structure; it also connotes a many-layered reality such as heaven and earth in a macroscopic enfoldment. It is to be pointed out that this "world of surroundings" is generally conceived as something not static but dynamic, something not simply visible but invisible. It is in this sense of the environment that we can speak of the *Tao* as the true environment of man: the true environment of man is also the true environment of nature or anything in nature. Being asked about the presence of the *Tao,* Chuang

6. *Analects,* 15:28.
7. *Chuang Tzu,* Chi Wu Lun.

The internalistic point of view of the environment in Chinese philosophy focuses on man as the *consummator* of nature, rather than man as the conqueror of nature.

Tzu said: "[The *Tao* is] nowhere not present." Pressed as to exactly where the *Tao* lies, Chuang Tzu replied that the *Tao* is in the ants, the weeds, the ruins, and in the dung.[8] The import of Chuang Tzu's message is that the *Tao* embraces everything large or small in the universe and imparts a unity of relationships in our environment. The *Tao* is a totality as well as parts of the totality pervading everything beyond our perception so that we should not ignore what is hidden in our understanding of environment. If understanding is the basis for action, this understanding of environment in terms of the *Tao* is essential for formulating an ethics of the environment —for articulating what human persons should do and what attitude they should adopt toward their surroundings. Two more observations are to be made in order to explicate the philosophy of the *Tao* for formulating an environmental ethics of the *Tao* or an ethics of environment based on an understanding of the *Tao*.

The first observation concerns the *Tao* as the *tzu-jan*. *Tzu-jan* means "doing-something-on-its-own-accord," or natural spontaneity. In the *Tao Te Ching*, it is said that "Man follows earth; earth follows heaven; heaven follows the *Tao*; and the *Tao* follows *tzu-jan*."[9] But *tzu-jan* is not something beyond and above the *Tao*. It is the movement of the *Tao* as the *Tao*, namely as the underlying unity of all things as well as the underlying source of life of all things. One important aspect of *tzu-jan* is that movement of things must come from the internal life of things and never results from engineering or conditioning an external power. That is why the life-creativity nature of the *Tao* is the only proper way of describing the nature of the movement of the *Tao*. However, to say this is not to say that only the *Tao* can have movement of *tzu-jan*. In fact, all things can follow *tzu-jan* insofar as they follow the *Tao*, or, in other words, insofar as they act and move in the manner of the *Tao* and in unison and accordance with the *Tao*. Perhaps a better way of expressing this is: Things will move of their own accord (*tzu-jan*) insofar as they move by way of the *Tao* and the *Tao* moves by way of them. One has to distinguish between *Tao*-oriented or *Tao*-founded movement on the one hand and thing-oriented or thing-founded movement on the other. Only when movement of a thing comes from the deep source of the thing —the *Tao* and its harmony with the totality of movements of all other things—will the movement of things be genuinely of its own accord and, therefore, be said to be spontaneous. Spontaneity (*tzu-jan*) is a matter of infinite depth and infinite breadth in an onto-cosmological sense.

One can, of course, speak of different degrees of *tzu-jan* in view of different degrees of depth and breadth of harmonious relating and self-assertion among things. As things have their own histories and defining characteristics in form and substance, they also have their relative freedom of self-movement and life-creativity. Things, in fact, can be considered as conditions or preconditions of various forms of *tzu-jan* (spontaneity): Insofar as things preserve their identity without destroying the identities of other things, and insofar as things change and transform without interfering with the process of change and transformation of other things, there is *tzu-jan*. This explains the mutual movement, rise and decline, ebb and flow, in things of nature.

8. See the Chih Pei Yu chapter of *Chuang Tzu*.
9. *Tao Te Ching* 25.

For human beings, *tzu-jan* finds its rationale not only in internal movement and life-creativity of human activity, but in the principle of least effort with maximum effect. Whatever produces maximum effect by minimum effort in human activity manifests natural spontaneity. One may therefore suggest that only in following natural spontaneity is there least effort and maximum effect. This can be called the ecological principle of nature.[10] With this principle correctly understood, we can then correctly understand the most important Taoist point regarding the nature of the *Tao*: "The *Tao* constantly does nothing and yet everything is being done" (*Tao-chang-wu-wei erb wu-pu-wei*).[11] That the *Tao* constantly does nothing means that the *Tao* does not impose itself on things: the *Tao* only moves of its own accord. That all things also move of their own accord means that all things will come into being on their own accord. The constant nonaction of the *Tao* is the ultimate cosmological principle of life-creativity and the only foundation for the evolution of the variety of life and the multitude of things. The nonaction of the *Tao* in this sense is an intrinsic principle of ultimate creativity; this intrinsic principle of ultimate creativity consists in unlimitedness and unlimitation of expression of life forms and life processes in a state of universal harmony and in a process of universal transformation.[12] In this ultimate sense of creativity, there is no effort made by the *Tao* and yet there is an infinite effect of achieving life-creativity. The ecological principle reaches its ultimate limit in the principle of *chang-wu-wei*. Hence we can conceive the principle of least effort with maximum effect as an approximation to the *tzu-jan* of the *Tao* on the human plane.

With this principle thus correctly understood, we can resolve the dilemmatic predicament of civilization and knowledge. The Taoist questions the value of knowledge and civilization that lead to greed, lust, and evil (tricks and treachery) in human society. In the same spirit, we can question the value of science and technology. In resolving problems of man, do science and technology create more problems for man? Do science and technology appear to lead man to a purely pessimistic future? The Taoistic criticism here is that without an understanding of the *Tao*, it is not only possible but inevitable that knowledge and civilization, science and technology will doom man to self-slavery and self-destruction. Man simply falls into the bondage of his own conceptual prison and becomes a victim of his own desires. The Taoistic criticism of *wu-wei* is to awaken man to self-examination and self-doubt; in this way man is awakened to a quest for self-surpassing and self-overcoming in an understanding of the totality of reality and its secret of creativity through *wu-wei* and reversion (*jan*).[13] With this awakening, it may be pointed out that man can still proceed with his knowledge and civilization, science and technology, if he is able to neutralize and temper his intellectual and intellectu-

10. 'Ecology' means originally the economy of nature: when nature acts, it acts ecologically. The production of life and all things in nature can be said to come from the ecological movement of nature. In understanding the ecology of nature, one would naturally understand the *Tao*; but only when one independently sees the universality, unity, and life-creativity of the *Tao* will one truly understand the ecology of nature. Hence, the *Tao* can be said to be the metaphysical foundation of the ecology of nature, whereas the ecology of nature is one principle of movement manifesting the *Tao*, corresponding to its spontaneity.

11. *Tao Te Ching* 37.

12. This principle can indeed be expressed as the following equivalence: *cheng-wu-wei* = *tzu-jan* = *sheng-sheng* = *wu-pu-wei*, i.e., constant self-restraining of externality = spontaneity = life creativity = natural harmony of all things.

According to Oriental philosophy, man does not stand opposite to nature.

alistic efforts with a sense of the *Tao*. This means that man has to develop knowledge and civilization, science and technology not out of pace with his efforts to relate to things, other humans, and himself. His knowledge and civilization, science and technology have to contribute to his relating to and integrating with the world of his surroundings. To do this, he has to keep pace with his own growth as a sentient moral being, having regard and respect for his own identity and dignity as well as the identity and dignity of other beings, including his fellow man. Furthermore, he has to use his knowledge and, hence, science and technology in keeping with the order of things, with his best interests conceived and deferred in harmony with life and in preservation or promotion of universal creativity. He also has to follow closely the principle of least effort, if not the principle of no effort, with maximum effect, if not infinite effect, in terms of life and creativity, preservation and promotion, for his intellectual, scientific, technological, organizational activities.

As man is part and parcel of the *Tao*, it is only when he loses the sense of the *Tao* and respect for the *Tao* in his life that he becomes alienated from the *Tao* and his activities become a means of self-alienation that will inevitably result in loss of the true identity by way of self-destruction. This is the natural and spontaneous reaction of the *Tao* to the self-alienation of man in his intellectual, scientific, exploitative preoccupation and obsession with himself. Hence the remedy for knowledge and civilization or for science and technology is not more knowledge and more civilization or more science and more technology but a constant relating and integrating of these with the *Tao*. To do so is to naturalize as well as humanize knowledge and civilization, science and technology. It is to make these a part of the *Tao*. As knowledge and civilization, science and technology are man's forms of approximation of nature (the *Tao*), man should also let nature reappropriate them by integrating them with nature (the *Tao*). This is the essential point of ethics in man's relation to the environment: To understand the *Tao* and to follow the *Tao* environment. It is also the way to transform the artificiality and unnaturalness of knowledge and civilization, science and technology into the spontaneity and naturalness of the *Tao*.

In light of this understanding, the conflict between the *Tao* and knowledge, civilization, science, and technology will be resolved; the true ecology and life-creativity of nature will be restored with knowledge, civilization, science, and technology. They will be enhancing rather than obstructing, complementing rather than opposing the actual spontaneity and harmony of the creativity of the *Tao*. This is the true wisdom of the Taoist critique of knowledge and civilization, science and technology. It is called *hsi-ming*, "hidden light," by Lao-tzu, and *liang-hsing*, "parallel understanding," by Chuang Tzu.[14] In this wisdom lies the most profound principle of both the ecology of nature and the ethics of environment.

The second observation concerns the *Tao* as a process of ramification and differentiation of the *ch'i*. Before we explain the meaning and reality of *ch'i* in Chinese philosophy, it is important to appreciate the significance of

13. By *jan* ("reversion") is meant the fact that the *Tao* reverses what is done against the nature of things. But *jan* is also *fu* ("return"). If things are done according to their nature and of their own accord, things will return to their origin and their identity will be recurrently assured. See the distinction in the context of the *Tao Te Ching* 40: "Reversion is the movement of the *Tao*"; 25, "The distant is the reversion"; and 16, "All ten thousand things take place concurrently. I observe their recurrence (*fu*) (*via* their origin)."

14. Cf. *Tao Te Ching* 2; *Chuang Tzu*, Chi Wu Lun.

introducing *ch'i* as an explanation of the depth structure and depth process of environment. We have seen that the depth structure and depth process of environment have been explained in terms of the *Tao* and its life-creativity *(sheng-sheng)*. Even though this explanation is necessary in pinpointing the ontological being and becoming of environment, it is not sufficient, on the one hand, to illuminate the dynamics and dialectics of differentiation and ramifications of the *Tao* and, on the other hand, to manifest those dynamics and dialectics of unification and integration of the *Tao*. In other words, there is a gap between the ontology and the cosmology of the *Tao* that must be bridged.

It is when the *Tao* is seen in the form and activity of *ch'i* that this bridging takes place. It might be suggested that the *Tao* expresses itself in terms of three perspectives, which result in three characterizations in the history of Chinese philosophy. The first perspective is derived from understanding the quality of the activity: it is the perspective of life-creativity as clearly formulated in the texts of the *I Ching*. This perspective we have already discussed above. The second perspective is derived from understanding the patterns of the activity: It is the perspective of the movement of internal spontaneity, reversion, and return, as clearly formulated in the *Tao Te Ching* as well as those of the *Chuang Tzu*. In fact, a concentration on the patterns of the movement of the *Tao* may lead one to see the *Tao* in terms of principles and reasons. The neo-Confucianist metaphysics of *li* ("principle") is a logical result of this development. This development also leads to an epistemology of the *Tao*. In both the ontology of the *Tao* (life-creativity) and epistemology of the *Tao* (principles of non-action, etc.), the *Tao* is always conceived as a totality and unity; in the least, the nature of the unity and totality of the *Tao* is stressed above all. In fact, the very concept of the *Tao* carries with it a reference to its unity and totality. Yet the *Tao* is as much a distribution and diversification of being and becoming as a unity and totality. Hence, we need another explanation of this former aspect of the *Tao* that will also serve the purpose of cosmologizing the ontology and epistemology of the *Tao*. This is how the *Tao*-as-the-*ch'i* paradigm comes in. This is also how the concept of *ch'i* based on experience of the *Tao* as *ch'i* develops. We might therefore suggest that to understand 'environment' in its depth meaning, one has to focus on both the totalistic and distributive aspects of the environment. Hence, one must focus on both the *Tao* as *tzu-jan* and the *Tao* as *ch'i*.

Another consideration with regard to the importance of the *Tao* as the *ch'i* is that, whereas the *Tao* focuses on reality as a passage of dynamic processes, the *ch'i* focuses on reality as a presence of material stuff that leads to an actualization of things and the concretization of events. Hence, for understanding the formation and transformation of environment in its substantive structure, one has to understand *ch'i*. It is in understanding *ch'i* that one can see and grasp the subtleties of environment vis-à-vis human beings. It is only on this basis of understanding (that is, understanding the *Tao* as *ch'i*) that one is capable of formulating an ethics of environment or an ethics of the *Tao* toward environment.[15] For this reason, we may consider the discussion of the

nature of *ch'i* as constituting a metaphysical inquiry into the depth structure and depth process of environment. As the goal of an ethics of environment is to understand how human beings should relate to environment via a true understanding of environment, we may see how a metaphysical inquiry into the structure and process of environment also constitutes a teleological inquiry into the nature of environment in relation to man. It is only when we are able to understand the nature of environment in its true identity that we are able to see what end-values of our thinking about and acting toward environment are. The end-values are provided by our understanding of reality: to act in accord with reality and our true nature will be our end and will be ultimately the criterion of value. Hence, metaphysics of environment becomes teleology of environmental ethics because it is where environmental ethics is founded. With this foundation, we can then rightly speak of an environmental ethics of the *Tao,* which is the deontology of the *Tao.*

METAPHYSICAL, TELEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Before considering the nature of the *Tao* as *ch'i*, there are several passages in the *Tao Te Ching* that attempt to justify or explain the *Tao* as *ch'i* in the cosmos-making process. In chapter 14 of the *Tao Te Ching*, the *Tao* is described as something invisible, inaudible, and ingraspable.

15. *Tao Te Ching* 14.

COURTESY OF THE FREER GALLERY OF ART

CLEARING OUT A MOUNTAIN FOREST

> Being invisible is called the Great (*yi*); being inaudible is called the Silent (*hsi*); being ingraspable is called the Subtle (*wei*). The source of these three cannot be fully disclosed. They merge to form Oneness. The Above of this Oneness is not bright, and the Below of this Oneness is not dark. As a continuum it cannot be named, and it again vanishes [into] no-thing-ness. It is therefore the form of no-form, the image of no object. It is called 'Seeming-To-Be' (*fu-huang*).[16]

This description of the *Tao* is no doubt applicable to *ch'i* as the primary source of being and becoming. Hence the *Tao* is *Tao*-as-*ch'i*, the *ch'i* is *ch'i*-as-*Tao*. In chapter 21 of the *Tao Te Ching*, again the *Tao* is described as being constantly indeterminate and unformed (*fu-huang*), and obscure and dark (*yao-min*), and yet containing and yielding the concrete things.

> The *Tao* is something indeterminate and unformed. Being indeterminate and unformed, there emerge the forms; being unformed and indeterminate, there emerge the things. Being obscure and dark, there emerge the essences (*chin*); these essences are very real, wherein the truth (*hsin*) exists.[17]

The essences (*chin*) are generally explained by commentators as the *chin-ch'i* or the quintessential *ch'i*, which is the primary or elementary *ch'i*.[18] Hence

16. *Tao Te Ching* 21.

17. Ibid.

The distinction between the surface meaning and the depth meaning of 'environment' suggests a distinction between the Western and Chinese approach to the environment.

we may also see how the *Tao* is related to the *ch'i*: *Tao* in its actual movements becomes the *ch'i*. Or, alternatively speaking, the movement of the *ch'i* is the *Tao*. In fact, chapter 25 of the *Tao Te Ching* gives an even more vivid characterization of the *Tao* as *ch'i*, that is, as something which is the primary substance for all things. It says,

> There is something which comes into being before heaven and earth. It is silent and formless. It exists without depending on anything else. It moves in circles ceaselessly. I do not know its name, so I just call it the *Tao*. I also try to call it the Great. The Great is passing; the Passing is distant; the Distant returns to its own.[19]

Although Lao-tzu does not speak straightforwardly about the *Tao* as *ch'i*, it is clear that the *Tao* must present itself as the *ch'i* for the purpose of cosmos-making and thing-making. In other words, to speak of the *Tao* as *ch'i* is necessary insofar as there is a need for explaining the constitution of the world of things. Similarly, for satisfying the need of explaining the totalistic and transformational nature of things, one has to speak of the *ch'i* as *Tao*. It is only when one understands the *Tao* in the form of *ch'i* and *ch'i* in the form of *Tao* that we are able to understand thoroughly the nature of reality that forms our environment and defines a teleology of end-values for our ethical demands on our behavior toward the environment.[20] In the following, we will give a characterization of *Tao* as *ch'i* by answering the question "What is *ch'i*?" We will follow the classical literature on *ch'i* in Lao-tzu, Chuang Tzu, Kuan Tzu, and the *I Ching*, and even more importantly, in the classic of Chinese medicine, the *Nei Ching*.

What is Ch'i? Ch'i is the most fundamental concept in Chinese philosophy as well as in Chinese common sense. *Ch'i* has been variously translated into English as "material force," "mortal force," "energy." Like many fundamental Chinese philosophical terms, no translation captures its full meaning. In fact, all existing translations conceal and obscure the rich experiential structure of meaning in the concept of *ch'i*. It is important to recognize that the concept of *ch'i* has already contained a metaphysical theory, an epistemological theory, and a scientific theory. It also contains a structure of levels and implies a process of stages. *Ch'i*, on the natural level, is simply the vapor in the form of steam over the rice paddies and the cloud/mists in the sky. On the human level pertaining to daily human experience, *ch'i* is simply the breath. As breath links to air, so *ch'i* covers the organic life-energy and the energy in nature in various forms. Hence nothing in the human body is not *ch'i* and nothing in nature is not *ch'i*. Two important conditions for understanding *ch'i* are: (1) *ch'i* is the vital energy of no form. It moves, rests, goes and comes, condenses and stretches. In other words, it transforms. (2) *Ch'i* nevertheless forms all things in the universe: It can form into various forms depending upon how it moves and rests and how it relates to things formed from *ch'i*. By itself *ch'i* does not have any form or any

18. Cf. Ren Zhi-Yu, *Lao Ze Jin Yi* (Hong Kong; 1955). See also *Zhong Guo Zhe Xue Shi Ze Liao Suan Zhi, Xian Chin Zhi Bu Zhong* (Beijing: 1959), p. 451.

19. *Tao Te Ching* 25.

20. In the *Tao Te Ching* there are two direct references to the term *ch'i*. In chapter 10, there is mention of "concentrating on *ch'i* to reach softness," and in chapter 55, it is asserted that "when heart-mind controls the *ch'i* it is called strength." It is clear that *ch'i* is the primary substance for the concretion of life, mental effort, and things. In the case of *Chuang Tzu*, although no full theory of *ch'i* was developed, *Chuang Tzu* has implicitly refered to *ch'i* in describing the piping sound of wind and nature in the *Chi Wu Lun* chapter. He even speaks of nature as "the great mass breathing the *ch'i*" (*ta k'uai yi ch'i*). It is again quite clear that *ch'i* is assumed to be the primary substance of things and the force of all movements in the totality of the reality identified as the *Tao*. The *Tao* and the *ch'i* can be said to refer to the same reality in different aspects: the macroscopic and the microscopic.

determinate form. But it is precisely due to its indeterminateness and inner capacity of creativity that *ch'i* can creatively form into things, and yet all things have no permanent form and substance. The life and death of man and any species have to be ultimately explained on the basis of the impermanence of the form of *ch'i*.

The onto-cosmology of *ch'i* has also developed to the extent that to think of *ch'i* one also has to recognize three more characteristics of *ch'i* on reflection. (1) *Ch'i* as universally present is not confined to a single region just as it is not confined to a simple form. Hence, there exists a universal sympathy and interrelatedness among things in the universe. Yet the difference in kind, structure, and level of things makes a difference of degrees of sympathy and interrelatedness among things. To discover which things are in sympathetic resonance and which things are not are two important efforts in both traditional applied environmental analysis *(feng-shui)* and diagnosis/healing-therapy in Chinese medicine.

(2) In the pre-Chin philosophy of *ch'i*, the order, structure, and form exhibited by *ch'i* are inherent in and internal to the *ch'i* itself. As to how different things are formed, the apparent randomness of *ch'i* actually conceals an ordering force of balance, control, cohesion, sustenance, and qualitative elevation or evolution. Hence *ch'i* is not to be conceived as an arbitrary chaotic existence: it is to be conceived as leading to seasoned and proportionate evolution and sustenance of life. In fact, reason and principle *(li)* can be explained as the essence of *ch'i*, that is, as that which constitutes the nature of *ch'i* insofar as *ch'i* would behave in accord with them. Hence one should not speak of *li* apart from or external to *ch'i*. *Li* belongs to the innermost of *ch'i*. This explains why in the formation of the natural world and human physiology, there are orderly principles to be found, and similarly why nature in itself exhibits regularity and produces laws and patterns open to human understanding. The possibility of human understanding can indeed be explained as the sympathetic activities of *ch'i* inside one person in resonance with *ch'i* external in the world.

(3) The basic order inherent in *ch'i* is exhibited in the distinction of *yin* and *yang*. *Yin* and *yang* refer to two aspects of *ch'i* as a whole, yet in the process of change and transformation one aspect could become dominating and outstanding. As such the dominating and outstanding aspect of the *ch'i* becomes perceptible and experienced. Yet at the same time, the other aspect also exists or subsists. It takes a subtle mind to experience it, and it takes a period of time to see its functioning. *Yin* and *yang* originally respectively refer to the shady and the lighted (the bright) under the sun. Both the shady and the bright have the light as central subject. Similarly, the *yin* and *yang* also have the *ch'i* as their central subject.

With the above analysis of *ch'i*, we are able to see how *ch'i* can be more particularly considered on the level of distinction of *yin/yang* aspects. On this level we can speak of two polarities of *ch'i*. In doing this, we must remember that *yin/yang* concepts have their primary experiential roots. They are not arbitrary inventions of man but reflect instead deep features of the nature of the *ch'i*. Thus, we can speak of *ch'i* and *yang-ch'i*. In the light of primary experience of *ch'i*, one can immediately see how *yang-ch'i* can be interpreted and seen in motion, brightness, and firmness (*kang*), whereas *yin-ch'i* can be

In the West, it is assumed that nature is a completed work of mechanical forces with one-dimensional natural laws controlling its workings.

interpreted and seen in rest, darkness, and softness (*jou*). The reason for this interpretation is again experiential: *yang-ch'i* or *yin-ch'i* is not experienced as a definite single quality, but rather experienced as a indefinite mass phenomenon, the nature of which reveals itself in different ways under different circumstances. Hence, for the *yin/yang* distinction of the *ch'i*, an indefinite subecategorization for either *yin* or *yang* can be introduced by way of sympathetic understanding and in spontaneous revelation. Not only motion, light, and firmness thus become *yang* natures, but also rest, shade, and softness become *yin* natures. A long list of other qualities or states of things can be naturally divided into the *yin/yang* groups. In each of these divisions, an identification of the *yin* and the *yang* will enrich and make more definitive the *yin/yang* experiences and their corresponding concepts. Yet no complete distinction and exhaustion of the *yin/yang* totality can be given. Perhaps we can speak of an inductive and implicit definition of the *yin/yang: yin/yang* are those natures or qualities compatible with and strengthening those natures or qualities already known as *yin/yang*.

Philosophically speaking, both the *I Ching* and Lao-tzu's *Tao Te Ching* have conveyed a general criterion for distinguishing between *yin/yang*. *Yin* is passive, receptive, closed-in, downward, soft, resting, and background-like; whereas *yang* is active, creative, opened-up, upward, firm, moving, and foreground-like. *Yin/yang* become more clearly described when we describe them relative to concrete things on different levels. Therefore we can speak of heaven/earth as *yin/yang*, man/woman as *yin/yang*, life/death as *yin/yang*, and so forth. In each case, of course, the substantive reference to *ch'i* is presupposed, for apart from *ch'i*, how does the *yin/yang* become discovered or revealed? In reference to *ch'i*, we can establish the following *yin/yang* distinctions:

For *yin*: shade, rest, softness, cold, the weak, closure;

For *yang*: light, motion, firmness, hot, the strong, openness;

We may also note the following five principles governing the *yin/yang* distinctions.

(1) The principle of universality: *yin/yang* exists in all things and for all things on different levels. Indeed, it is because of the *yin/yang* distinction, that things come to exist in different kinds and on different levels. This is related to the principle of creativity established by the *I Ching*.

(2) The principle of relationality: *yin/yang* always exist in close relation to each other, which should explain how things are always related in *yin/yang*. Insofar as there are relations, there are the *yin/yang* distinctions and unities underlying all the things. The relationships will be established according to the next principle.

(3) This is the principle of opposite complementarity. *Yin/yang* forms a unity in which *yin* and *yang* are opposite to each other and yet depend on each other and therefore complement each other for their being distinguished as opposites. What makes opposite complementarity possible is the pervading unity we spoke of earlier. The opposite complementarity is opposite because of difference and complementary because of unity. Unity and difference exist at the same time as internal natures of the *ch'i* or as internal, dynamical tendencies in the *ch'i*. As such we can speak of the unifying and differentiating aspects of the *ch'i*, which give rise to *yin/yang* and their natural bond of oneness in difference and opposition. This is again made very clear in the *I Ching*. In light of this principle, we may indeed speak of the *yin/yang* as polarities of *ch'i*.

(4) The principle of relativity. All states of *ch'i* and hence all things can

be both *yin* and *yang* relative to different other states of *ch'i* or things. As individual things, *ch'i* reveals a manifold of contexts in which things are related. Hence *yin/yang* distinction is sufficient to characterize things in their relation to many other things. A wife who is an employer can be *yin* relative to her husband, but can be *yang* relative to her employees. In fact she can be both *yin* and *yang* to the same object, depending on the contexts of relationships that give rise to differences of activities and positions. A network of *yin/yang* develops for a single state of *ch'i* or an individual thing. One can see how the complex of the human body or the whole universe can be presented in terms of a network of the *yin/yang*.

(5) The principle of creativity. With the polarity of *yin/yang* aspects inherent in *ch'i*, activities involving disturbing the balance or harmony in *yin/yang*, developing a new level of balance or harmony, or restoring a given balance and harmony are possible. In fact, all things in the universe are results of creative activities of the *yin/yang*; and all the creative activities are actual results of *yin/yang* movements of opposition and unity. By *yin* alone or by *yang* alone there cannot be continuation of life and creativity. As there are life and creativity in the evolution of new entities or new generation of things, *yin/yang* is perceived to be ever-present among all things. In regard to this creative capacity, *yin/yang* unity of differences is specifically called the *ta'i-chi* (the great ultimate). It is clear that the *ta'i-ch'i* is *ch'i* in its totality and ever-renewing activities of producing and maintaining the order of things in the environment of man.

Given the above principles of the *yin/yang*, we can easily see how the Chinese notion of natural environment, insofar as it is developed on the basis of the *Ch'i* philosophy and *yin/yang* distinction, is totalistic, phenomenalistic, and organismic. The reason is simple. *Ch'i* with its *yin/yang* activities is totalistic, phenomenalistic, and organismic. For *ch'i* is a totality, dynamically presenting itself on different levels of reality, and yet well related with reference to all its parts. These characteristics of *ch'i* not only lead to the development of a conception of the natural environment as a *ch'i* differentiation without losing its unity, but as a process constantly involving internal interaction of its parts and circulation of the *ch'i*, as well as constantly involving the human *ch'i* with external things in the world. The purpose of environmental care is to maintain both the internal and external harmony of dynamical interaction of *ch'i*, just as the purpose of medical care is to restore balance and harmony to either the disrupted internal state of *ch'i* or to the disrupted state of *ch'i* in reference to the external world. Chinese traditional environmental studies are precisely and intimately founded and developed on the basis of the *ch'i* philosophy.

With *ch'i* as the basic substance-process of all things in the world, we have the *yin/yang* activities of *ch'i* providing both a structure and a process of creative transformation among all things in the world. Then with regard to the concrete things in the context of the *yin/yang* interchange, we have to introduce a further structured distinction in the concretizing activities of the *ch'i* based on *yin/yang*. This is the distinction of *wu-hsing* (five powers) we mentioned above. The "five powers" theory dates to ancient time when people started to wonder how things were constituted and related. Again due to the *ch'i* philosophy, recognizing *ch'i* as a dynamical power, the "five powers" are conceived as agencies rather than as elements, as processes rather than as states. Hence the *wu-hsing* can be seen as five agencies or even five functions of *ch'i* realized in

Man and his environment may form different orders of their own; yet they belong to the same totality, which is the universal process of transformation called the *Tao*.

the concrete processes of things. The *wu-hsing* are powers of metal, wood, water, fire, and earth. The basic characteristics of these five powers are as follows: metal is sharp and cutting; wood is growing and firm; water is soft and penetrating; fire is bright and burning; earth is solid yet adjustable.

The significance of the *yin/yang* analysis of the *wu-hsing* theory for the Chinese conception of the environment is that we can consider the opposite and complementary relations among *ch'i* structures in the human person or between the human person and the external environment not only in the second-order relations of generation/destruction of *wu-hsing* but in the primary-order relations of differentiation, unification, balancing, and harmonization of the *yin/yang*. This means that the *I Ching* philosophy of unity of difference and identity and its dialectics of transformation based on "one-dividing-into-two" and "two-unifying-into-one" are always in the background of the formation of views on human life, its environment, and their relationship in the Chinese tradition.[21]

DEONTOLOGICAL, TRANS-DEONTOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

What we have said above constitutes a metaphysical picture of reality on the basis of which our conception of environment can be built. As reality is conceived in terms of *sheng-sheng* (life-creativity), the *Tao* (the way of transformation), and *ch'i* (vital-force), so environment can be also understood under these three categories, and thus can be seen as being intimately related to human beings in a relationship of part and whole: man is part of the environment; the environment is a part of man; and they both are a part of the same whole. It is evident that these propositions are meaningful in light of the *Tao*- and *ch'i*-metaphysics of reality as developed in the Chinese philosophic tradition. Man and his environment may form different orders of their own, but yet they belong to the same totality, which is the universal process of transformation called the *Tao*. Within this totality of transformation, man and his environment are interdependent, interacting as well as interpenetrating. Hence, man cannot treat his environment as a mere object for knowing, controlling, and exploitation. Environment consists of many processes to be involved with and related to this process exemplified and embodied in the *Tao*, the life-creativity, and the *ch'i* properties. Hence, the environment should always preserve a unity, harmony, and a balance inherent in the relationship of things and processes. Man is part of this unity, harmony, and balance, and should contribute to their continuous sustenance and growth. This is the supreme categorical imperative for man's behavior toward environment.

With the environment understood as *Tao* and *ch'i*, we can also deduce important conclusions regarding misuse or abuse of environment. The environment can react in a harmful way if it is itself harmed. This is a natural consequence from the intrinsic movement of reversing for the *Tao*. On the other hand, the environment can preserve life and enhance health, if the life-preserving and health-enhancing measures are adopted by man in relation to the environment. Environment is a perfect mirror of man. Man's benevolence, justice, and integrity will be reflected in the life-generating and health-enhancing powers of environment. Just as human selfishness, inconsiderateness, and cruelty will be reflected in catastrophes and disasters in the environment, from this point of view,

21. Cf. my unpublished paper "On Transformation and Harmony: Paradigms from the Philosophy of the *I Ching*." Also see my paper, "Model of Causality in Chinese Philosophy: A Comparative Study," *Philosophy East and West* 26 (January 1976): 1-20.

benevolence, justice, and integrity are not just simply human virtues towards one's fellow-man and human community, but are virtues toward things and nature in general. This is because they can be conceived as life-preserving and health-enhancing powers of nature. On the basis of a metaphysical understanding of environment, human ethics can be transformed into environmental ethics.

The environmental ethics of the *Tao* begins with an understanding of the *Tao*. After the *Tao* is understood, *Tao* becomes the supreme end for man. Man has to treat nature as if there were an intrinsic end in nature. But the proper way of treating nature in this sense is to share and embody the *Tao* in nature; in other words, to achieve the supreme of the *Tao* is to be with the *Tao*, in the *Tao*, and of the *Tao*. Environmental ethics of the *Tao* becomes an art of harmonizing with the *Tao*, as well as the art of self-realization in nature by way of the *Tao*. Here we may indeed say that our deontological duties toward nature or environment come from nature or environment itself. It may appear to be an imposition of nature on man independent of his understanding of nature. But when man comes to understand nature, the deontological considerations of the environmental ethics are no longer deontological. This is because the deontological becomes part of the teleology of nature; they represent what nature really is. It is in this sense that the environmental ethics of the *Tao* not only are founded on the basis of the environmental metaphysics of the *Tao*, but become one with it. Of course, we still can recognize that the metaphysics of environment can produce a true picture of the nature of reality as an end.

We can now formulate four axioms of a metaphysics of environment on the basis of our understanding of reality as *Tao* process and *ch'i* structure. Then we can establish four corresponding principles of the deontology of environmental ethics on the basis of these four metaphysical axioms.

1. Axiom of self-transformation. The *Tao*, or reality as the *Tao*, presents itself in a process of temporal, spatial, material, immaterial, and relational transformations. There is no simple linear relation of cause and effect, but a manifold of levels and dimensions in organic relation.

2. Axiom of creative spontaneity. The creativity of reality consists in a natural process toward the emergence of life. Even though proper physical conditions for emergence of life are required, the emergence of life and its nourishing have to be conceived as inherent in a self-transforming movement of the *Tao* and *ch'i*. Life is not only part of the whole nature of *ch'i*, but it is vested in every particle and wave of the *ch'i*.

3. Axiom of interpenetration. All elements in nature are interdependent, interacting, and interpenetrating. There cannot be real separation among them. Hence, there is the effect of the whole on the part and the effect of the part on the whole. No life process or creative effort can be achieved without taking into consideration the interpenetration relationship of things.

4. Axiom of harmonization. All elements in nature can maintain a relationship of harmony and balance on relevant levels of being and becoming. There is always an inherent harmony pertinent to a given level of relationship. But to achieve a proper harmony on the proper level, one has to relate

Environmental ethics of the *Tao* becomes an art of harmonizing with the *Tao*.

to all elements in a proper way on that level and also relate to all elements in a proper way on lower levels. Otherwise, a natural return to a lower level of harmony would appear as an ecological breakdown of harmony on a higher level.

Corresponding to these four axioms of nature we may now suggest four corresponding deontological principles in man's relationship to nature or his environment.

1. The principle of harmonization. Man has to preserve a sense of harmony with regard to nature. This sense of harmony is to be articulated in his conscious efforts to love life and to appreciate what is good in life. This sense of harmony will not only be expressed in a sound conservationist position on the ecology of nature, but will also be expressed in man's well-coordinated strategies for cultural development. This is because nature and culture can enhance each other's value, and thus together enhance the value of life.

2. The principle of interpenetration. Man has to develop science and design technology with a totalistic sense of reality. Man must recognize that there are visible and invisible elements of nature, and that there are many concentric circles of *ch'i* structures, all of which can act and react on the well-being of man. Man has to incorporate his understanding of the interpenetration among things in his technological exploration of nature. This is essential for making technology not only humanized, but also naturalized as well.

3. The principle of creative spontaneity. Man has to learn to seek creativity in a spontaneous way, whereby he can contribute to the richness of life and harmony among things at the same time he fulfills his own needs. It is necessary that man follow the *Tao* in becoming creative, so that his research and invention will not issue from a desire to dominate and will not result in a will to control. Many things men have done in history have been a waste of life and energy. This can be avoided by following the creative spontaneity of the *Tao*.

4. The principle of self-transformation. Man also eventually has to learn to transform himself in accordance with the totality of reality. He has to see himself as embodying the *Tao*, and acting with a will not to will. It is only with this understanding that he is able to resolve conflicts within himself and conflicts between himself and environment. His self-transformation consists in constantly interacting with nature, so that he can be said to be part of nature and nature can be said to be a part of himself. It is in nature and the *Tao* that man should find his true self.

It is clear that, whereas the four axioms of the environmental metaphysics of the *Tao* and the *ch'i* exhibit an order of ontogenesis, the corresponding deontological principles of environmental ethics of the *Tao* and the *ch'i* exhibit an order of returning to the source and embracing the totality. It is this order of going back to the source and embracing the totality that the environmental ethics of the *Tao* and the *ch'i* transforms the metaphysics of the *Tao* and the *ch'i* into a teleology as well as a deontology of the *Tao* and *ch'i*. The integration and unification of the teleological and the deontological in the metaphysics of the *Tao* and *ch'i* will lead to a maturity of the environmental ethics of the *Tao* and *ch'i*. It is in this mature form of the environmental ethics of the *Tao* and *ch'i* that we can speak of the embodiment of a new reason in the mind of man. ■

The Idolatry of Politics

Leszek Kolakowski

It is proper on this occasion to look for a moment at what is probably the most famous single sentence ever written in the Western hemisphere: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness." Once we glance at the statement, we notice immediately that what seemed self-evident to the patron saint of our meeting tonight would appear either patently false or meaningless and superstitious to most of the great men who continue to shape our political imagination: Aristotle, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Marx and his followers, Nietzsche, Weber, and, for that matter, to most of our contemporary political theorists. Since what is self-evident must appear self-evident to all or nearly all rational creatures who reflect on it—as is the case, for example, with the principle of non-contradiction, the truths just quoted are not self-evident at all. They are now reserved for pontifical messages or Sunday sermons, while they are banned beyond recall from the permissible philosophical or theoretical idiom. There are few thinkers who still stick by the belief that the criteria

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An important part of the Enlightenment was ideologically inconsistent in its attitude to the Christian legacy and in the scope of the effective debt it owed to this legacy.

of good and evil—rather than being freely invented or freely canceled, as the needs of the human race require, or expressing at best its biological variants—are somehow embedded in the order of things. Those few adventurers are well aware that they tread on perilous and slippery ground.

That this change of perception matters, there is no need to prove. The rationalist refusal to take for granted any inherited order of political or moral rules was, as we know, one side of the same centuries-long process whereby the modern idea of negative freedom and the principles of freedom of economic activity and legal equality were established. Market economy, rationalist philosophy, liberal political doctrines and institutions, and modern science emerged as interconnected aspects of the evolution, and none of them could have been asserted separately. The reasons for this interdependence are reasonably clear and have been investigated by many historians.

Even though the prime target of attack of this entire ideological and political development was the Church with its claim to spiritual and political supremacy, an important part of the Enlightenment was ideologically inconsistent in its attitude toward the Christian legacy and in the scope of the effective debt it owed this legacy. It often affirmed—against ecclesiastical institutions, though not against Christian tradition—the rights of autonomous reason, personal freedom, and tolerance not unlike the manner in which the Reformation and medieval heresies had earlier on appealed to the gospels to destroy the institutional and dogmatic framework of the Roman Church. And it was more than the matter of ideological self-blindness or political expediency. One may reasonably argue that modern liberal doctrines were historically rooted in the biblical belief that all human persons are fundamentally equal and equally valuable. However tortuous and self-contradictory the path from the religious to the political meaning of this insight and however often it may have been beset with conflict and struggle, it was historically real.

By now it has been largely forgotten. The ideas of religious tolerance and of the separation of church and state—and by implication, the ideology of the state—are fundamental elements of the traditional republican heritage. They were established against clerical, if not, strictly speaking, against theocratic forces in Christianity, and they have prevailed in Western civilization. They imply that no religious body may by law either enjoy privilege or be discriminated against, that there may be no compulsory religious teaching in public schools, that religious loyalties are irrelevant to the rights and duties of citizens, and so forth. The few ostensible deviations from the strict principle of state neutrality are either largely ceremonial (such as, for example, the status of the Anglican church) or they are of small import —as is the case, for example, with the favor that tax and charity laws grant the churches in various countries.

Yet we may ask to what extent religious and ideological neutrality of the state can be consistently upheld. In democratic countries, ideas as well as religions are governed by the rules of the market: a consumer has countless options and countless possibilities of choice. This freedom, however, of producing, advertising, and distributing religious and ideological goods is itself a result of an ideological—and indirectly religious—option. If we believe that freedom is better than despotism, that slavery (that is, the ownership of one human person by

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another or by the state) is contrary to the very concept of humanity, that equality is right and that legally established privileges are unjust, that the spirit of religious tolerance ought to be supported and oppressive fanaticism opposed, we are not "neutral" in matters concerning basic values. Neither is a state neutral if, in some form or another, it inscribes those values into its constitutional framework; it would otherwise be neutral toward its own neutrality, which would be a self-defeating neutrality. If such values are directly or indirectly of biblical origin, there is no reason why saying so should undermine the principle of church-state separation. In terms both of its historical origin and of its prevailing norms, it would be silly to assert that any state within the realm of Western civilization, because it was neutral, was also non-Christian in the same sense that it was non-Muslim or non-Hindu.

During the recent discussion of voluntary prayer in schools, one could not help being struck by the almost hysterical tenor of those who attacked permission for such prayers —as if permitting pupils to say the Lord's Prayer in some unscheduled period during the school day was tantamount to throwing the country into the abyss of a sinister theocracy.

To be sure, this particular issue is a fragment of a larger conflict that includes the more serious matters of abortion and capital punishment, as well as pressures from various intolerant or fanatical religious groups. I believe, however, that it would be

To what extent can a religious and ideological neutrality of the state be consistently upheld?

advisable to impose certain moderating restrictions on the general framework of the debate about relationships between politics and religious tradition.

It is undoubtedly true that, during the past several years we have witnessed in various regions of our planet increased participation of religious bodies and ideas in political conflicts. This might be the effect of disappointment on the part of many people with the dominant political ideologies inherited before the First World War when the political landscape seemed (rightly or wrongly) mild and promising in comparison with ours. It may have resulted from the natural need to have rules of conduct that are both simple and absolutely valid. It may be due in part to the fact that, in many countries of the Third World, the available political ideologies are of little operational use, whereas the need for an ideologically grounded legitimacy of the existing power system is more pressing. While we may observe this process with alarm, it is fair to say that it has not produced any significant growth toward theocracy in Christendom—in contrast to Islam where this tendency, however explainable by historical vicissitudes of Islamic faith and its content, is quite vigorous. The fear that the Western world is likely to fall prey to a totalitarian theocracy is groundless; the opposite tendency that reduces Christianity to a political ideology, thus cutting off its roots, appears instead fairly resilient.

The other part of the same political framework is this: We try to survive in a world torn asunder by a conflict that cannot be seen simply as the competition of great powers vying for the enlargement of their respective areas of influence; it is rather a clash of civilizations, a clash that for the first time in history has assumed a worldwide dimension. However repugnant our civilization may be in some of its vulgar aspects, however enfeebled by its hedonistic indifference, greed, and the decline of civic virtues, however torn by struggles and teeming with social ills, the most powerful reason for its unconditional defense (and I am willing to emphasize the adjective) is provided by its alternative. It faces the new totalitarian civilization of Sovietism, and what is at stake is not only the destiny of one particular cultural form but of humanity as we have known it: not because this new civilization is militaristic, imperialistic, and aggressive, but because its educational goals would convert human persons into perfectly replaceable parts of the impersonal state machine, each of which parts has no more reality than the machine confers upon it and a mind that ideally would be a passive replica of the lifeless robot, with no will, no ability to revolt, and no critical thought of its own. While we have reason to believe that human nature renders such an objective unattainable (as revealed by the abysmal economic ineptitude of this civilization, its retreats, and reluctant concessions), the effort expended toward its realization has already produced unspeakable cultural disasters and is likely to produce more.

I would go even further and affirm what Karl Jaspers once wrote. Jaspers, who was extremely sensitive to religious intolerance and fanaticism in the Christian tradition, said that, if he were compelled to make the distressing choice between Christian (by which he meant Catholic) and communist totalitarianism, he would opt for the former because the spiritual source of Christianity, the Bible, is also the source of European culture, and our civilization, therefore,

even in such an oppressive form, would at least not lose its continuity or be severed from its origin.

Needless to say, those of us whose minds have to a large extent been shaped by the Enlightenment—and who are not prepared to dismiss its legacy altogether, no matter how self-defeating its upshot might appear—abhor the prospect of such a choice. But we might be wrong to think that it is merely an abstractly concocted possibility; it may not be imminent, but it is not an altogether fanciful or surrealistic vision either.

It has been the contention of many people that, if we want to face the danger of our civilization's collapse into nihilistic sluggishness and prevent its becoming an easy prey for tyranny, and if we want to face this danger in a broader historical perspective rather than in terms of direct political or military technique, the spiritual legacy of the Enlightenment must be revised; there are indeed at least three crucial points in which humanist beliefs seem to have reached a suicidal stage.

The first point is the belief in so-called absolute values. Sneering at absolute values has been extremely easy, of course, since the Enlightenment convinced us that all human beliefs about good and evil are culture-bound, historically relative, and that mankind has suffered enough because of struggles between various religions and doctrines whose adherents, on all sides, were deeply convinced that they were the privileged carriers of the absolute truth. Humanist skepticism, including its dismissal of absolute values, forged a powerful weapon against the fanaticism of sectarian strife and laid a foundation for the institutional framework of a pluralist and tolerant society.

It revealed its danger, though. It made those very ideas of pluralism and tolerance as relative as their opposite. We got used to shrugging off many horrors of our world by talking about cultural differences. "We have our values, they have theirs" is a saying we frequently hear when dealing with the atrocities of totalitarianism or other forms of despotism. Do those who say so really want to claim that it is pointless or arrogant to make value judgments about the difference between pluralistic forms of political life and the method of political competition which slaughters one's rivals? When we equally extend our generous acceptance of cultural diversity to all the rules of good and evil and aver, for example, that the doctrine of human rights is a peculiarly European notion, not fit for or understandable in societies that share other traditions, do we only mean that Americans dislike being tortured and packed into concentration camps while Vietnamese, Iranians, and Albanians don't mind it or positively enjoy it? If so, what then is wrong with the racial laws of South Africa, and why should we not say that Afrikaners simply have their own values and we have no way to establish that ours are better than theirs? Or shall we say that the only difference between a vegetarian and cannibal is a matter of taste (granted that taste is involved)?

To be sure, we do not usually carry our enlightened tolerance to such an extreme, but this may be a consequence of our failure to elicit the implications of our faith. It is easier to assert vaguely that societies have differing values or that the belief in

The fear that the Western world is likely to fall prey to a totalitarian theocracy seems groundless; the opposite tendency that reduces Christianity to a political ideology, thus cutting off its roots, appears instead fairly resilient.

absolute values is obsolete and naive than candidly to confess that slavery is as good as freedom and that nothing is intrinsically good or evil. More often than not, we are simply inconsistent, less for cognitive than for political reasons; we profess our relativistic complacency in cases we prefer, on political grounds or because of cowardice, to treat with civility, and we reserve moral intransigence and absolute values for other cases—for example, being moralists in problems concerning South Africa but *Realpolitiker* and courteous relativists when dealing with communist systems. ("They have their values . . . . ") We thus convert our political commitments into moral principles, which is precisely what the idolatry of politics means—fabricating gods for ad hoc use in a political power game.

To say this does not solve particular political issues nor does it imply that moralistic inflexibility is a good basis for all political decisions or that one can infer the entire policy of a country from the concept of human rights, say. This is clearly impracticable. In many decisions, moral cost is inevitably involved, alas! Bloodshed is always evil, but we have to admit that it is not the ultimate evil. Throughout history, bloodshed has been accepted for good cause, and it would be silly to decide that we ought to avoid bloodshed in all circumstances and at any price, since its acceptance in some cases is the only way to avoid worse calamities and even greater bloodshed. This may be an unpleasant fact in a world that lives under the threat of war and daily faces the horrors of terrorism, but it is nonetheless true. The point is that we should be aware of our choices and call things by their right names, which is infrequent in political conflicts. If we cannot avoid evil, we can at least identify it as such.

Let us repeat, however, that believing in intrinsically valid rules of good and evil *and* admitting the unfeasibility of basing political decisions on them exclusively will not settle specific political issues. There is nothing extravagant, however, in reflection, which, though not directly useful in political affairs, examines the nonpolitical sources of diseases that affect political life. It is not a matter of our technical inability to cope with problems but rather of our inability to deal with problems that are not technical and not solvable by technical procedures. It is, moreover, arguable whether we inherit this disability from the Enlightenment or from the *better* aspects of the Enlightenment —namely, the struggle against intolerance, self-complacency, superstition, and the uncritical acceptance of tradition. Even if the great masters of the Enlightenment did not necessarily unfold their relativistic ideas in the form that tends to paralyze our present ability to oppose evil and intolerance, they planted a good seed that has borne some dangerous fruit. The denial of absolute values for the sake of rationalist principles and the general spirit of openness threatens our ability to distinguish between good and evil altogether. To stretch tolerance to the point of fanaticism is tantamount to intolerance; to refrain from fighting evil because we are imperfect may convert our imperfection into barbarity.

The second self-degrading effect of the Enlightenment is in the uncertain and conceptually fragile status of human personality. The doctrine of the social nature of human creatures has been repeated for twenty-three centuries. Its meaning, however, is twofold —at least it may be trivially true, but it also may be a doctrine that is not only highly controversial philosophically but which, if generally accepted,

would be very damaging and perhaps disastrous for our civilization. It is indeed obviously the case that our language, knowledge, ways of thinking, emotions, and aspirations have been shaped by what we have experienced in our human environment and that we could not survive physically or mentally without sharing and communicating our experience with others. Still, this platitude does not entail that our reality is totally reducible to what others have given us and that, apart from participation in communal life, a human creature is literally nothing—as if a person were only a collection of masks imposed upon an empty space, as if there were no other humanity but collective humanity, and no self but Rousseau's *moi commun.* The existence of a unique and irreducible core of personality may not be scientifically provable (except in genetic terms, which is not what is meant), but without this belief, the notion of personal dignity and of human rights is an arbitrary concoction suspended in the void, indefensible, and easily dismissible.

The doctrine that the human person is entirely society-made—even if molded from a raw material that is physical rather than human—has a number of alarming consequences. Many people have noticed and investigated the erosion of both the concept and the feeling of personal responsibility in contemporary civilization, and it is difficult not to perceive how this erosion is linked to the doctrine in question. If I am not I, if there is no reality or at least no morally constituted reality to which the pronoun 'I' corresponds, if I am totally definable in the "objective" terms of social relationships, then there is indeed no reason why I rather than society should be held responsible for anything. I remember seeing on American television a young man who was convicted of brutally raping a child; his comment was, "Everybody makes mistakes." And so, we now know who raped the child: everybody, and therefore nobody. If we consider the famous recent court trial in which a family alleged that a tobacco company was responsible for the cigarette addiction of their deceased member, shall we anticipate a rapist's suing society, a school, or the government for being a rapist? Or a wife demanding that the government order her husband who has gone off with another woman to love her again? There is no point in dwelling further on this subject or adducing further examples. The general tendency of assigning responsibility for an individual's acts (wrongdoings and shortcomings in particular) to anonymous collective entities is well known and easily documented.

The more sinister side of our inability to affirm the separate, irreducible, ontological status of personality is evidenced in our conceptual defenselessness in the face of totalitarian doctrines, ideologies, and institutions. There are obviously no grounds for attributing an absolute and irreplaceable value to the human person that is only an expression of the impersonal aggregate; there are therefore no grounds for opposing the idea that individuals are instruments of the state and that all aspects of their life, and life itself, are to be treated accordingly; that their worth is to be measured entirely by the degree of their usefulness—or uselessness—in the service of the state. On the same assumption, we are help-

Even if the great masters of the Enlightenment did not necessarily unfold their relativistic ideas, they planted a good seed that has borne some dangerous fruit.

less in resisting those aspects of democracy that in some empirically observable conditions are compatible with totalitarianism—for example, the principle of majority rule conceived as an absolute.

The distinction between the personal and collective sides of our life, though banal and investigated for centuries by philosophers and social thinkers, has not ceased to be worthy of critical inspection. It takes on special significance in modernity, when it is politically expressed in two requirements, always distinct and sometimes limiting each other: participation in the exercise of power on the one hand and personal rights on the other. The right to participate in the exercise of power, expressed in democratic institutions, does not by itself assure the protection of personal rights. Personal rights, far from being an extension of the majoritarian principle, impose limits on it, since personal rights may be suppressed with majority approval. A despotic or totalitarian order, moreover, enjoying majority support, is not only conceivable but has historically occurrent examples. A society shattered by despair and dread, thrown into panic, may embrace a tyranny that deprives individuals, including those who support it, of personal rights. Majority gave power to Hitler, to Khomeini, and perhaps to Mao, if not always by active assistance, then by passive submission to the rape. In the normal course of things, all revolutions that establish tyranny suffer a bitter hangover very early, though usually too late to shake off the self-imposed yoke.

It may be that guarding personal rights is of greater importance in our world than defending the right to participate in the exercise of power. If personal rights can be brought to ruin by an active or acquiescent support of the majority, the reverse also is true: they can be protected in circumstances where there is little participation in power. We can cite examples, in various countries and in various historical periods of a mild autocracy or oligarchy where participation in power was restricted to a small privileged section of the population, where no universal suffrage existed but where personal rights were nonetheless reasonably well protected, where people did not normally fall prey to lawless brutality, where the law was enforced, and where cultural life suffered no severe restrictions. The most superficial glance at European history convinces us that life in a nondemocratic order need not be an unceasing horror, and that individuals—rich or poor—can survive reasonably well and art can flourish. Thus an autocracy can be, if not quite generous, at least not cruel. Supporting this line of argument, some people hold that participation in the democratic process is largely illusory or is reduced—as the much underrated French thinker Jacques Ellul claims—to the so-called political commitment, which means nothing but surrendering one's personal will to professional politicians. We may add that in democratic countries, according to many evidences, the degree to which people identify with the government they brought to power in free elections is not impressively high. It is sufficient to ask one simple question: If people have the government they elected, the government they wish, and consequently the laws they wish—including the tax laws—why do millions cheat on their tax returns? One might suppose that in a democracy people are required to pay only as much tax as they wish to pay. To draw this conclusion, however, in full naïveté from constitutional principles can only reveal the grotesque

THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

NERO WATCHING ROME BURN

hiatus between principles and psychological reality.

Those arguments are probably reasonable, but the conclusions they establish are only part of the truth. Another part is that, while examples of benign autocratic or aristocratic order can be found, they are from the past and not from the present. Benevolent tyrannies, enlightened and tender-hearted autocracies are no longer in existence; they may have become culturally impossible. We can only speculate on why this is so. Power has always been sought after as a good in itself and not only as a means for gaining other benefits. But the principle that everyone has a right to participate in power is of relatively recent origin. So much does it belong to the ideological armory of modernity that it is verbally acknowledged even in the most hideously despotic regimes. Once it has been established, it cannot be canceled and democratic participation in power, however dubious it may appear to individuals (who often perceive in it a proof of their own helplessness, rather than a device whereby they can influence events) is the only reliable defense against despotism, and, therefore, in our world a necessary condition of personal rights and cultural pluralism. It is not a sufficient condition, however, and I therefore believe it important to bear in mind that personal rights impose limits on democratic principles rather than following from them as a natural consequence. Personal rights are defensible only on the assumption that there is a realm of personal reality definable in moral terms—not biological terms merely; their vindication is on moral grounds, much as their implementation depends on political conditions. In a world where everything has become politicized, it is unavailing to repeat the time-honored truism that political goals must be assessed in terms that are not political. This truism carries more weight today perhaps, since there is no agreement

The denial of absolute values for the sake of rationalist principles and the general spirit of openness threatens our ability to make the distinction between good and evil.

even on the most general framework of political ends, and no one can define noncontroversially what the Aristotelian "good life" as a political objective means. We have been taught by long experience that the basic goods we might be ready to approve conflict with each other: security and freedom, freedom and equality, equality and personal rights, personal rights and the rule of majority.

Personal rights, moreover, if they include the right of property, inevitably conflict with the idea of distributive justice. It is therefore futile to assert both without qualification. The normative notion that all people are entitled to a share in the wealth of nature and the fruits of civilization, that they may make claims to a minimally decent life, and that the institutions of the welfare state are to be upheld as a matter of justice rather than as a matter of political necessity only is incompatible with everyone's right to enjoy legally acquired property.

In vain do we repeat slogans that lump together all our values, as if we knew how to implement them all jointly. When we speak of peace and justice, we need to bear in mind that forty years of peace in Europe have been based on glaring injustice, on the enslavement of central and eastern parts of the continent. However precarious and unstable this peace may be as a sheer absence of war, it has endured for four decades. And so, when we employ such generalities as "peace and justice" as an expression of our good wishes, more often than not we are simply avoiding real issues and real choices.

We thus go back to Max Weber's classic distinction between the ethics of intention and the ethics of responsibility. A politician's good intentions clearly do not count in his performance; he is assessed according to his skills in foreseeing the foreseeable consequences of his acts. In fact, he is usually called to account for the unforeseeable effects as well. We cannot avoid the notorious fact, however disagreeable, that the acts we deem noble when performed by an individual for moral reasons may be inexcusable and disastrous when converted into political acts or rules of politics. The pacifists of old who, on religious or moral grounds, refused to carry the sword but served on the battlefield as stretcher-bearers or nurses and shared the dangers of soldiers deserved full respect since they proved that their refusal was morally motivated rather than a search for safety. The pacifists who today act as political bodies have to be assessed by political criteria—that is, by their ability to calculate the consequences of their actions and not by their intention to secure peace. (Nobody now wishes to provoke global war.) If one may reasonably argue that their actions make war more likely rather than less (as I believe is the case with the advocates of unilateral disarmament in Europe), they have to be judged accordingly. Still, the intended consequences, whether actually realized or not, obviously have to be judged as well on non-political criteria; otherwise efficiency in pursuing any goal, however hideous, would remain the sole measure.

The tradition of the Enlightenment conditioned us to believe that all the pillars on which human hope for a good world rests—freedom, justice, equality, peace, brotherhood, prosperity, abundance—can be built jointly in a harmonious progression. Few of us can any longer take this belief seriously. European liberals and socialists who spread this faith were time and again accused by conservatives of failing to perceive or explain

the evil inherent in human affairs. They saw evil, according to this criticism, as a technical blunder—something contingent capable of being eradicated by an adequate social technology. Liberals and socialists, in their turn, accused conservatives of using the doctrine of the ineradicable evil as a pretext to oppose reforms that could make our lot more tolerable and reduce human suffering. There is some justice in both charges, and it is therefore probably better for us that progressives and conservatives coexist in unremitting conflict than that one of those irreconcilable mentalities gain a definitive victory.

The third point at which the legacy of the Enlightenment has become destructive in our civilization is the erosion of historical consciousness. I do not mean, of course, historical research. That is flourishing and apparently in robust health. Nor do I mean historicism as a philosophical doctrine, which has kept on growing as an ideological device since the end of the eighteenth century. I do not even mean the amount of historical knowledge people get in schools or from books and television. I have in mind the progressive decline of the awareness that our spiritual life includes sedimentations of the historical past as its real and active component and that the past is to be perceived as a never-fading frame of reference for our acts and thinking. That our life actually includes this component and hinges on this frame of reference might be the case without our being aware of it. It is the withering away of this awareness that I am getting at.

This is, of course, hardly a new tenet; it has been worrying people for several decades and, by broaching it, I do not pretend to discover new continents. But it is worth discussing as we usher in an epoch when children, from the earliest age, will be sitting at computers with the result that their minds will be entirely shaped by the acts of calculation and historical self-understanding will sink into irrelevance or oblivion.

The Muse of history is gentle, learned and unassuming, but when neglected and deserted, she takes her revenge and blinds those who scorn her.

Since Descartes, an important trend within the Enlightenment has shrugged off the historically defined notion of human existence for obvious reasons: First, it appeared irrelevant to the progress of science, technology, and the future happiness of mankind. (Is not the past, after all, a huge mass of irrational passions, ignorance, and foolish mistakes?) Secondly, the respect for history included worship of tradition as such, the veneration of what is old and established for no better reason than that it is old and established. In conforming with this mentality, it is then we moderns who are old, whereas the ancients were children—as many thinkers, since Francis Bacon, have claimed—and there is no point for the elderly to look for wisdom in the minds of infants. And what profit, apart from a possible entertainment, can we get from being informed that Zorobabel begat Abiud and Claudius was done in by Agrippina? To be sure, hardly anyone today expresses the rationalist contempt for history in such a simplistic fashion. But the natural disposition of the rationalist mind seems to have gained the upper hand of historical curiosity in general education and in the mental habits of modernity. We

In the normal course of things, all the revolutions that establish a tyranny end in a bitter hangover very soon, but usually too late for people to shake off the self-imposed yoke.

have been told time and again that we do not learn from history. This saying, too, is trivially true in one sense but perniciously wrong in another. It is trivially true in the sense that historical events and situations are by definition unique, and the stuff historical processes is made of is countless accidents, unrepeatable coincidences, disparate forces unpredictably interfering with each other. Apart from commonsense platitudes, we cannot acquire from historical studies any useful rules of conduct that would be applicable in new situations. A politician—to take a Machiavellian example—does not need to study the vicissitudes of Roman emperors to discover that he may not rely on the unconditional loyalty of people he has promoted. And that lost wars are likely to provoke domestic upheavals can be learned without immersing oneself in the chronicles of modern Russia.

To derive from such observations a general principle to the effect that "we do not learn from history" implies, however, that historical knowledge would be useful only if it provided us with a technical guidance to be subsequently applied in governing, in vying for power, in warfare—like consulting a manual to repair a broken vacuum cleaner. Since historical studies are demonstrably futile in this sense, they are worthless *tout court*. This manipulative, technical approach to the past is a natural consequence of the general rationalist view of life that may prove ruinous to our civilization.

We learn history not to know how to behave or how to succeed but to know who we are. What matters is not the scope of our learning. From a good historical film about Richard III, say, I can learn more than I have ever known on the subject and with reasonable accuracy furthermore. But I know this as a matter of amusement, and my newly acquired knowledge in terms of my mental life does not differ from the knowledge I gain from a purely fictitious thriller. Educated and uneducated people in preindustrial societies, whose historical learning was very meager, were perhaps more historical in the sense I have in mind than we are. The historical tradition in which they lived was woven of myths, legends, and orally transmitted stories of which the material accuracy more often than not was dubious. Still, it was good enough to give them the feeling of life within a continuous religious, national, or tribal community—to provide them the kind of identity that made life ordered or meaningful. In this sense, it was living, and it taught people why and for what they were responsible, as well as how this responsibility was to be practically taken up.

It would be difficult, on the other hand, to refute the objection that history conceived not as an object of scientific inquiry, a mundane knowledge, but as an imperative force tying people together by the awareness of common destiny and common responsibilities is bound to be mythological, unquestionable, and immune to rational scrutiny. Moreover, historical myths have usually confined their power to tribal or national entities, and universal history—either as a framework for our mental life or as reality—has only begun to emerge. What comes closest to all-encompassing, meaning-generating social memory has been the myths of universal religions, none of which, however, has yet proved capable of becoming truly universal. Buddha and Jesus certainly provided mankind with the memory of events of universal significance, not restricted to any tribal perception. Even the powerful radiation of those events,

however, has broken the resistance of tribal self-containment only to a small extent. And while historical self-understanding has the virtue of giving a sense to a particular community, it has the vice of dividing the human race as a whole.

I realize that this might sound like old reactionary prattle. It is old. It was not new when Georges Sorel taunted the utopian dreamers who, ignorant of historical realities, were building in imagination their world of perfection. It was not new when Dostoyevski scoffed at the apostles of progress who hated history because they hated life itself. It was not even new when Burke argued (in part against Thomas Paine) that all legitimate social contracts involve past generations and that we are responsible for the past. But I do not believe that whoever is interested in and worries about the spiritual fragility of young people can deny that the erosion of a historically defined sense of belonging plays havoc in their lives and threatens their ability to withstand the trials of the future.

We have reason to worry about the decline of historical awareness in a more specific and politically pertinent sense. A manipulative and rationalist (as distinct from rational) approach to historical knowledge is an organic part of the general belief that the potential of social technology is unlimited—in other words, that the society is in principle as malleable as any material, that step by step we can eliminate chance from historical processes as efficiently as we eliminate it from our machines and that, if we are clever and benevolent enough, we can, by employing those technological skills, produce a society without evil and hostilities, scarcity and suffering, frustration and failures. Once we let ourselves be convinced that the past is pointless because it fails to provide us with reliable prescriptions for solving specific current problems, we fall into a paradoxical trap. On the one hand, by losing the clear awareness of the continuity of culture and thus losing the historical frame of reference for our issues, we lose the ground on which those issues can be properly stated at all. On the other hand, we easily imagine that the past—ignored or reduced to nothingness—is not a real obstacle to our dreams of perfection, that political technique, properly improved, can reach the point of near-omnipotence and that all human worries are solvable by political means. To expect that chance can be removed from social processes—for example, that history can simply be canceled—is a deadly illusion. To believe that human brotherhood is a political problem amounts to imitating the Saint-Simonists of old who designed special jackets, which buttoned from the back so that nobody could dress or undress himself without the help of others. This was supposed to promote universal fraternity. It is reasonable to hope that various forms of human suffering can be fought against successfully—that hunger can be overcome and some diseases made curable. To imagine, however, that scarcity as such, scarcity *tout court*, will be eradicated is to defy all historical experience, because scarcity is defined by wants and human wants grow indefinitely. In all those hopes, we perceive the same spirit of idolatry.

There are no *laws of history*, but there are layers of reality—climatic, demographic, technical, econom-

ic, psychological and intellectual —that change and move at a different pace, combining their energies in an irregular way, surprising us time and again with unexpected extravagance and caprice. Historical knowledge cannot prevent those surprises from occurring. It gives no clues for predicting the unpredictable, but it can at least protect us against foolish hopes and reveal the limits of our efforts, limits defined by physical and cultural invariants, by permanent aspects of human nature and of the larger nature, and by the burden of tradition. The conditions of political competition are so exacting that professional politicians and statesmen have no time or energy for disinterested study, and to succeed they usually have to start early in life; they necessarily restrict their knowledge to what is useful and relevant to their day-to-day preoccupations and cannot afford to keep the distance from current events that a larger historical perspective might help them acquire. Those few politicians of the last decades who were on more intimate terms with the historical past (for example, de Gaulle and Churchill) were not protected against making blunders; but if their influence was more profound and longer-lasting, this was due perhaps to their constant awareness of living within and being limited by a continuous historical stream.

In all three areas in which, as I have tried to point out, the ambiguities of our cultural heritage matured into immobilizing self-contradictions, we regrettably cannot be comforted by hope of discovering a well-balanced *juste milieu.* The belief or disbelief in absolute values is often offered to us as a choice between fanatical intransigence and nihilistic indifference. To assert or dismiss the intrinsic and irreducible value of personal life might easily mean either simply to reject the idea of distributive justice or yield to the totalitarian temptation—that is, to accept either the unacceptable side of liberalism or the unacceptable side of collectivism. To experience the historical dimension of our life as a source of meaning or to deny the validity of this experience amounts often either to going back to the inert romantic worship of a mythological past or to decreeing that history as such is irrelevant and thus demolishing all nonutilitarian grounds of communal life. To state that one is "in between" those options or that one has reconciled them in a synthetic view is most easy in general terms and most difficult when the detailed choices have to be made. One is rather tempted to locate oneself on two irreconcilable extremes simultaneously.

In political decisions and attitudes, people can appeal to the divine law, to the natural law and the theory of social contract, or to the feeling of historical continuity of which they are agents even if they revolt against it. It appears that we are about to lose all three of those reference points; we thus either reduce politics to the technical rules of success, try to dissolve our existence in a mindless and fanatical devotion of one kind or another, or we escape from life into drugs and other self-stunning devices. I believe that we can be cured, but not painlessly.

An objection might be raised that what I have said could well borrow the title from the famous treatise of Abelard: *Sic et Non.* I should find it difficult to rebut this charge except by saying that *'Sic et Non'* is a suitable title for most of the stuff our mind is made of.■

The Politics of Envy

Gonzalo F. de la Mora

ORIGIN OF THE DIVISION

The political class, due to the unity of sovereign power and the relative scarcity of its delegations and participations, subdivides always into the two sectors of those who strive to continue holding the reins of power and enjoying the perquisites and those who aspire to replace them. To achieve their respective ends, both sides make use of the following three resources: power, technical capability, and popular support. Power is illegitimate pressure on people and ranges from threats to revolution, including at times the abuse of power. Technical capability is the guarantee of administrative efficacy, particularly in the economic and juridical areas. Popular support is tacit when there is a consensus and there is no resistance, and it is expressed in the streets or in elections. The greater the popular support, the more deeply governments intervene in the lives of the people—which is what has been happening in the West since the end of the eighteenth century. This outcome was not directed by

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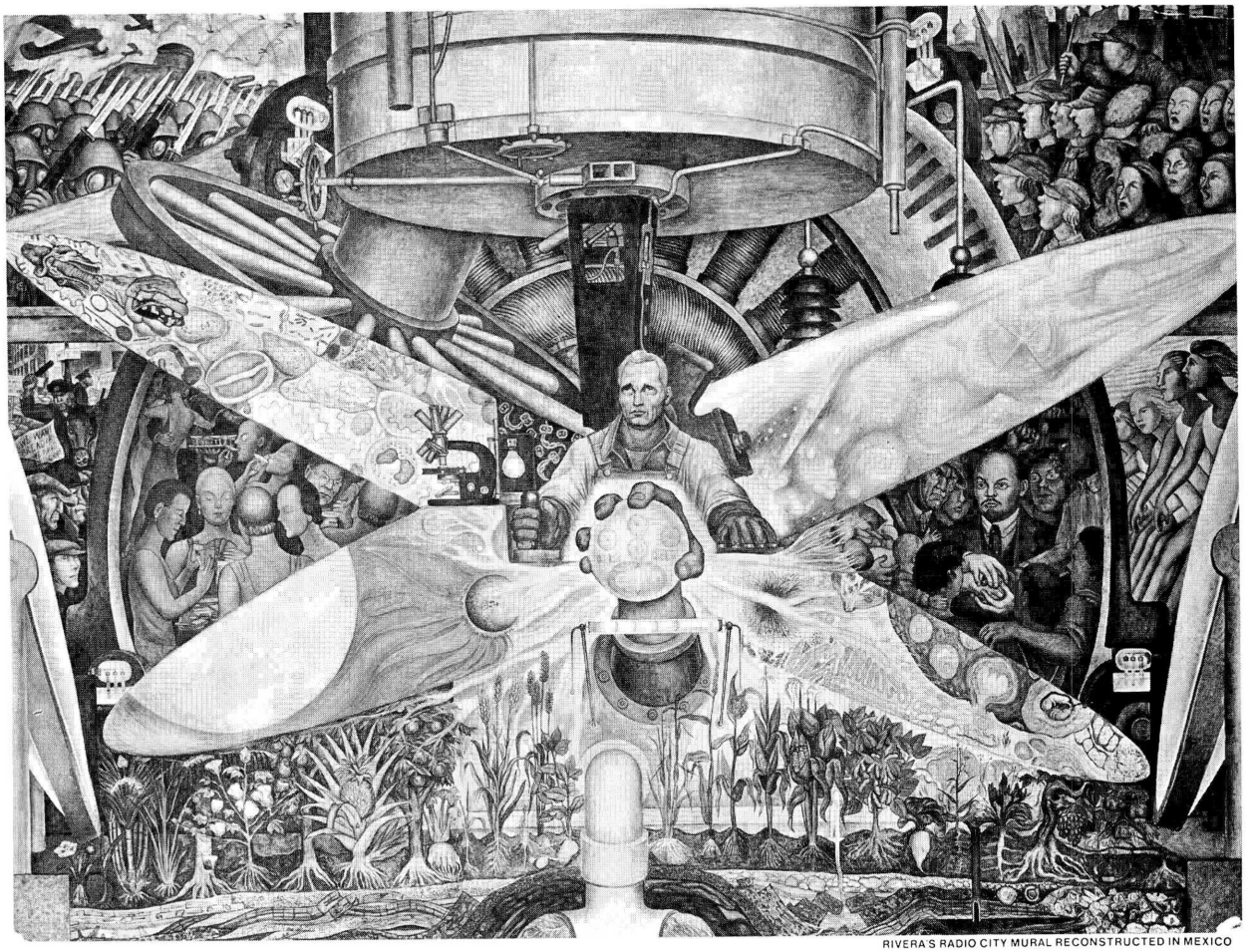

WOLFE/FPG

RIVERA'S RADIO CITY MURAL RECONSTRUCTED IN MEXICO

the masses, but rather by the bourgeoisie, a political class that replaced the hereditary monarchy and the blood aristocracy.

It is an intrinsic need that the governing minority be divided. But why should the governed be divided? This is a radical question not often formulated —as if it concerned an obvious fact, which it does not. The normal procedure is for the population to form a common front with active or passive resistance against tyranny, and constantly but moderately to demand greater order, justice, or more development when an administration is reasonably receptive. Solidarity is a spontaneous and logical outcome in every specific group, as may be seen from sociobiological studies of animals.

The governed are not political enemies by nature of the political fact; they are so rather because the political class tries with great effort to divide them. The motive is clear; if the governing minority is fragmented, and if the various factions aim for popular support, they will forcibly round up the masses into opposing camps. It is not the case that a few bees want to leave the beehive, but rather that every queen requires her own swarm. If those who govern did not systematically use popular support, there would be little support for demagogues—no parties of the masses. The elite—the more so the less powerful they are—divide societies in order to govern. Let us reconstruct this process.

The limiting hypothesis is that of separatism. A region separates from the main land to satisfy some prince's ambi-

tion for power or that of some minority who created the national or independent consciousness in the first place. But here we are dealing with divisions within the State itself. Within any political system, those who govern remain more easily in power if the governed are divided among themselves. Within a democratic system, those who aspire to power need a fraction that is the most powerful and largest to back them up. The political parties of the masses are not formed from below but shaped from above; it is the political class that baptizes them, programs them, structures them, finances them, and uses them. With the exception of testimonial parties, the criterion for dividing the governed is to draw an imaginary line that puts on one side those usually called "privileged" and that others consider "the best"; opposite them, on the other side, are those often called "the people" who are considered less capable. The goal of parties is to convince the largest number that they are of "the people"; the goal of other parties is to persuade them that their interests are represented by "the best." Though it may sound cynical, the truth of the matter is that the number of "the people" present to vote is more the outcome of propaganda than of the social reality. These distinctions, like those homologous to them of the Right and the Left, though they have a foundation in reality, are relative and inaccurate.

The class struggle, as the fight between the "bourgeoisie" and the "proletariat" is known today, is basically another invention of the political class. This class is the one that moment by moment defines the shifting limits of those supposed classes, indoctrinates them about their supposed interests, measures the intensity and place of their confrontations, and in the end also encourages the shift from one political party to another. The common means employed for promoting the union of the larger numbers ("the people," "the mob," depending on the observer) and their confrontation with the smaller numbers ("the privileged" or "the best," depending on the perspective) is collective envy.

Why appeal to deleterious envy rather than to creative emulation? For the reason that emulation does not accent the division, and division is what interests the polarized political class. Emulation distributes energy along the whole group and does not promote the formation of incompatible factions. How does one divide into two or more groups that mutually exclude each other those who have participated in a marathon or a javelin competition? This is an impossible task, for emulation joins without discrimination, without exceptions. An ordered competition that determines a gradation within a hierarchy that runs from the winner to the last competitor homogenizes all the participants and flows into a continuous list with no breaks. And the same happens when, instead of individuals, we deal with sports teams, since all the players are interchangeable.

Envy, however, confronts the loser with the winner; it distances and divides. But if this is so, how can it be used as a social union? Envy as a bilateral relation is in truth a means of separation, for it opens an abyss between the "I" and the "you," the abyss of the unassimilated, inferior in happiness. Contrary to what happens in emulation, the envious person does not feel any solidarity with the envied about anything. Emulation needs the other, while envy separates the envied from the others, and the envious person

The common means to promote the union of large numbers, "the people," "the mob," is the promotion of collective envy.

progressively isolates himself from his own world. Envy does not inspire rivalry and exemplarity, but incompatibility and loneliness. How can a feeling that constitutes such an antisocial attitude be used as a political adhesive? By establishing an alliance among those who share common envies to carry out negative actions against the envied as their passion dictates. Indirect and divisive actions with indirect effects are devaluation, discredit, and calumny of the envied; and among the open strategies with direct effects are aggression and expropriation.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Demagogues appeal to envy because its universality makes potential victims of all the people and because the invincible inequality of our own personal capabilities and of the irremediable limitation of many social goods makes it inevitable that the majority will feel inferior to certain minorities. The promotion of this envious feeling of inferiority is the dominant political tactic, at least in the present age. The demagogic promotion of envy, as of everything else that refers to this unpublishable feeling, is not carried out in public but under cover. A contemporary disguise of collective envy is what is called "social justice." How does this ideological and derivative argumentation run? A fundamental postulate is established that the more just a society is, the more equal its members are in opportunities, position, and wealth; and immediately it is established that the party will fight without rest to achieve such "justice." The appeal of this axiom and of such a program is evidently unbeatable for the envious, since it promises to abolish the unassimilated inferiority that causes them so much pain. Equality is a paradisiacal promise for the envious, the definitive incentive.

A first consequence of this ad hoc concept of justice is that those in positions of superiority are evil exploiters and those who feel their position is inferior are innocently exploited. This corollary sounds like heavenly music to the envious person who sees his own pain as required for the happiness of others and his resentment therefore as fully justified. Those who *appear* to be the best are really the worst. The second corollary is that the goods of the superior need to be expropriated and distributed among the inferior. The forced dispossession of the superior and able and the subsequent enrichment of the failures and impotents would fulfill the supreme ambition of the envious. And even though in practice one's own promotion is not achieved, it is possible to attempt and at times it may be possible to achieve what is truly essential to envy—the humbling of the envied.

The call to crusades against the superiority of others, as, for example, by Marxists, has a large following not because the envious and the resentful are a majority but because potentially they may become so, and thus egalitarian ideologies continue to promote such emotions. If, in addition, inequality is emphasized, if it is called arbitrary and even unlawful, if a gratuitous redistribution is promised, if the guilty conscience of the envious is dissolved into collective irresponsibility—the party or the class, and if it is made to appear that all this rests on a moral foundation, it is obvious that the number of the envious will not only multiply but their envy will intensify. Egalitarianism is the opiate of the envious, and demagogues are the interested distributors of its massive consumption.

This is how envy has become the decisive factor in contemporary political confrontations with rare exceptions, as for example in the United States of America, where emulation

has surpassed envy. If this factor were removed, history since the Revolution of 1789 would become unintelligible, and even more so since the Communist Manifesto of 1848.

According to Hayek, "social justice rests on the hate towards those that enjoy a comfortable position, namely, upon envy." This stark thesis needs to be understood within the context of his most daring book, *The Mirage of Social Justice* (1976). The expression 'social justice' starts, according to this great liberal thinker, by being a redundancy since justice is found only in and for society. Besides, it is a notion that lacks a rigorous meaning, since no one has been able to determine, except in the marketplace, what would be the absolutely just distribution of the patrimony and income in a mass society. Only personal behavior may be judged ethically, according to Hayek. The net result of competing economic forces will always be more satisfactory to some than to others; but this is neither just nor unjust. To try to measure the morality of the market is like measuring the morality of chance or of a stone. Finally, the realization of what is called "social justice" requires economic planning and delegation to the public powers of the authority to assign work, rewards, and salaries to every citizen. Within a totalitarian system, this monopoly is equivalent to the tyranny of only one party; and within a democracy, it implies the tyranny of the majority, for in order to please its electoral clientele, it must expropriate the minorities. This is how theoretical social justice may turn out as effective inequity.

This analysis by Hayek is largely accurate. It is obvious that the theory of social justice has not gone beyond declaring some ambiguities such as "the elimination of excessive inequities," "the suppression of privileges," "redistribution," "let those who have more pay," and so on. But with the exception of the utopian egalitarians who claimed an impossible equal quota for each citizen, no one has been able to bring forward satisfactory formulations. What, after all, is the universally just salary? What is the just personal capital? What is the just participation of the private sector? What is the just amount of taxation? These are some of the basic questions never answered. It is evident that any planned and coercive distribution of social goods entails the suppression or adulteration of the marketplace, which will force the market to strain and function incoherently and in jumps. It is also true that interventionism leads to increasing controls and therefore to the progressive elimination of private initiative, and actual liberties end up being destroyed by totalitarian models. Furthermore, so-called social justice promotes inequities and is despotic in socialist governments, while it is biased in favor of the party and expropriates in social democratic governments. It is, therefore, a poorly structured justice, one that is ineffective, antiliberal, and dubitably just. It is remarkable that in our time people take as unshakable such an extraordinarily problematic idea.

It is not possible to hold, in the realm of essences, that social justice is simply a manifestation of envy. Whoever acts justly must give to each his own. In this sense, the distributive dimension of justice has a rational and not a sentimental foundation. But what such political parties as the Marxists usually call "social justice" is the policy of inspiring the less productive to demand that the State carry out

A very contemporary disguise of collective envy is what is called "social justice."

transfers of goods by expropriating those who produce more, humbling the superior to satisfy the inferior. This maneuver is no doubt a political use of envy. The generalization of such a practice very often makes it possible for the topic of social justice to become the pharisaic institutionalization of collective envy or a tacit concession to placate it.

Justice is the adjudication of social goods in proportion to the returns of each member of the community. Egalitarian distribution without regard for individual merits and demerits is inequity rather than justice.

IDEOLOGICAL CORRELATION

The more developed a society is, the less ideological its politics is, for in such a society collective problems are objectively stated and they are solved not with emotional and simplistic recipes (ideologies) but with rational and technical procedures. In those States, however, where an appeal goes periodically to voters to pronounce themselves through votes in favor of one of the two or more competing party oligarchies, the voters need to be mobilized. But the masses are not moved with detailed and rigorous programs, since their rational capacity for discernment is very limited; they are mobilized with simple mental images that function as substitutes for classical ideologies. These elemental motivations, closer to publicity slogans than to exact definitions, are made up mostly of the image of a leader, recipes of general economic interest, and some primitive emotion. Among the latter, envy is, after nationalism, the most important.

It may be said that in general the members of the political class are as envious as the society to which they belong; Spanish people are more so than Germans, and Germans more so than Americans, for example. But the question here is to determine whether there is any correlation between ideologies and the use of envy for politics. Classical liberalism and socialism, the two fundamental ideologies in the transition between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, have continued to develop and become more diffused, though they have managed to keep their names so that people may refer to them. Their twilight ambiguity has reached the point where they no longer serve as the coordinates of supranational reference. The political pundits have fallen back on an older and broader dichotomy, the "Right" and the "Left." These terms, despite their relative imprecision, correspond to the two large alternatives of our time: a society with private economy or a society with public economy.

Do the Right and the Left behave differently regarding envy? The leaders of the political Right show less solidarity and are less unified than those of the Left. In the books of memoirs by politicians on the Right, those who receive the heaviest censure are not their adversaries but fellow rightists. A member of the Right who converts into a traveling companion of the Left is encountered more frequently than the opposite. This type of behavior is in part a consequence of a larger measure of individualism and pride; but in the main the leaders of the Right are more envied than those of the Left. This is because the elitist mechanisms of the Right are more closed and fewer in number than those of the Left, and envy flourishes more within rightist groups—which is the supreme weakness of the Right.

On the other hand, when leaders of the Right try to stimulate collective emotions, they do not appeal to the envious for a practical reason: The majority of the voters of the Right regard themselves as belonging to the camp of the envied. Also for a theoret-

ical reason: The Right always regards collective envy as negative. On the other hand, envy is the main effective ingredient of all motivations the leaders of the Left distribute to their infrastructures. "Make the *privileged* pay" is the main slogan; the egalitarian topic is reduced to just that. This strategy has the advantage, among others, that it is not as difficult as creating wealth or jobs, but it translates rather into the simplicity of raising the taxes of the most capable and of those who work with the greatest productivity. To punish the best is always more feasible than to produce the best. The easiest electoral promise to fulfill is to satisfy the envious by punishing the envied.

It is paradoxical that the political sector that suffers less internal envy than others appeals systematically to envy as a political motivation, while the party oligarchy that prescribes social envy is the one that suffers more internally on account of envy.

Conservatism and revolutionism are two styles or dispositions that in certain historical moments may become doctrine; but they are basically two methods for solving political problems. The conservative method consists in perfecting the human circumstance without destroying what is valuable; this is a realistic prudential progression. The revolutionary method consists in eliminating what exists and replacing it with something new—supposedly the best; this is an idealistic, bold, and substitutional operation. Is there any relation between envy and these two opposing ways of tackling the *res publica*?

Envy produces dissatisfaction both in the one who suffers it and in the one who inspires it; it is therefore twice negative from the point of view of knowledge. It also insulates, in that it separates the envious from the envied and even stimulates the latter to physical seclusion; it is, then, also from the social point of view, twice negative. It even induces the envied to inactivity, and causes the envious to degrade and at times annihilate the envied. From one side it inhibits and from the other it isolates; from the point of view of action, it is doubly negative.

This plural negativism of envy makes it a useful instrument for those who plan demolishing acts, and this is even more the case with the revolutionaries' act, for this is their only definite act; the second act, the constructive act, they seldom accomplish. Our logical and historical analysis makes it evident that envy is the typical resort of revolutionaries, while it is almost inconceivable that conservatism, whose method rejects pure and simple destruction, would resort to it. The conservative style is totally opposed to envy; conservatism counts on emulation, competition with others, and ultimately on creativity.

EGALITARIANISM AND ORTHODOXY

Organized envy crystallizes usually into egalitarian norms whose origin is found not in custom but in government. This is a kind of uniformity from above: egalitarianism through coercion, either ideological, economic, or social. These three facets are complementary and Marxist-Leninist doctrine proclaims a utopia based on this triple equalization: that all think alike, that all belong to one class only, and that all share a similar patrimony. Ideological egalitarianism requires a supreme definitory urging, an education, the means of communication to the masses that are centralized and directed, and an implacable censure

for whatever is not the official ideology. This in short is cultural dictatorship, the ultimate weapon of egalitarianism. The envious find within this system a firm protection against originality, against free intellectual exchange, and against noetic superiority. Power alone is allowed to think; the rest can only be simple reformulators or applicators shaped by the same mold. To distinguish oneself is to fall into heterodoxy. For this reason, any thinker worthy of the name has been labeled within Marxism "deviationist." Even within democracies, there are certain dogmas that allow the labeling of those who disagree as "maladjusted." The envy of the intellectually mediocre establishes a canon so that it may denounce and condemn the independent thinker. The unity of the envious imposes an "orthodoxy" that not only frees them from the effort to create and makes it easy to overlook the absence of creativity but forces those who were formerly privileged and envied to an agreement, so that they may come to some pronouncement like the following: "Do not envy me; I am not different, I am equal to you, I believe your catechism is true, and I condemn to moral exile all those that are not members of this club." In this manner, "the privileged" have apologized for being outstanding and have promised to change their ways. This ruse neutralizes the envy of the establishment and allows free access to the communication media and to the budgets. "Either the syndicate of orthodoxy or the ghetto" constitutes the dilemma that summarizes the tactic of the most refined manifestation of collective envy.

But this is not the solution. Within the same league of the envious, and apart from their coming together to debase the envied, there are other unsurpassable inferiorities and other deep envies that resemble the *odium*

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MURAL BY SIQUEIRO

that people say exists in a convent. Envy is incurable.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Nietzsche wrote that a country is the roundabout way (*Umschweife*) Nature takes to arrive at a few great men. I think it is true that the highest function of the group is to give birth to excellent individuals. For this reason, the quality of a society depends on its capacity to produce eminent personalities. A genius gives pride to family, school, and nation; mass-man does not. Contrary to what might be deduced from democratic propositions, the value of a nation in history, from classical Greece to the State of Israel, does not come from its numbers but from its quality. The greatness of a person depends on his genetic structure (health, intellectual capacity, perseverance, etc.), his development (learning habits, etc.), and his public recognition (social promotion and public service). The origin of these three factors is social. The more eugenic a group is, the greater the biological possibilities of selection; and the better education is, the greater the development of the innate aptitudes. It may be said therefore that society is a womb in the biological sense insofar as it gives birth, in the pedagogic sense insofar as it educates, and in the political sense insofar as it exalts. Envy intervenes with increasing negativity in each of these three moments. Envy shunts aside the intelligent, the strong, and the virtuous and does not encourage their reproduction; the isolation of the superior man is anti-eugenic. Scholarly envy towards the best and most studious promotes laziness and loss of interest in studies; egalitarian education delays the best. Social envy, finally, creates impediments to the public recognition of the best, to the promotion and use of their work. The efficacy of envy is greater in society than in school, and greater in school than in a couple; the larger the extension, the greater the negativity. For this reason, social envy has the greatest destructive capability.

In summary, the more envy there is, the less the collective capacity to generate great men and the less the sociobiological quality of the group. The self-punishing character of this passion is evident even on a communitarian scale. The more envious a nation is, the smaller the number of eminent individuals, and therefore the less apt to create, to advance, and lead in history. The crisis of the governing minorities in Europe in the second half of this century and its consequent decadence are the result of the progression of social envy due to the work of egalitarian ideologies.

We must bear in mind another correlation: The importance of those three factors becomes more relevant with the degree of cultural evolution. Pushing the best aside is very difficult in small groups, and natural selection has many opportunities. On the other hand, the larger and more complex the group, the greater the lack of communication resulting from envy and the greater the number of possibilities for exiling and ostracizing. In primitive societies, the amount of cultural patrimony transmitted was very limited, and, with the exception of magical esotericism, there was small difference in knowledge. As the fields of knowledge increased, education became imperative in the process of hierarchical creation or egalitarian envy. And, finally, genius is spontaneously acknowledged in primitive groups and is used immediately; on the other hand, the promotion of mediocrities and the

At least in the present age, the promotion of envious feelings of inferiority is the dominant political tactic.

humiliation of the eminent is made possible in more evolved societies by an envious technology geared to publicity, not the public. This makes it possible to conclude that, as a nation becomes modern and civilized, the negativity of envy becomes stronger and its sociobiological danger is intensified. Envy canceled fewer great men in Europe in the sixteenth century than in the twentieth, and one of the reasons America has become so powerful is that it has been able to instill a morality of emulation that neutralizes the growing possibilities of envy.

THE ROLE OF THE MINORITIES

The direction and rhythm of human progress do not depend on the masses, even when they add up to hundreds of millions; they depend on superior minorities. The great historical jumps, like those of classical Greece, Christianity, the Renaissance, the French Revolution, or the Industrial Revolution are due to a few and not to the masses. The same happens with great national progress, including such contemporary instances as the Meiji revolution of Sun Yat-sen in China.

We have archetypal examples in Spain. The caliphate of Córdoba reached its zenith with Almanzor —Ibn Abi Amir—and a few years after the death of this leader the empire became fragmented into a large number of decadent kingdoms. The people were the same; only the leaders were different. Toward the end of the reign of Enrique IV, Spain found itself at the lowest point of its history: anarchy, poverty, corruption, discredit of kingship. Only two years after his death, Isabel and Fernando (Isabella and Ferdinand) brought peace to Castille. By 1479, they had already achieved national unity, and in 1480 the Parliament of Toledo institutionalized the first modern State. Within those fifteen years, the citizens remained the same, only the leaders changed. Instead of corrupt cliques, there was a selection of the capable. A kingdom that came tumbling down in 1474 was by 1480 a great monarchy that brought an end to the reconquest of Spain and discovered America.

Why? For the simple reason that, since the appearance on this earth of *homo sapiens*, the supreme stimulus to progress has been the ability to use reason, and those who embody it more perfectly are the creative minorities. All men are rational; but only a few use reason with a high degree of innovative efficacy. If progress depends on the best use of superior intelligence, it is obvious that one of the main goals of any form of social organization is the promotion of the highly gifted, placing them at leadership levels within the selection and hierarchical distribution of the members of the community. One of the primary objectives of the State is to organize the work of citizens so that each one's capacities may be put to the best use. How can such an important goal be accomplished?

HIERARCHICAL ORDERING BY THE STATE

The social development of the group demands a simultaneous division and specialization of labor. Little by little, warriors, farmers, craftsmen, and merchants stand out. Each task allows for more and more specialized subdivisions. But within each task, masters and disciples soon appear; and among those, the excellent, the mediocre, and the deficient.

The modern State has not been a simple spectator in this process of specialization and hierarchical ordering but has assumed the role of referee. Education is the first field of hierarchical ordering. The State grants scholarly and academic degrees and in this manner orders hierarchically the graduates according to their degrees.

It is the State that establishes the hierarchy of degrees: Doctor, Master, Bachelor, high school diploma, etc. In fact, the difficulty of the tests required establishes a hierarchy of degrees. The teaching institutions establish another hierarchy; degrees from one university are considered higher than the same degrees from another. At times, it is the State that opens centers for the formation of elites, like the famous École Normal at Paris, which in fact creates a higher caste of Frenchmen, the "*normaliens*." National education is not only a pedagogical institution; it is also an institution that establishes hierarchies.

Public administration is another form of hierarchical ordering. The State classifies its civil servants into superior, intermediary, and subordinate. Within each body, categories are created, and within each category seniority and merit are acknowledged. Promotions and *curricula vitae* are signs of a hierarchical order within the structure of the State. Even the protocol for admission obeys hierarchical laws. Higher degrees and greater knowledge are needed for higher positions, and there are lists compiled as a result of tests with a number one at the top followed by all the others. The mechanism for promotions is also hierarchical. The scales go from corporal to captain to general, and so on. Political appointments have also a hierarchical scale: minister, secretary of state, undersecretary, director general, and so on. Salaries are fixed according to the position held.

The State has promoted hierarchies in the private sector through the granting of nobility titles, decorations, and other types of distinctive honors. The State grants rewards and administers punishment: Medals are a merit, penal records are a demerit. The State also grants prizes periodically in the sciences of nature, the spirit, and in the arts, and by distributing subsidies to universities, foundations, and cultural organizations promotes further hierarchies. The State, through positive norms, bestows authority in the family and in the workplace and establishes incentives, exemptions, and a large number of other means to promote individual effort and the subsequent social hierarchical ordering.

This hierarchical function of the State is primordial and most essential. Why? For two reasons. One is factual and immanent, and this is physical necessity; the other is ethical and transcendental, and this is justice.

The first reason is obvious. The fact of division of labor and unequal capacities implies certain hierarchies that the State may rationalize, radicalize, reduce, or invert, but never cancel. Human society—as well as animal society—is constitutively hierarchical, and the State must start from this radical fact.

The second justification is transcendental. Living together requires norms and the State is the instrument capable of dictating and imposing them. This is the primary reason for the existence of political power. But norms cannot be created by the sheer arbitrariness of the legislator; they must be just. There is no State without law, and law is a reference to justice, the ought of action. The ultimate foundation of justice is not a question for clarification at this point. In any event, one of the essential dimensions of any conception of justice—to give everyone what is his according to his merits—is the distributive justice of goods and positions. It is an essential imperative of government to distribute citizens

The envious is radically antihierarchical, and as Mme. de Staël wrote, "prefer the equality of hell to the gradation of heaven."

hierarchically with justice.

This hierarchical function of the State is not, therefore, the outcome of chance. It is not even the happy invention of government or of legislation; it is an imperative derived from the nature of society and the idea of justice itself. It is conceivable that a State might hierarchically order its citizens with inequity; but it is inconceivable that a State would renounce this hierarchical function of ordering. One of the essential notes of the State is this hierarchical ordering of its citizens.

Within Hegelian thought, it would be the monopoly of the State to establish such hierarchies; from the viewpoint of a rational realism, the conclusion would be otherwise. The State may establish hierarchies through an arbitrary decision, independently of the objective qualifications of candidates. Such an action may have a transitory efficacy but be deficient, for the reason that it grants a power —*potestas*—that lacks the corresponding authority—*auctoritas*; it is pure coercion. This phenomenon is not exclusive of certain constitutional models. Nepotism is found in absolutist systems. Within democratic systems, the most frequent outcome is inequity in the distribution of and access to hierarchies and public funds by the members of the party.

Within the ethics of natural law, the legislator does not introduce law out of nothing; his function is limited to adapting the preexisting natural law to every positive norm. For this reason, certain dispositions are unjust. In such a context, the different codes are temporal actualizations of permanent potentialities. Something analogous happens with the hierarchical function of the State, except that in this case the whole process takes place on an existential plane. What is already an anterior reality—the special capabilities of some citizens—should be juridically acknowledged and protected.

Human hierarchies stem from innate aptitudes, depending on the phenotypical scheme of the individual; thus society makes it possible with its educative means for the individual to develop those aptitudes by his own effort. Heredity, the environment, and the will are the causes for the unequal capacities among people. The hierarchical function of the State is prior and conditioning insofar as it stimulates the dynamism of social differences; but it is posterior and subordinate insofar as it acknowledges these aptitudes, makes available the means to practice them, grants the deserved power, and increases, maintains, or reduces it as the objective capacity increases, maintains itself, or diminishes.

The State defines justice but does not create it; nor is the State the only cause for social stratification. The hierarchical function of the State is not so much to create as to promote, acknowledge, and guarantee justice.

THE FUNCTION AND DIVISION OF POWERS

The true inventor of the doctrinal scheme founding the "demo-liberal" State was John Locke, and he is also the author of the division of power. His theory, as completed and developed later, became crystallized as the famous trichotomy: the legislative, the executive, and the judicial powers. An objection of principle has been raised against it: Sovereignty and political power in its pure form is one and indivisible. And other factual objections have also been raised. There are also other powers, like the moderating power of a king or a president, the constitutive power of a constitutional tribunal or assembly, or the administrative power of the bureaucracy. A final pragmatic objection has also been raised: The theory is impossible to bring about since at times the legisla-

tive branch executes (when it gives its vote of confidence to the cabinet) and the executive branch legislates (when it dictates decrees of general application).

The trinitarian doctrine of the division of powers is untenable both at the conceptual level and at the level of facts, as happens with the majority of the postulates that serve as foundation for the social model of Locke and his epigone Rousseau. For this reason, the trinity of powers had to be substituted for the doctrine of the division of "functions" of the State and the distribution of those powers to certain branches. This distribution, coming in the shape of innumerable constitutional forms, tends to control despotism and guard some of the liberties of the people. It is not an exact theory, but a fluid legal resource that may be adaptable to presidentialism though not to parliamentarism, and that works respectably well at times though at others it does not. The ideologues of inorganic democracy point out the intrinsic virtues of the triple division of powers, not realizing that their model tends to serve rules of the party, a party-rule, and that the oligarchy of the majority party controls the chief of state, the parliament, and the government, and, depending on the organic structure of the magistracy, may also influence the constitutional tribunal and even the normal dispensation of justice. "Party rule," which *de iure* goes back to the classic theory of the division of powers as an untouchable dogma, *de facto* contradicts that theory's claims—at times as much as an absolute monarchy. The leader of the majority party performs the moderating function of controlling the legislative, the executive, and part of the judicial branches even though this is done through distinct agents.

The division of the functions of the State and their distribution into several branches brings in the obvious technical advantage of a division of labor and of specialization; it allows also for the independence of the judges who may take recourse against the administration, check the interference of sectarian politics against the citizens, and come closer to the sovereignty of the law or of the Law of the State. This is an ethical advantage. This was an ideal not envisioned by Locke and has not only not been fully realized but is constantly threatened by the despotism of the majority parties. This is the archetypal case of the so-called popular democracies.

The hierarchical function of the State is not still another function to be added to the constitutive, moderating, political, administrative, legislative, and judicial; it is rather a common quality of the activity that is the State. When a constitution is written down, a hierarchy of organs and norms is established. When the different activities of the several institutions are moderated, then questions of competence are not considered, as when political decisions are made to give promotions to some over others and goods are transferred to them; when administrative dossiers are resolved and some are more favored than others; when it is legislated and some receive rewards and punishments greater than others; and when sentence is passed on a case and some are granted a subjective right that others are denied. The hierarchical function is not one of more power; it is a transcendental property of every act of the State. It is an inherent aspect of the exercise of power.

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DEATH TO CAPITAL BY DENI

JUST HIERARCHICAL DISTRIBUTION

The hierarchical distribution is in part the work of the society and in part the work of the State. Hierarchical distribution by society, like the fame of a doctor, happens slowly, spontaneously, and at times hazardously. But the hierarchical distribution of the State, like the appointment of an ambassador, may be immediate, voluntary, and with a purpose; thus it may be more susceptible to rationalization and ethical evaluation. It is dealt with below.

A hierarchy is just if it corresponds to merit. The ideal position of each citizen from the standpoint of the State would be that which renders maximum social benefit. The optimal use of human resources should end up as a meritocracy. Such an ideal hierarchical distribution by the State requires certain objective criteria for measuring individual capacities, a functional determination of work in the several branches, and a corresponding reflection of these in the different echelons.

The distribution of human resources that the public administration needs is not usually done with economic criteria that lead to bureaucratic parasitism, low productivity, and unjust taxation. We are not dealing here with the formal acceptance of a timetable but of real necessities. Public administration, in general, tends towards parasitism and gigantism. In order to determine the number of employees, the State must come up, as private enterprise does, with strict functional criteria, rather than with criteria that are inflational or charitable. The exceptional public offers of work during periods of unemployment are no more than a cover-up of the problem, with the added serious dangers of mortgaging the future of the budget and closing the door to future generations.

Given certain needs, we must proceed to the selection of adequate personnel. The more just procedure is public competition with equal opportunity for all and with objective and invariable criteria of evaluation applied by tribunals that are capable and independent. Given the limited number of employees and the different echelons, the adjudication of positions must follow objective criteria of merit only.

Deviations from this hierarchical function of the State result in partial evaluations, imbalance between capacities and jobs, and arbitrariness in promotions and compensations. The main motivation for this deviation is not corruption or even nepotism; it is political favoritism. Public offices are no longer for sale, but very often they are adjudicated to the "nearest one." There exists, no doubt, family or effective proximity; but the greatest danger to a just hierarchization is the political proximity of the fellow believer.

PARTY RULE AND SELECTIVITY

A State made out of parties and party rule is the form that, after two hundred years of degenerative evolution, representative inorganic democracy takes. The actual power within such a model does not belong to the leader, the chambers, the intermediary bodies, or the people, but to the oligarchies of the parties. As I have pointed out on another occasion (*La Partitocracia*, ed. Instituto de Estudios Politicos, Madrid, 1977, pp. 154 *passim*), the main characteristics of party rule are: (1) the disappearance of independent deputies, for the parties control the making and electing of the candidates; (2) the impoverishment of

The egalitarian rulers, after they have destroyed the values of a nation, end up sacralizing an ideology and rebuilding a hierarchy.

the political class, for it must be docile to the leader of the party; (3) a partial robbery within the electorate, for its operative possibilities are reduced to the limits offered by the parties—at times only two; (4) the conversion of the deputy into an instrumental number, since he has to pronounce himself according to the discipline of the group; (5) the devaluation of the legislative chamber as it is controlled by the government of the majority party and reduced to the margins by the extra-parliamentary majority makes it possible to control it or change it; (6) the concentration of the power of the State in the leader of the majority party; (7) in sum, party rule or "partocracy" vacillates between the dictatorship of the oligarchy of one party and an anarchy where there is no majority or coalition among the minorities.

This system works out quite satisfactorily in the United States with the corrective of the presidential veto, in Great Britain with the aristocratic corrective of the House of Lords, in Switzerland with the corrective of the local and regional depoliticization, and so on. But it does not work at all in many other contemporary States. Like any constitutional model, it is neither good nor bad in itself; its efficacy depends on how it is applied to the circumstances of a concrete society at a determined period.

The supreme imperative of all economic activity is the optimization of resources in order to obtain the greatest yield out of the available social capital. This ideal is fulfilled mostly by the extremely complex mechanism of the market. But as Hayek has shown, it is not fulfilled by the intervention of the State and even less by Parliament, for it tends to increase the participation of the public sector in the economy. This leads to certain misappropriations and decreases in social revenues and, because political parties tend to use public funds not for investments that accrue greater economic revenue but that accrue maximum political revenue, it translates into transfers of money to the electoral clientele. Political parties do not establish economic priorities or determine the assignment of resources according to criteria for the national common good, but for the party good—and therefore unjustly. The partocratic selection of the beneficiaries of the budgets of the State is very deficient. And what about the human selection or distribution of echelons within the State's hierarchy?

Political parties perform two types of selections: the political class and public administration, namely—oligarchies of the party and civil servants. The party selects the leading minorities by means of the candidates for election. The system of parliamentary groups of a party demands that its members vote mostly on party lines; the deputies of one group must pronounce themselves according to the norms of the leader. In parliament, the deputies of one party, with the exception of some from the center, are not thinking heads, but rather numbers to form a minority or a majority. It follows that ideological docility is one of the most important qualities to be found in anyone aspiring to a political career, for this is the guarantee that his declarations and vote will follow the party lines of the leader. This submission is almost assured in those without personal opinions, and they make the best candidates, with the most probable discretion and fidelity. But people of this type, who hold the functions of their intellect in suspension and whose main preoccupation is to survive, are usually not the most gifted. This is the main reason the political class selected by the party oligarchy is, with rare exceptions, a class of mediocrities. A quick survey of

contemporary parliaments shows the great extent to which this sociological law is true.

How do parties select civil servants? The natural inclination of political parties is to saturate with fellow believers the ranks of public administration. To this end, when they are in power, they try by legal means to broaden the legal possibilities of the free assignment of State and local employees—not so much those on temporary work, but those on permanent contract. When this is not possible, those in power make use of procedures that achieve the same ends, like the merger of independent bodies, early retirement, the enlargement of the different ranks and posts, the consolidation of those under temporary contract, selective examinations, and, as a last resort, the manipulation of the courts. In this way, even when elections and political power are lost, bureaucracy still remains on the side of the past administration. Meanwhile, members of the party are rewarded with public funds, devotion to the party has grown deeper, and even those who are merely doubting or are opportunists receive stimulus to join. This is a clear case of enlarging one's own political clientele by means of favoritism. This is obviously not a criterion that agrees with the common good or with justice, for it promotes party followers even when they are not capable, with the consequence that the best are pushed aside.

The teaching profession constitutes a special case. The parties inspired by Marxism have adopted the tactic of coming to power not through the massive support of the proletariat but through the cooperation of the so-called intellectuals. It makes little difference that such a tactic contradicts the postulates of historical materialism. Its practical application runs through the controls shaping public opinion, educational institutions, and the means of mass communication. The university is the main center of this activity since it is the "alma mater" of the whole educative process, and the parties try to make it a branch of the State and fill its positions not on the basis of scholarship and knowledge but party affiliation. When these parties feel insecure with respect to their hold on power, they oversaturate the positions with appointments that make departments top-heavy and deny promotions to future generations. In this way, the disciplines become politicized and lose intellectual dignity. Those who rebel against ideological subservience, ordinarily the best, are ostracized or eliminated, and the transmission of culture is left in the hands of the commentators on the party catechism. Objective science thus becomes egalitarian. This is one of the most serious outcomes of the hierarchical function of the State: injustice to the teachers, the students, and the truth. This is the road to the diabolical utopia Orwell described.

Besides the distribution of civil servants, party favoritism works directly and systematically in the selectivity of those higher ranks where decisions are made and thus in the hierarchy of the State. This favoritism is possible even within those bodies that are more strictly controlled by rules, like the military or the legislative branch, and the effects of this policy are the promotion of the less capable and the demoralization of the best. In this manner, certain bodies that were the pride of the State have become broken down. In any case, the result is distributive injustice, a waste of human resources, and the unfulfillment of the

The State's bureaucracy is at the mercy of the whims of those in power.

hierarchical ordering of the State.

ENVY AND INVERSE SELECTIVITY

The envious person does not acknowledge that anyone is more worthy than he is. He is therefore radically antihierarchical, and, as Madame de Staël wrote, prefers the equality of hell to the gradation of heaven. Those parties that recruit voters from among the envious promise egalitarian societies in which the State will not only renounce its function of organizing its citizens according to a hierarchy of merits but will destroy all types of hierarchy. When the oligarchies of those parties gain power, they feel the need to accomplish part of the totality of such a program. The procedures are usually the same.

Equality is easier to achieve by devaluing all the officers rather than by promoting all the soldiers. And what happens with the military is equally applicable to any type of hierarchy. Besides, the suppression of minorities is, because of their smaller numbers, less difficult than the education of the masses. Furthermore, these negative actions have the advantage that they may be realized without producing anything and without exercising any creative effort. For this reason, they are within the reach of the least capable. These technical possibilities are enhanced by the politics of pleasing the massive clientele of the envious. This explains the fact that all egalitarian activities are in the hands of the inferior and are carried out from below by decapitating those on high.

The political parties that choose to break down the State rather than order its hierarchies usually start by dismantling the elitist groups of public administration. Some are suppressed, others are merged with auxiliary branches, or the standards of admission may be lowered or infiltrated by political appointees as leaders or by adding massive promotions of mediocrities. Those who, because of their services, are at the top of the echelons are retired prematurely, purged, or sent into hibernation. Salaries become uniform to make sure that the best do not have economic superiority over the inferior, or the experts over the nonexperts. In this way, the State's bureaucracy loses its definite shape and becomes a shapeless and homogeneous pool where practically everyone is reduced to an interchangeable number. This is the paradise of the envious civil servant.

The next step is to break down the whole society. The radical attack is focused on education; the centers that educate elites must be suppressed and the gifted must be forced to keep a low profile and keep step with the deficient. Then the structures of authority must be made to disappear. The head of the family is accused of paternalism, the president of the company is accused of exploitative ambition, the hardworking or more qualified is accused of being a loner or trying to please management. Everywhere, everyone is encouraged to use uncivil and plebeian manners, including fashion and language. Moral and aesthetic values are denied with the ensuing permissiveness and confusion. And when social rejection occurs, then cynicism takes over: "It was a mistake" or "It will not happen again." But it happens again. The State's means of communication and the official rewards offered are the main instruments of this ethical subversion.

But this is not the end. The triumphant envious person is not satisfied with lowering the best; he must humiliate them by placing them under the supervision of the inferior. The order of the hierarchies is inverted, and so are merit and qualifications. The failed and resentful employee is promoted. Incompatibilities are multiplied so that

he who can do the most remains inactive for the longest time, and the outstanding person returns to the crowd. The most impudent actor is rewarded and so is the most informalist painter, the grossest language user, the most dissolute preacher. The most secret and private becomes the most respectable, and the monstrous becomes normal. What before was considered good is now considered evil, and vice versa. This upheaval of values is the goal of resentment, and rather than being the culmination is the supreme transfiguration of envy. This program is presented, with a sublime hypocrisy, as a "change" or moral renewal.

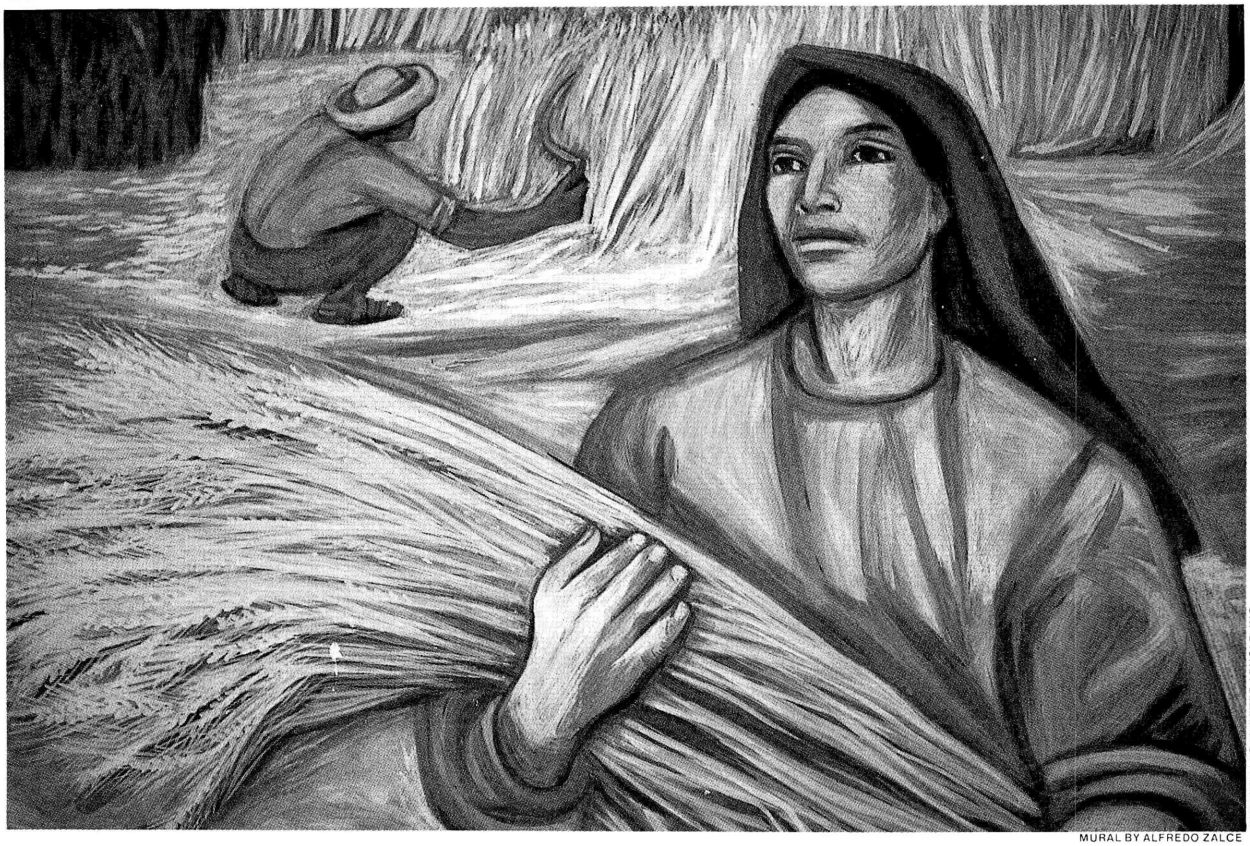
The supreme social crime is that it is the State that performs this inverse selection, for it is contrary to its proper essence. For this reason, such operations are always transitory. The egalitarian rulers, after they have destroyed the values of a nation, end up sacralizing an ideology and rebuilding a hierarchy—the *Nomenklatur*—that is qualitatively inferior to its predecessors, more closed and rigid, and inclined to terror in order not to become the victim of its own egalitarian tactics. The guilty societies feel condemned by nature to pay, for generations, a heavy duty on account of the unconditional surrender to envy and resentment that they exploited to gain power.

FAVORITISM AND MERITOCRACY

The history of public administration is the history of a fight between the tendency of those in power to appoint the civil servant for personal and arbitrary reasons and the rational imperative that selection be made institutionally and on the basis of merit and qualifications. The first method is that of free designation, and it corresponds to a patrimonial conception of the State. The politician feels that the country is his to use, and he exploits it in favor of his relatives, friends, and fellow members of the party, expecting full submission from them as compensation. This is a personal relation between the one in power and the employed: "I appoint you so that you serve me" and "I serve you because you appointed me." This is an arbitrary political contract.

The second procedure is meritocracy or employment regulated by aptitude and according to objective criteria with equal opportunity for others: Impartial referees evaluate the candidates, and promotions and appointments are decided as a function of seniority and rank. This is an institutional relationship: "The law appoints you so that you may serve the community" and "I serve my people because this is my moral and legal duty."

To the degree that public administration becomes more rational, arbitrariness in appointments diminishes and meritocracy increases as do the regulations for promotions. This has been the historical line followed by the States, with some episodic setbacks, regardless of their constitutional model. Rome is an example. A gradation of honors that enforces a hierarchy is established with the appearance of norms, like the laws of Villius (180 B.C.) and Cornelius (80 B.C.). The order of progression is as follows: quaestor, aedile, censor, praetor, and consul. In order to become a quaestor, it was necessary to have been engaged in ten military campaigns and be thirty years old. To become an aedile, one had to be thirty-seven years old, forty to be a praetor, and forty-three to be a consul. The legate or commander of a legion had to have been a senator. To



MURAL BY ALFREDO ZALCE

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become a proconsul, one had to have been a consul. This *cursus honorum,* with variations according to certain periods, was for the Republic as much as for the Empire the spine of Roman administration. In this way, the acquired rights were protected, services rendered were rewarded, nepotism and corruption were controlled, training and experience were used, and the dignity of the institutions was preserved.

The Spanish kings, through a series of controls, progressively limited their discretionary powers. This process of rationalization accelerated when Bravo Murillo, a moderate among moderates, brought out the decree of June 18, 1852. This is how he formulated to Isabel II his motives: "Neither your Majesty nor your Ministers take the power to appoint employees as a right established for your own benefit, but, on the contrary, as a duty difficult to execute that forces you to look for the appropriate persons that are most able to carry out the public charge." This decree established entrance examinations for all employees, with the exception of those who, like judges, the military, diplomats, and professors, already had their own regulations. It also ruled the ranks for promotions. This norm was only partially applied until the cabinet born of the "progressivist" revolution of 1868 overturned the decree and established total arbitrariness: "The Ministers . . . appoint and promote freely the employees of their respective dependencies." The rationalization of the public function continues to be the actual model in use —with exceptions during the Restoration I and the Republic II and by means of the Maura law of June 22, 1918—and finds its culmination with the López-Ródo law. The contemporary history of Spain proves that administration is more effective when it is less arbitrary with its appointments.

The State based on Law substitutes general, permanent norms for politically autonomous will, thereby reducing arbitrariness in the access to public appointments. Since all democratic states claim to prefer the State based on Law, it might seem that there is a necessary correlation between democracy and meritocracy; but this is not the case. Sila's dictatorship was based much more on merit than Republican Rome was; and in Spain the same is true with the Catholic kings with respect to the Republic. We cannot ignore the fact that the dependence of democratic governments on the people forces them to mount their electoral machinery appointing friendly employees at the national, regional, and local levels. Hence the fact that multiple-party democracies are no less inclined to arbitrary methods in hiring practice than absolute monarchies. The process of regulation of the public sector is separable from the constitutional model, and its efficacy is the result of the degree of rationalization of the State.

The rationalization of the State has supposedly reduced bureaucratic party rule to a minimum —the so-called political and temporary posts. Both processes, however, are so common and elastic that they have kept retarding the acclaimed meritocratic process. The number of political appointments increases or decreases differently in different countries. For example, the governors or prefects are professional civil servants in France, while they are not in Spain. Governments that nationalize different economic sectors include, within the roster of political appointments, the leaders of management of public companies; and federal States multiply political appointments in proportion to the autonomous centers they politically hold. Where interventionism increases, the rationalizing tendency to enlarge meritocracy and reduce party rule decreases.

We need to add to all these factors a campaign against the official tests for appointments or promotions. In the case of university chairs or professorships, the system of tests or "oppositions" for selection has certain extreme features that have been caricatured; but is there a just system that is objective and equal for all candidates before a tribunal of peers capable of establishing a hierarchy of aptitudes? If we suppress open and objective tests for access to a public post, regardless of the effort involved in written or oral tests, we fall back into nepotism and cronyism, or even worse, into the politicization of the state's bureaucracy, from judges to admirals and diplomats.

Arbitrariness in appointments hides arbitrariness in promotions, transfers, freezes, and destitutions. One of the most written-about persons of the last century was the "dismissed employee." In nineteenth-century Athens, the employees dismissed as as the result of a government crisis used to gather at "Lamentation Square," a place of sorrow that keeps its name to this day. In Madrid in 1840, a book appeared with the title *The Cry of the Dismissed,* and in the first Restoration even newspapers were published to defend the dismissed employee from the arbitrariness of the politicians —for example, *El Empleo* (Jobs) and *Los destinos civiles* (Civil appointments). The State's bureaucracy was at the mercy of the whims of those in power.

The consequences of such an institutional inversion are grave. One is

the generalization of the *spoils system* or the distribution of the budget as if it were the spoils of war for the governing team. Another consequence is the diminution of effectiveness of the administration. Yet another is the difficulty of rotation among the political parties, for, given the immobility of the civil servant, how is it possible to govern with a sectarian and adverse bureaucracy?

There is a great deal of talk about neutralizing the armed forces but hardly any at all about cleaning up the public function. The rationality of the State requires: (a) selection through objective, competitive, and open evaluation of the candidates; (b) continuity in civil service and also respect for the rights achieved; (c) professionalization; (d) reduction of the number of posts that ministers or their cabinets may arbitrarily use for political reasons and the demand that other high-level political appointments be made from people belonging to competent bodies of proven ability; and (e) for the rest of appointments, regulations rather than the whim of politicians should decide.

The professionalization and rationalization of public administration is a rational imperative of the hierarchical function of the State.

CONCLUSION

The abominable spectacle seen in the last century of a continuous traffic of civil servants after an election —the friends of the victors were given the jobs, the losers were dismissed —made it imperative to establish certain objective criteria for greater rationalization of admission to those jobs and promotions in public administration. This procedure set off a process of regulations that, with ups and downs, has reached a high point in certain countries. In this matter, the Spanish political change has meant an important step backward, and in some sectors this step backward has moved all the way to the reign of Isabel II, famous for the politicization of administration and a general decadence.

Singula quaeque locum teneant, Horace proclaimed. The right man in the right place is the political kernel of Anglo-Saxon democracy. Each one in his place, according to merit, is a fundamental imperative for any form of government, and it is up to the judicial branch to establish impediments to unjust favoritism or the envious ordering in the distribution of power and responsibility. And this ordering must be a rigorous one, particularly in those governments that naturally tend to a partial selectivity and, on occasions, to an inverse one. For example, party rule requires certain norms for admission and promotion to civil appointments that need to be extremely rigorous so that objective criteria prevail in order to reduce arbitrariness to a marginal anecdote and raise individual merit in the respect of the public. This is not just a demand of social justice and reason; the hierarchical function of the State is the key to the progress of the human species upon this earth and in history.■

Of Meese and [the Nine Old] Men

Philip B. Kurland

At the end of the 1984 term, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down several opinions in which it purported to apply the provisions of the religion clauses of the First Amendment. These cases immediately evoked a great deal of adverse commentary from the usual sources: newspaper and TV savants, pedants, preachers in their pulpits, and solons on the floors of various legislative bodies. Such an effect, of course, is not at all an uncommon reaction to a Supreme Court decision. These critical panjandrums always know all the proper answers to everything and not least to the issues presented to the Supreme Court for resolution. What might be considered unusual this time, however, was the reason for the challenges. Essentially the complaint was that the Court had adhered to *stare decisis* and followed its own precedents.

The argument of the critics was that the Court should have abandoned the heresies it had perpetrated in its earlier readings of the First Amendment and substituted what the critics claimed to be the "original intention" of the framers. The tone of criticism was somewhat reminiscent of Martin

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When Justices interpret the Constitution they speak for their community, not for themselves.

Luther's demands for a return to the Bible and away from perversions of truth committed by the Pope.

Much of the critics' feelings may be explained by disappointed expectations. The Court had in immediately prior terms been moving away from its earlier concept of "separation" of church and state towards a form of concordat, which it labeled "accommodation." (The movement towards "accommodation" had really begun with the accession of Mr. Chief Justice Burger and had been accelerating throughout his tenure.) In these 1984 opinions, the Court had betrayed the promise implicit in earlier judgments that soon the state would be allowed to succor the churches or at least their educational branches. Ironically, this anticipation of change rested originally not so much on Mr. Meese's call for "original intention" as on Mr. Justice Brennan's position that: "When Justices interpret the Constitution they speak for their community, not for themselves. The act of interpretation must be undertaken with full consciousness that it is, in a very real sense, the community's interpretation that is sought." I am not sure that the good Justice appreciated that he was resounding the words of Lord Bryce in his *American Commonwealth,* written late in the nineteenth century, when he said:

> By placing the Constitution above both the National and the State governments, [it] has referred the arbitrament of disputes between them to an independent body, charged with the interpretation of the Constitution, a body which is to be deemed not so much a third authority in the government as the living voice of the Constitution, the unfolder of the mind of the people whose will stands expressed in that supreme instrument. (P. 348)

The judiciary's current critics may well be right when they read our society's present values as those once etched with acid by Sinclair Lewis. For surely we live again in the milieu of the George Babbitts and the Elmer Gantrys and—I may add—the Charles Foster Kanes.

The question that the critics wanted the Court to answer in the cases that triggered the controversy was not the biblical one of what man owes to God and what to Caesar, but rather of what Caesar owes to God. And, as even the arch-disciple of the Age of Reason, Thomas Jefferson, acknowledged, this nation owes its very existence to "Nature's God." Certainly then it behooves government, at the very least, to supply the force and the funds to bring the American public to engage in religious worship. Perhaps, to follow the mood of the people, we should substitute for the motto of the Great Seal of the United States, *"Novus Ordo Seclorum,"* the more appropriate words from the shield of Harvard University. I do not mean "Veritas," but what Learned Hand called "the other legend": "Christo et Ecclesiae." Never mind that all efforts to invoke the deity in the preamble and elsewhere in the Constitution met with clear and convincing rejection at the 1787 Convention and in the proposed amendments in 1789. That's a part of our history that does not interest our new historians.

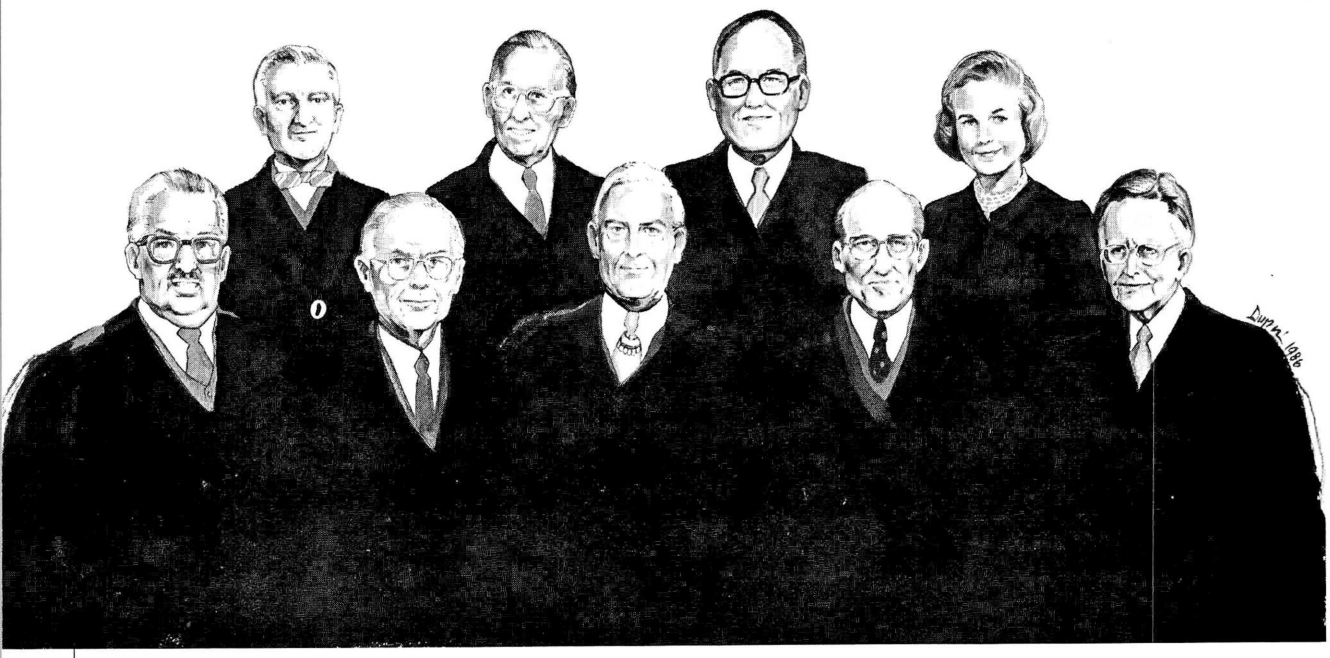
I do not propose here to examine the First Amendment's origins further than to say that the Meese position is certainly not devoid of substance. Particularly valid is his argument that it was not originally intended for the Bill of Rights to be applied to the States. Whether they were not to be applied to the States because the States already had such limitations in their own constitutions or because they did not want the

States under restraints enforceable by national courts is not so readily answered. Nor can I here go into the question to what degree the principles if not the language of the First Amendment became applicable to the States through the Fourteenth Amendment. Those looking for answers to such a question will find one in Crosskey's *Politics and the Constitution.* Not much shorter but different responses may be discovered in the views of Black and Frankfurter and Rutledge in *Adamson v. United States.* But I should warn you that Black and Frankfurter and Rutledge are already under indictment for heresy for their readings of the religion clauses, particularly in *Everson v. United States.*

The current call for a return to the meaning intended by those who wrote the words of the Constitution is, as the publicists have recognized, not confined to the First Amendment. The phrase "original meaning" has simply replaced "strict construction" as the rallying cry for those who want a revamping of constitutional law to bring it into closer conformity to their own political philosophy. The "strict constructionists" meant strict construction only some of the time. I never heard them argue that corporations were not protected by the due-process clauses because they are not really "persons." So, too, I doubt that the "original intent" school would restrict the protections of the privileges and immunities, due process, and equal-protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment to blacks for whose sole benefit those provisions were clearly intended by its authors.

Throughout American history since the adoption of the 1787 Constitution, one or both of the political branches of government have often been in fundamental disagreement with the judicial branch over the propriety of its exercise of the power of judicial review. The frustrations of the first two branches, whose members come and go every two, four, or six years are aggravated by the life tenure awarded the Justices of the Supreme Court for the very purpose of protecting the judges from the political machinations of the elected branches. (In our 198-year constitutional history, we have had only 102 Justices.) Perhaps it should be noted, if only incidentally, that if the founders clearly intended to assure the independence of the judges, it is not quite so certain that they meant to confer broad powers of judicial review of the kind exercised. And the language of independence that was chosen—tenure "during good behavior"—would certainly be found by a strict constructionist not to mean unconditional life tenure. An historian could readily show that the phrase was derived from an English statute pursuant to which English judges remained removable by petition of both houses of Parliament, among other devices. But ever since Jefferson tried the impeachment route with Mr. Justice Samuel Chase and failed, the political branches have been reduced to fulminating against the Court while awaiting the use of the appointment process to cure the evils it perpetrates. The present Court, even including the young lady, is older than the Nine Old Men when they were attacked by Roosevelt.

The present complaint is not different than that penned by Thomas Jefferson in his autobiography in 1821 when he proposed a solution that was never to be found acceptable. He wrote:



CAROL DUPRE

It is not enough that honest men are appointed judges. All know the influence of interest on the mind of man, and how unconsciously his judgment is warped by that influence. To this bias add that of the esprit de corps, of their peculiar maxim and creed that "It is the office of a good judge to enlarge his jurisdiction," and the absence of responsibility, and how can we expect impartial decision . . . . We have seen too that, contrary to all correct example, they are in the habit of going out of the question before them, to throw an anchor ahead and grapple further hold for future advances of power . . . . I repeat that I do not charge the judges with wilful and ill-intentioned error; but honest errors must be arrested where its toleration leads to public ruin. As, for the safety of society, we commit honest lunatics to Bedlam, so judges should be withdrawn from the bench, whose erroneous biases are leading us to dissolution. It may indeed injure them in fame or in fortune, but it saves the republic, which is the first and supreme law. [The Founders' Constitution 1:297 (1986)]

The behavior of the legislative and executive branches over time in trying to curb the Court may be described as volcanic. These mountains constantly rumble, but break forth in strong attacks only periodically and usually after a case or series of cases triggers the eruption. Then, the Court's attackers or detractors self-righteously wrap themselves in the Constitution and seek popular support by taking to the hustings or stating their cause through the media. The formula was stated by Professor Felix Frankfurter in a letter to President Franklin Roosevelt dated

December 27, 1938, in which he made some suggestions for improvement of a presidential text. Frankfurter wrote: "Be good enough to consider [the suggestions] in the light of their aim—to say everything you have said to educate the laity and (in the words of my great master Holmes) 'calculated to give the brethren pain,' but at the same time give the scavenger profession nothing to feed on . . . . I also suggest . . . that throughout you should appear as the real guardian of the Constitution adequate to the needs of the nation if only judges would be obedient to the majestic powers of the Constitution." [M. Freedman, *Roosevelt and Frankfurter,* 471-72 (1967)]

One advantage of such form of attack on the Court was that usually the enemy did not shoot back. The Justices themselves ordinarily adhered to their implicit vow of silence not to speak about their functions except in the course of rendering opinions. And so the arguments on their behalf had to be made through surrogates. It is true that early in our history, during the lengthy battle waged by the Jeffersonians against the Marshall Court, two distinguished Virginia jurists, Spencer Roane and William Brockenbrough, vented their spleen at length against the opinion in *McCulloch v. Maryland* through the good offices of friendly Virginia newspapers. But they did so under pseudonyms. And when Marshall himself undertook equally lengthy replies in the press, he, too, did so pseudonymically. Until very recent years, Justices did not reply to attacks on the Court or its product. Lately, through law-shool speeches and articles—of which the Brennan talk in this controversy was one —and particularly in talks at the annual American Bar Association meetings, the Justices, too, have entered the fray. But they have never lacked for apologists and defenders both in the ranks of the press and in academia. Even lower court judges have joined the battle. The great Learned Hand in his book *The Bill of Rights* let loose at the Court for its free-wheeling creative writing exercises. Judges J. Skelly Wright and Robert Bork of the District of Columbia Circuit, among others, have spoken their minds on opposite sides of the subject. For myself, I think judicious judicial silence speaks louder for judicial independence and integrity than do these occasional forays into the public arena.

Probably nothing Charles Evans Hughes ever wrote as a jurist has met with such general approbation as his extra-judicial pronouncement: "The Constitution is what the judges say it is" [Hughes, *Addresses and Papers* 139 (1908)]. Its validity, however, depends on a false equation of the Constitution with constitutional law. When Chief Justice John Marshall for the first time pronounced a law of the United States to be unconstitutional, thereby legitimizing a judicial power not specified in the Constitution, he was more precise about the judicial role. He wrote: "It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is" [*Marbury v. Madison.* 1 Cranch 137, 177 (1803)].

Constitutional construction like statutory construction has always invoked both more and less than the words of the text. And the intent of the authors, assuming it can be ascertained, has never been the exclusive tool for construction. Certainly the

The phrase 'original meaning' has simply replaced 'strict construction' as the rallying cry for those who want a revamping of constitutional law to bring it into closer conformity to their own political philosophy.

Constitution is the foundation on which constitutional law is built; but the two are not the same. The very few thousand words that the fundamental document contains are not adequate to resolve the myriad of legal issues calling for resolution by judicial action. Constitutional law consists not only of the text but of fundamental principles inherent in that document. It includes as well its aspirations for a representative government assuring majority rule while protecting minority rights. Thus constitutional law consists of constitutional principles and of constitutional precedents, of the pressures of the needs for practical answers to practical problems, and, to varying degrees, even of the personal predilections of the possessors of power who sit in the Marble Palace at the very apex of Capitol Hill in Washington. For they earn their keep by the exercise of judgment. Constitutional law is also politics, in the best sense of the word, when it means making policy. Alas, at times, constitutional law also means politics in a lower sense of the word, a partisanship reflecting the interests of what Madison disdained as factions. Constitutional law is a rule of decision; the Constitution is a frame of government.

The rules of decision have often had deleterious effect on the frame of government. In the beginning, for example, was the great contest between national and state power that the Court helped ultimately to resolve in favor of centralism, negating the fundamental concept of federalism that was surely one of the principal objectives of the framers of the Constitution. The Court was less successful in its efforts to preserve slavery, an issue the original Constitution refused to face, because to do so in the Convention of 1787 would have made the formation of the "first new nation" an impossibility. It took a Civil War, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, and a century of judicial effort thereafter to eliminate slavery and its incidents as lawful elements of constitutional government. But if the Court led the way for the nation to conform to the Constitution in 1954, progress toward that goal was almost wholly dependent on the efforts of the legislative and executive branches, which did not begin until the second Johnson's presidency. The words of the original document and its twenty-six formal amendments provide only some, not all, of the answers to the questions that are posed for judicial resolution. Even so, they are only what Madison called "parchment barriers" unless and until given life by the three branches and endorsed by the people.

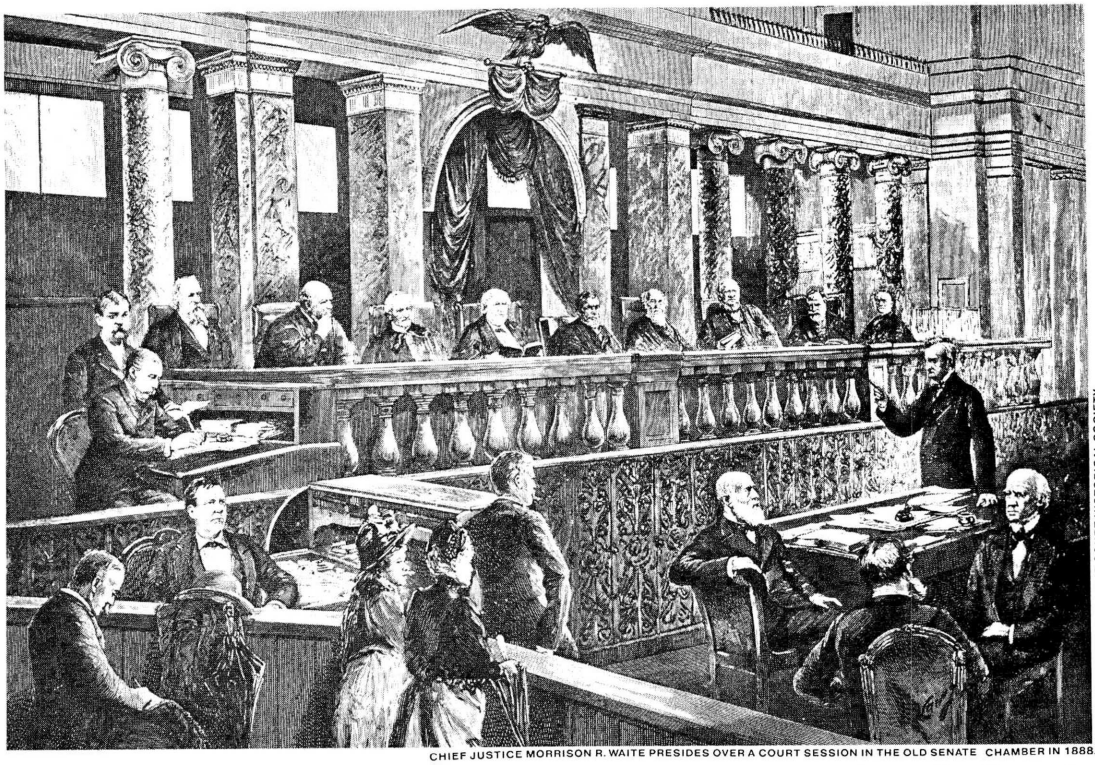
The basic function of the Supreme Court has been and ought to be the maintenance of the rule of law in our society: the rejection of arbitrariness of governmental action; the prevention of agglomeration of power in any governmental functionary or institution; the avoidance of the kind of "corruption of the constitution" that called forth the American Revolution. The constitutional demand for reasoned and justifiable assertions of authority by government is not to be found in any particular words of the Constitution, unless it be the due process clauses, the meaning of which has been left largely to the Court to determine and by it has been left indeterminate.

The Court's deficiency is largely to be seen in its persistent and recurrent failure to apply the demands to itself that it purports to apply to other parts of government. It is a failure to recognize that its principal role is a judicial one, that is, the resolution of a particular case or controversy on

the basis of the facts adduced. It is not supposed to be a legislature establishing general rules of behavior for the people of the nation. Even less is it supposed to be issuing a new Decalogue or another Sermon on the Mount. It is supposed to be a judicial body determining, according to law, whether A is to prevail over B, or vice versa, in a particular litigation. And in resolving that controversy, it is supposed to state cogent reasons for its choice. Those reasons may, indeed, be based on constitutional principles or text, on precedents, even on pragmatic considerations and personal predilections. And those reasons ought to be stated in its opinions, not only cogently, but fully and openly and honestly. The Court ought not to be a huckster of causes or a "great communicator." When it fails in its capacity to persuade rather than to command—the distinction drawn by Mr. Justice Brandeis—it fails its commitments to the maintenance of the rule of law which is its constitutional obligation. And the remedy is not for it to shift from espousing one set of political creeds in order to embrace another, to shill for one political platform rather than a second or a third one.

Perhaps these remarks are but the maunderings of one academic lawyer, which can be of no interest to the real world of law and government. Certainly, they seem to have no appeal to most of my academic colleagues who, like the Justices of the Supreme Court and the Attorney General, have seen "the Truth" and are prepared to share it or impose it on those not equally blessed. But I think that I ask for very little when I ask that the Court confine itself to its function and say only what it means and mean only what it says. Nor do I suggest that such behavior is easy of accomplishment. I do think that it would prove a better endeavor than chasing the will-o'-the-wisp of "original intention," as the Attorney General would have us do, or than becoming the transmitter of the public will, as Mr. Justice Brennan suggests.

History as a guide to original constitutional meaning can, at best, afford the perimeters within which choices can be made. It can describe the controversies that gave rise to the language—often vague language of compromise—and the arguments on the different sides of the question. Seldom can we discover a specific intent; we are more likely to learn about connotations than denotations. And, if the past decisions of the Court are any guide, the Justices, like the lawyers and law clerks on whom they primarily depend for their history, make terrible historians. They tend to use history the way they use precedents, selecting the bits and pieces that support their conclusions. The capacity to read into history what they want to read out of history is no better demonstrated than in the most catastrophic decision the Court ever rendered: *Dred Scott v. Sanford.* Or, if you want a more recent example, with perhaps more congenial effects, look at the Court's deconstruction of constitutional history in the "one person-one vote" cases. Of course history can and ought to be an important element in reading the Constitution's meaning, but only when it is not law-office history, when it is an honest search for what the authors were debating and resolving and not merely another tool of partisan advocacy. And it is to be remembered that, at best, history is no more scientific



COURTESY OF THE SUPREME COURT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CHIEF JUSTICE MORRISON R. WAITE PRESIDES OVER A COURT SESSION IN THE OLD SENATE CHAMBER IN 1888.

than is law.

On the other hand, the Supreme Court as the reader of current constitutional commands of the American people—as distinguished from those encapsulated in the text—is an even less reliable guide to decision. If the Court believes that it is engaged in reflecting the will of the populace, it is deluded. If it is bemused by the compliments it once received for being the "conscience of the nation," it is simply on an ego trip. The glass into which it looks for such answers is in fact neither a microscope nor a telescope but only a mirror. Here, even more than with the case of history, it will find what it wants to find.

Neither the Attorney General nor Mr. Justice Brennan affords a formula for resolving the ambiguities that inhere in the cases that are to be governed by the periphery of the Constitution. It must be remembered that the cases brought to the Court for adjudication are not those where a constitutional mandate is plain and clear. Those cases either never come to the Court or are readily disposed of by peremptory approval or disapproval of lower court decisions. The ones that must be decided by the High Court are almost always those with solid arguments on both sides of the issue among which the Court must choose on the basis of legal reasoning. That it frequently has not afforded adequate reasons for its conclusions in the past is not justification for continuing to fail to do so. But certainly the answers are not likely to be found in any formula, such as Roosevelt's "back to the Constitution," or Nixon's "strict construction," or Meese's "original intent," or Brennan's "will of the people." Judges, too, should recognize the constitutional limits of the judicial function and perhaps take note that the Constitu-

tion, in specifying what constituted the "supreme Law of the Land," did not include judicial decisions, but only "This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made . . . under the Authority of the United States." If they are to be true to the spirit of 1787, they will recognize that ideally judicial controversies ought to be resolved by articulable reasons, of which history may be one and the findings of the equivalents of current market surveys none.

It was almost ten years ago, as we were celebrating the bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence, that Paul Freund came to the Law School to speak under the auspices of the Department of Justice. The Attorney General at that time was our close friend and mentor, Edward H. Levi. The title of Freund's lecture was: "The Constitution: Newtonian or Darwinian?" We are now in the eve of celebrating another bicentennial, that of the Constitution itself. But the question that Freund addressed remains the same today as it was then. He said then:

> Is the Constitution a mechanism or an organism? Does it furnish for the American community a structure or a process? You will doubtless not be surprised to hear my answer—it is both. This geniality exposes me to the kind of treatment meted out by Professor T.R. Powell to the Honorable James M. Beck on a famous review of Beck's book on the Constitution. "It makes you see," Powell said, "how marvelous the Supreme Court really is when it can be a balance wheel at the beginning of a chapter and a lighthouse at the end." But after all, if light can be viewed as both waves and particles, depending on which analysis is the more serviceable for a given problem, why cannot the Constitution be seen as both a mechanism and an organism, a structure and a process?

But I risk here entering the debate over creationism and evolution, which is one of the issues of church and state that was at the root of the current imbroglio in the first place. There certainly can be no reason for going around that course again.

Every time I am called upon to deliver a talk, I go to my bookshelves and take down the one volume where wisdom about our constitutional system is most clearly distilled. I refer to Judge Learned Hand's *The Spirit of Liberty*. Each time, I find among his talks one highly appropriate for the occasion and I realize that I should serve my function best by simply reading his text to my audience. To do that, however, is always against the terms of my retainer. I cannot pretend that his depth of thought or his eloquence of speech is my own. But surely I am free to borrow some of his language with acknowledgment. And so I should close this melancholy entertainment by reading to you a few paragraphs from his 1933 radio address entitled: "How Far Is a Judge Free in Rendering a Decision?" He said,

> In our country we have always been extremely jealous of mixing the different processes of government, especially that of making law, with that of saying what it is after it has been made. The distinc-

The Court ought not to be a huckster of causes or a "great communicator."

tion, if I am right, cannot be rigidly enforced, but like most of those ideas, which the men who made our constitutions believed in, it has a very sound basis as a guide, provided one does not try to make it into an absolute rule, like driving to the right. They wanted to have a government by the people, and they believed that the only way they could do it was by giving the power to make laws to the assemblies which the people chose, directly or at least secondhand. They believed that such assemblies would express the common will of the people who were to rule. Never mind what they thought that common will was; it is not so simple as it seems to learn just what they meant by it, or what anybody can mean. It is enough that they did not mean by it what any one individual, whether or not he was a judge, should think right and proper. They might have made the judge the mouthpiece of the common will, finding it out by his contacts with people generally; but then he would have been ruler, like the Judges of Israel. Still, they had to give him scope in which he in a limited sense does act as if he were the government, because, as we have seen, he cannot otherwise do what he is required to do. So far they had to confuse law-making with law-interpreting . . . .

So you will see that a judge is in a contradictory position; he is pulled by two opposite forces. On the one hand he must not enforce whatever he thinks best; he must leave that to the common will expressed by the government. On the other hand, he must try as best he can to put into concrete form what that will is, not by slavishly following the words, but by trying honestly to say what was the underlying purpose expressed. Nobody does this exactly right; great judges do it better than the rest of us. It is necessary that someone shall do it, if we are to realize the hope that we can collectively rule ourselves. And so, while it is proper that people should find fault when their judges fail, it is only fair that they should recognize the difficulties. Perhaps it is also fair to ask that before the judges are blamed they shall be given the credit of having tried to do their best. Let them be severely brought to book, when they go wrong, but by those who will take the trouble to understand.

That was what Learned Hand said more than half a century ago. That is what I have been trying to say today.■

Karl Popper on Plato: An Ancient Debate Revived

John Caiazza

Karl Popper is best known as a philosopher of science. Ironically, his most enduring work, however, may be as a philosopher of politics. His two books *The Poverty of Historicism* and *The Open Society and Its Enemies* are among the best known and most reprinted volumes on the philosophy of politics written in this century.[1] His attack on Marx in the latter book drew at least one book-length defense of Marx, but his attack on Plato has drawn even more fire. In this essay, I will concentrate on Popper's attack on Plato, trying less to defend Plato than to understand the particular animus that Popper holds against Plato's philosophy. It is remarkable that *The Open Society and Its Enemies* revives a debate in the twentieth century that was first recorded in the fourth century B.C. Thus I will also consider this renewed debate in the context of twentieth-century politics, in terms of Popper's "scientific conventionalism."

All but three of the ten chapters that make up the first volume of *The Open Society and Its Enemies* are about Plato, and there probably has not

1. *The Poverty of Historicism* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961); *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971).

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been in philosophic history a more sustained and virulent attack on Plato by anybody as bright as Popper who was as determined to discredit Plato's entire mode of thought. Plato is treated as an authoritarian, racist, regressive, and logically muddled thinker, who wrote at times deviously, at times sincerely, but always with one end in view—to attack Periclean democracy and restore the oligarchy that succeeded it.

It is difficult to give the flavor of this book, which combines the aridity and exactness of a discourse on logical method with the passion and distortion of a political pamphlet. As an attack by an excellent philosopher on a great one, it may have no parallel in intellectual history. Having dealt with Plato, Popper continues in the second volume to deal with Hegel and Marx (and in passing with Aristotle and Toynbee). They too are attacked, Hegel far more ferociously than Marx, although Popper devotes ten chapters to Marx and only one to Hegel. Popper concludes the second volume with a chapter entitled "Has History Any Meaning?" His answer is "no" and he asserts further that to think otherwise about the question is a dangerous error that leads to a totalitarian frame of mind.

I have stressed Popper's vehemence in his treatment of Plato and Hegel, but, in fairness to him, it should be pointed out that he wrote *The Open Society and Its Enemies* at the time his native Austria was under the control of the Nazis; this may well have led him to an exaggerated view of the danger in "historicism."[2] Moreover, both Plato and Hegel tend to see political reality in holistic and moralistic terms, emphasizing obedience and class order as elements of a well-run state. It seems fair to say that, despite whatever logical or methodological objections Popper has to these philosophies, he also has a strong political objection as well.

The point is that Popper treats Plato harshly, to the point of directly associating his doctrine with Nazism. Popper himself refers to his critics who pointed out that he was far more evenhanded in his treatment of Marx, and that he himself was surprised by the vehemence of the reaction against his treatment of Plato.[3] The reason, of course, is that Popper's animus against Plato is evident to anyone who reads the first volume of *The Open Society and Its Enemies,* or to anyone who reads the fourth chapter of that volume.

Why then the antipathy? Marx's philosophy, after all, has had far worse political consequences, yet Popper was restrained when discussing his philosophy. After 2,400 years, it might seem that Popper could not seriously think that Plato had influenced the policies of the Third Reich, yet Popper appears to think so in his attempt to present Plato as a racist. It could not be mere jealousy, as if Popper considered Plato his philosophical rival, much as Shaw, the playwright, denigrated Shakespeare. Popper is far too serious a philosopher to engage in such pettiness.

Popper is heir to the scientific progressive tradition that started with the philosophes. Therefore, despite his animadversions to (other people's) historicisms, Popper himself holds to a progressive view of social history. In Popper's view, civilization and knowledge both proceed hand in hand from the closed society to the open society.[4] This classically liberal view-

The point is that Popper treats Plato harshly, to the point of directly associating his doctrine with Nazism.

2. "*The Poverty* and *The Open Society* were my war effort," Popper wrote in his "Intellectual Autobiography." In *The Philosophy of Karl Popper*, edited by Paul A. Schilp (LaSalle: Open Court, 1974), p. 91.

3. *The Open Society*, vol. 1, p. 323.

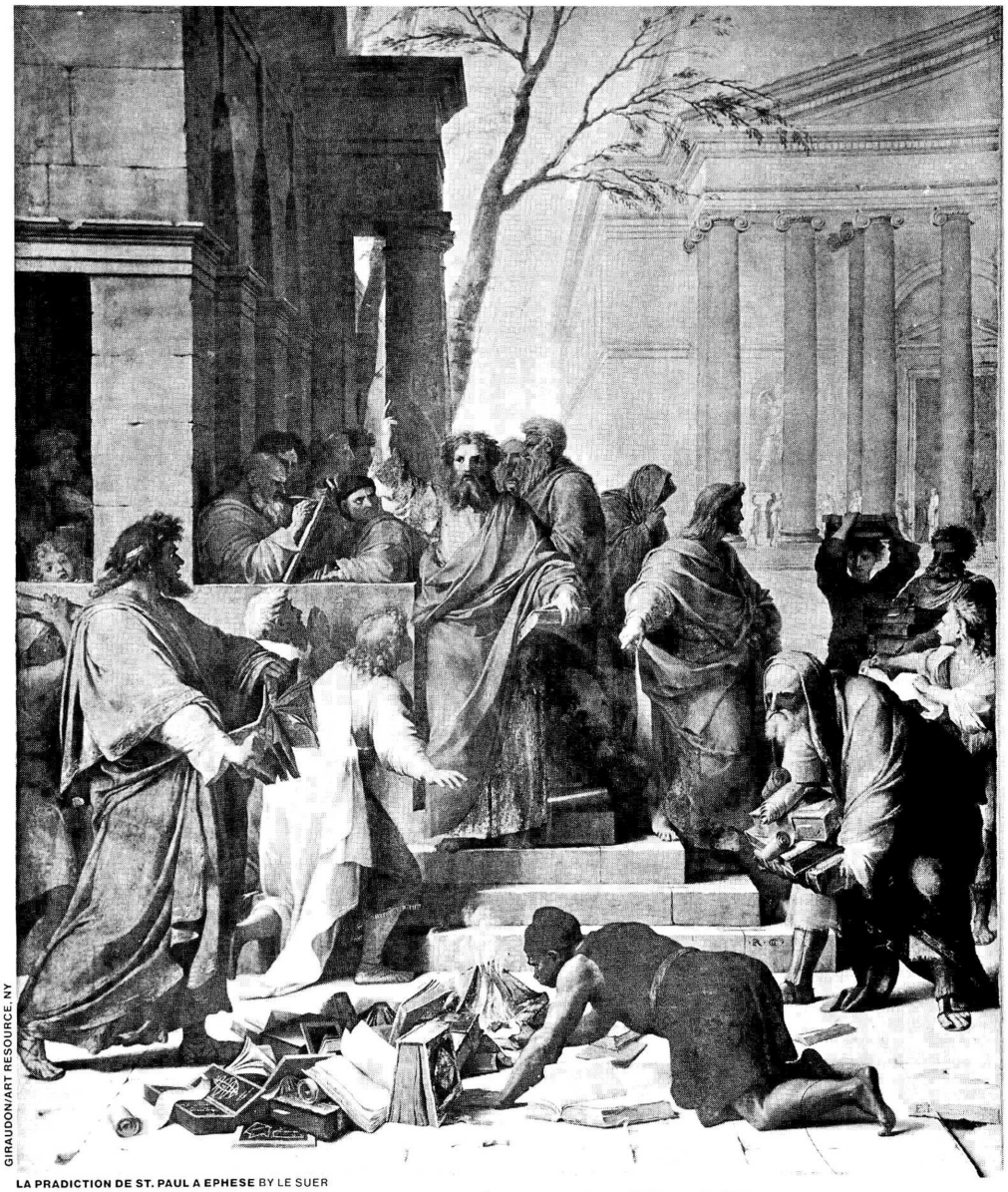
point also includes a notion of individualism that reacts strongly against any unquestioned claim by tradition, religion, inherited wisdom, or tribe, family, city, or state—i.e., the corporate state or the state as organism. In Plato, Popper can plainly find the philosophic defense of everything he despises, for Plato, as Popper reads him, holds that history and politics represent a decline from some primitive perfect model. In other words, Plato's philosophy of history is regressive rather than progressive. And by going to Plato's *Laws* in particular, Popper had no difficulty finding the primary representative defender of the corporate state. While Popper is progressive, Plato is regressive; while Popper is individualistic, Plato is statist; while Popper is liberal, Plato—as Popper reads him—is reactionary. Even more than Hegel, who was at least a progressive, Plato stands for everything that Popper despises.

The response to Popper's attack on Plato was vehement. Scholars not only defended Plato against Popper, they also attacked Popper—sometimes, as Popper complained, with the same degree of intolerance that Popper was alleged to have shown to Plato. Among those who responded were John Wild, John Hallowell, and Ronald Levinson, all of whom wrote books attempting to refute Popper's allegations.[5] Popper defended himself in a long appendix to the second edition of *The Open Society*. What is striking about Popper's attack and the responses is how thoroughly different their respective views of Plato are. There is disagreement over what Plato said, what he meant, what the political circumstances of his time were, what the major focus of his political philosophy was, whether Athenian commercialism or Spartan militarism was the real danger to Hellenic civilization, whether Plato agreed or disagreed with Socrates, and, above all, whether Plato's influence has been good or bad. The extent of the disagreement indicated that Popper had viewed Plato in a radically different way from traditional scholarship, but in a way, also, that struck a nerve.

One point that Plato's defenders should have conceded immediately was that Plato's political philosophy was strongly authoritarian and hence not likely to be readily appreciated or understood by citizens of modern Western democracies, particularly right after a world war fought to preserve democratic freedom against the onslaught of fascism. And, like it or not, Plato does endorse genetic engineering, although it is important to realize that he intended its use to breed a guardian class, not to destroy inferior "races." What should have been more readily appreciated by Popper and others of Plato's recent critics, however, is that there are elements of both radicalism as well as conservatism in Plato's thought, and that treating it in a modern context of liberal and conservative, radical and fascist is to wrest it from its historical context of ancient Athens. An example of Plato's radicalism can be seen in Plato's treatment of women, for he

4. This can be seen from a reading of the last two chapters of vol. 2 of *The Open Society*, although Popper's critical rationalism and his progressivism do not mesh very well. Thus he says that, while human history has no meaning in itself, we as human beings can give it a meaning (p. 278). This meaning consists of the values that Popper wishes us to acknowledge: freedom, tolerance, etc.

5. *Plato's Modern Enemies and the Theory of Natural Law*, by John Wild (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953). *The Moral Foundation of Democracy*, by John H. Hallowell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954). *In Defense of Plato*, by Ronald B. Levinson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953).



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LA PRADICTION DE ST. PAUL A EPHESE BY LE SUER

stated that differences between men and women were strictly the result of education, and hence he not only included women in the guardian class but argued that they should have the same duties as men, including ruling and warfare.[6] Imposing upon Plato the modern "left-right" or even "radical-reactionary" framework thus makes misunderstanding likely from the start. All of this naturally raises the question, Why did Popper assess Plato and his philosophy the way he did?

We can elaborate three reasons that produced the mind-set that obscured Plato's doctrine from Popper —namely, his scientific epistemology, his view of the relationship between the individual and the state, and, finally, a psychological reason.

Popper's philosophy of science has a direct effect on his view of politics, which in turn affects his view of Pla-

6. *Republic*, Book Five in *Great Dialogues of Plato*, translated by W.H.D. Rouse (New York: Mentor, 1956), p. 252.

to's politics. Popper argues that, contrary to what he calls the "inductivist" view, scientific theories are not developed by a painstaking accumulation of individual scientific facts that lead the scientist to enunciate a general statement or explanation of them. Furthermore, he argues that the widely accepted doctrine that scientific theories attained a status of absolute certainty from this method was false. Demonstrably, scientists propounded theories before the evidence was in, and then discovered facts to support or refute them. The essence of the scientific enterprise, he said, lies not in inductive proof and certainty, but in refutation and attempted falsification: scientists invented theories or explanations, which were then subject to "falsification" by appeal to what Popper called "basic statements." If falsification by the basic statements failed, the theory was allowed to live, for a while, but no theory could ever be expected to live forever. And what of statements or theories for which no test could be found falsifying or supporting them, for which no scientific test of their validity could be found? While they were meaningless as explanations, they were often of use in suggesting scientific theories or explanations.[7] In this manner, Popper kept the basic tenet of positivism that all non-scientific statements were devoid of meaning (an assertion that Moritz Schlick, Rudolf Carnap, and the "early" Ludwig Wittgenstein all made), while at the same time avoiding the philosophic perils associated with attempting to maintain the validity of the inductive method of science.[8]

There is a straight line between Popper's doctrine regarding induction and falsification and his political philosophy. This is due to the coherence of his peculiar philosophical outlook, one that is rationalistic and liberal in the old-fashioned sense.[9] For Popper, the inability to determine absolute truth in scientific research in the form of manifestly true theories such as Newton's was thought to be is tied to the notion of tolerance and individual liberty. For Popper, just as the process of knowledge in science rests on a never-ending series of falsifications of proposed theories, so also in civil life policy must be the proper result of discussion, disagreement, debate, and modification of previously held opinions.[10]

Notice that Popper has no theory of majoritarianism, natural rights, dissent, or of what constitutes the nature of a democratic society, for he does not discuss systematically or at any length the inner workings of democracy.[11] Rather, for Popper, the issue is epistemological, not social or political; the fact that it is a condition of scientific knowledge that we must be ever ready to entertain a series of criticisms of all theories, no matter how well established, entails the same thing analogously for social and political life. While the connection between science and classical liberalism originated in the Enlightenment, the grounds of the connection have undergone subtle changes since then. That is, in the heyday of the Newtonian theory, when science was assumed to be reaching

7. For a not-too-technical account of Popper's philosophy of science, see chapters 1-5 of *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968).

8. Popper's positivism is presumably an inheritance from his association with the Vienna Circle, whose members rejected metaphysical statements in favor of empirically verifiable ones.

9. "As farfetched as it may seem, there is as close a parallel between the scientific systems Popper approves of and the open society as there is between the closed society and the pseudo-sciences." Herbert Kohl, *The Age of Complexity* (New York: Mentor Books, 1965), p. 36.

10. See the introduction to *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, vol. 1, pp. 1-5; see also the epigraph, which consists of a quote from Burke, p. vi.

11. "Yet Popper has written no equivalent of *The Constitution of Liberty* and his positive philosophy of freedom has to be extracted from the books in which he has criticized those great thinkers who have, in his view, betrayed the substance of the great ideas they invoke." David Levy, "Karl Popper: His Philosophy of Politics," in *Modern Age* 22, no. 2 (Spring, 1978): 153.

manifest truth, the epistemology of democratic government could rest on the surety that truth could be found by means of the scientific method. In the words of the Declaration of Independence, "We hold these truths to be self-evident . . . ." This has changed, however, as theories have been overturned and elements introduced into scientific theories that were not guessed at two centuries earlier. Thus, the surety on which democratic principles once rested has been changed as a consequence, for the surety is no longer that science and hence human reason can reach manifest truths, but that democracy, like science, rests on an openness to discussion, criticism, and debate. Ontological guarantees have given way to epistemological guarantees.

The linkage between the philosophy of science and political philosophy in Popper's case has curious effects, for it leads to the politicization of epistemology. Thus, he writes, "I think Russell is right when he attributes to epistemology practical consequences for science, ethics, even politics. For he says that epistemological relativism, or the idea that there is no such thing as objective truth, and epistemological pragmatism, or the idea that truth is the same thing as usefulness, are closely linked with authoritarian and totalitarian ideas."[12]

Despite Popper's apparent devotion to the reality of truth, he doubts that truth is discoverable. "The theory that truth is manifest—that it is there for everyone to see, if only he wants to see it—this theory is the basis of almost every kind of fanaticism."[13] (Both these quotations are from the same essay, "Sources of Knowledge and Ignorance.") We have then a remarkable political theory which recognizes that, on one hand, the truth will make you free, and, on the other, that too much self-assurance that we know the truth will make fanatics of us. Despite Popper's air of assurance, there are many questions to be asked; if we are to reach a mean between relativity and fanatic self-assurance, we expect Popper to be able to help us. What truths do we know? What are we settled in? What remains to be settled? How do we go about settling whether what we "know" is really the truth, and must we use extraordinary means to do so?

Unfortunately, Popper will not be able to help us much. Certainly, if someone says, "I know that blood will tell and that inferior races must defer to the superior," Popper will be there in an instant, withering the speaker with well-informed scorn, exposing the speaker's manifest deficiencies in logic, showering him with counterexamples, linking his philosophy to Hegel, Plato, and other enemies of freedom. If, on the other hand, someone says that there is no truth, Popper will inform him gently but firmly that the relativity of truth gives the lie to the good intentions of many progressives and reformers. But if, finally, we ask Popper what the truth is that enables us to decide among competing claims, what we must know of their natures and about the makeup of society so that men can live in harmony and freedom, Popper will reply that the answers to such questions constitute "essentialism," and that it is precisely the people who think they have answers to these questions that are the fanatics who freeze freedom out of society. As Anthony Quinton has put it in his apt phrase, Popper's is "a politics without essence."

In contrast to Popper, Plato is the philosopher who can spot an essence in the most transitory of phenomena and who seeks, therefore, the underlying reality of all things, including political phenomena. Plato first closely ob-

In Popper's view, civilization and knowledge both proceed hand-in-hand from the closed society to the open society.

12. *Conjectures and Refutations* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965), pp. 4, 5.
13. *Conjectures and Refutations*, p. 5.

served the political happenings of his time and then, unlike Popper, sought to generalize to arrive at permanent truths about the nature of the individual and society. The basic reality, Plato thought, was *the Good,* an ideal underlying all other ideals and generalizations; he thought further that the search for the Good was not only the primary ideal of social life, but could provide specific guidance for the governance of political communities. For Plato as much as for Popper, epistemology had political consequences.

Plato devotes considerable attention to epistemology in the *Republic.* In an extended passage that concludes Book Six and forms the beginning of Book Seven, Plato presents his epistemological doctrine at length in the form of a famous metaphor and a very famous fable. Both the metaphor of the Divided Line and the fable of the Cave make essentially the same point, however, that there is a difference between opinion and true knowledge, and that opinion is reflective of things that are less real than the things that true knowledge concentrates on. The real, in Plato's view, is the object of true knowledge, and the real is an abstract general of which individuals are mere reflections. The personality addicted to viewing physical objects as reality is thus condemned to ignorance, unhappiness, and evil actions. Plato's fable of the Cave especially shows that his epistemological doctrine is also a metaphysical, ethical, and political doctrine as well. Plato, unlike Popper, believed that the human soul can find truth, can discover the hidden essence of things. For Plato, engaging in the search for truth is what most truly makes a human being human and suitable to be the ruler of a state; for Popper, the search for the hidden truth at the center of all things is the basis of fanaticism and tyranny.

Epistemological doctrines have metaphysical (substantive) implications. This leads to a second reason why Plato's political theory was obscured from Popper's view. Comparing Plato's *Republic* to Popper's *Open Society* quickly reveals how much Popper's concentration on scientific epistemology defines the difference between his politics and Plato's, for whereas Popper writes about political philosophers, Plato writes about the state. That is, Popper's *Open Society* consists of introductory and conclusionary chapters, which, between them, enclose chapters about Plato, Aristotle, Hegel, Marx, and so forth, while Plato's *Republic* opens with a discussion of the concept of justice and then turns to analyses of such things as human pyschology, the organization of labor, education, and so forth. Plato is writing about things he has seen, which are essential topics in a comprehensive discussion about the nature of the state, whereas Popper is writing about things he has read.[14] It is as if Popper's false modesty will not allow him to say anything prescriptive about the nature of man and the state, but will allow him to criticize those who do. The difference between Plato's and Popper's respective works is not an accidental result of methodology, for Popper's skepticism implies directly that such substantive truths as Plato attempts to reach are beyond the natural capacity of the human intellect. This is apparent when we consider the point in

14. "Classical political philosophy is characterized by the fact that it was related to political life directly. It was only after the classical philosophers had done their work that political philosophy became definitely 'established' and thus acquired a certain remoteness from political life." Leo Strauss in an essay, "On Classical Political Philosophy" in *Plato: Totalitarian or Democrat?* edited by Thomas Thorson (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 153.

the *Republic* where Plato switches from individual human psychology to the class structure of the state.

There are many topics in Plato's *Republic,* but none more crucial in understanding the difference between Popper and Plato, or indeed between a traditional understanding of politics and a contemporary political viewpoint, than the link that Plato weaves between the individual and the state. Plato begins in the second book of the *Republic* where Socrates is trying to determine the essence of "justice." The conversation having wound to a stop, Socrates suggests a new slant. Since they cannot yet understand justice as it exists in a single individual, "perhaps there would be a larger justice in the city and easier to understand. If you like, then, let us inquire first what it is in the cities; then we will examine it in the single man, looking for the likeness of the larger in the shape of the smaller."[15] That this is no mere literary convention but an essential part of Plato's understanding is shown by the fact that he follows through first by displaying and analyzing in great detail the essence of justice in the city; he then takes the results of that analysis back down again to the level of individual human psychology. Indeed, he does this a number of times, in Book Four and again in Book Nine. In Book Four, he takes his analysis of justice as consisting in the concord between social classes in the city and applies it to the concord of parts in the individual. "[T]hen we must necessarily admit that the same patterns and qualities are in each one of us which are in the city . . . . It would be ridiculous to believe that the spirited temper was not engendered in the city from the private persons wherever any have a reputation for such, for example, the Thracians and the Scythians.[16] In Book Nine, Plato descends once again from the level of the city to the level of individual psychology, this time to suggest, 2,400 years before Freud, that the soul has a tripartite constitution in which the desires are matched against reason, with temper (or character) mediating between them. This, of course, reflects the constitution of the city in its three classes and their respective functions—of philosopher-king, guardians, and artisans. This implies a moral unity between the individual and the city, since the character of the individual citizens defines the character of the city, and the tripartite nature of the (ideal) city is, once again, a reflection of the tripartite constitution of the human soul. In this way, city and individual are in essential harmony, which is totally different from the view that Popper takes of the relationship between the individual and the state.

Popper characterizes his social model as the "open society." Yet, he nowhere describes it, and its features have to be gleaned from his critical attacks on its enemies, or in references to issues in scientific logic that have, in Popper's view, certain social consequences. Further, such features as can be gleaned—conventionalism, individualism, progress, and piecemeal engineering—in no way tell us how the structure of such an open society ought to exist in terms of its economics, governance, or social relationships.[17] In this sense, Popper's "open society" may be seen as a twentieth-century modification of the classical utopia, not a *dyst*opia as Huxley and Orwell are famous for having written, but an incomplete utopia because it is described primarily in terms by which its presumed enemies see it. Perhaps we may call it an anti-topia.

Even more than Hegel, who at least was a progressive, Plato stands for everything that Popper despises.

15. Rouse, p. 165.

16. Rouse, p. 235.

17. As yet, no book-length account of Popper's political philosophy has been written that I am aware of. I cannot prove that these four elements constitute the essence of his philosophy of politics, although I believe they do.

The incompleteness and lack of structure of Popper's open society have a cause beyond Popper's penchant for criticism, however. For Popper, the state is the modern totalitarian nation-state whose power and desire for control are a constant threat to the safety of the individual person and the normalcy of social relations. But Plato had never experienced such power in the shape of sheer ability to control. For him, the state was the city-state of ancient Hellas, in which decision making, information sharing, and opinion forming were accomplished by the morning conversation of free men in the agora. The modern inventions of movies, radios, television, telephones, machine guns, bombs, tanks and planes, state control of information, and the mass organization of armies were not in Plato's purview, though the desire for the extent of power that such things could bring a tyrant was surely known to him. For Popper, the state is the nation-state and is simply the enemy of freedom; for Plato, the state is the city-state, membership in which defines normative social life.

But is this enough to explain Popper's antipathy, or is there more in his attitude? I would speculate that there is, and to do so I will refer to Popper's own political experiences. This is not necessarily the best way to approach a philosopher, but we are trying to understand the vehemence of Popper's attack as well as his arguments against Plato. (Popper, it should be noted, is not shy about attributing psychological motivation or political partisanship to others, for example, in his treatment of Hegel and Plato.)

In describing Plato's theory of the degeneration of the democratic state into tyranny, Popper says, "He insists that he describes things which he has seen himself." Popper pays particular attention to Plato's account of the degeneration of the state, even complimenting Plato several times on being an astute sociological observer.[18] Popper especially notices the last stage of degeneracy, from vulgar democracy to tyranny. Popper does not consider that Plato did not understand by 'democracy' what we mean by it, for in Plato's case, it means mob rule and anarchy, while in our own, it more closely resembles what Aristotle called "polity" or a mixed constitution, with a king, a legislature, and a balance of power. In any case, there is no doubt that Popper deeply resents Plato's portrayal of democracy, which he takes as an attack on modern democracy. Popper says that Plato is referring to Periclean democracy, forgetting that Plato may in fact be referring to the democratic government that overthrew the thirty Tyrants (one of whom was Plato's uncle), which was also the one that prosecuted Socrates and condemned him to death.[19] He calls Plato's version of democracy an "intensely hostile and unjust parody of the political life of Athens," a "brilliant piece of political propaganda," and "poisonous writing," which Popper says has done harm by prejudicing men against democracy throughout the ages. Plato, he says, uses high language to disguise "the complete absence of rational arguments" in his statements about democracy.[20]

Yet there would be no need to attack Plato if he were only a deranged aristocrat hurling abuse at popular govern-

18. *The Open Society*, vol. 1, pp. 38, 54, 84, 101, 171.

19. Plato was present at Socrates' trial but not at his self-inflicted execution, according to internal evidence in the *Apology* and the *Phaedo*. The turbulence of Athenian politics, which included civil revolt and civil war, deeply repelled Plato, as reflected in his "Seventh Letter."

20. *The Open Society*, vol. 1, all quotations from p. 40.

ment. It is Plato's accuracy as a political observer that impresses Popper most of all. Inasmuch as Popper evaluates Plato's philosophy in terms of his sociological accuracy, the more accurate his observations and predictions, the more apparently valid Plato's regressive, organic, essentialist, and historicist social theory becomes. That is, if Plato's social philosophy is taken as a scientific theory, then in Popper's terminology (which we have been using throughout this paragraph), those "basic statements" derivable from it can either be "falsified" or not. If they are falsified, Plato's theory would be weakened, perhaps modified, perhaps discarded. If, however, the statements pass muster and prove true, then the theory stands, at least until the next test. But so many of Plato's "basic statements" were so spectacularly confirmed that Popper reacted by hurling abuse at him, by virtually characterizing him as a fascist, and by trying to counteract his influence and degrade the high regard in which he is held as a philosopher. The reason for this is not among the circumstances of the history of Athens and Sparta in the fifth century B.C., but rather twentieth-century Germany and Austria.

Consider Popper in New Zealand, an expatriate from his native Austria because he foresaw Hitler's *Anschluss,* learning Greek so as to read Plato and conducting research on the rise of Nazism.[21] He reads Plato's attack on democracy, his detailed account of the final degeneration from democracy to tyranny. In Popper's own words, here is how Plato characterizes this last stage.

> The transition from democracy to tyranny, Plato says, is most easily brought about by a popular leader who knows how to exploit the class antagonism between the rich and the poor within the democratic state, and who succeeds in building up a bodyguard or a private army of his own. The people who have hailed him first as the champion of freedom are soon enslaved; and then they must fight for him, in "one war after another which he must stir up . . . because he must make the people feel the need of a general." With tyranny, the most abject state is reached.[22]

What democracy is Plato talking about? Popper must have thought, with a rush of insight, of the weak Weimar Republic that replaced the empire of Wilhelm II after the World War. He may also have had in mind the tyrant who exploited the antagonisms between the Junkers and the capitalists, the fearful bourgeoisie and the proletariat, who built up his own private army of Brownshirts, who soon enslaved the people, made them fight his wars, and brought Germany to its most abject state. Plato, as Popper read him, may have been describing Adolf Hitler. In comparison with Plato, Marx was simple, for so many of Marx's predictions had proved false. Popper, once he had reduced Marx's social philosophy to scientific theory (a reduction aided by the fact that Marx called his philosophy "scientific"), had no trouble falsifying it. But Plato's understanding of decadence had turned out to be true, correctly accounting for the rise of Hitler 2,300 years in advance.

Nor does the episode of Hitler's rise provide the only confirmatory example. The challenge to Popper's own concept of the evolution of the open society is made by Plato's concept of degeneration from the best state as a tribe that is ruled by a virtuous king.[23] After all, the replacement of the Prussian aristocracy by a democratic government fulfilled

Popper has no theory of majoritarianism, natural rights, dissent, or of what constitutes the nature of a democratic society, for he does not discuss at any length or systematically the inner workings of democracy.

21. See Popper's "Intellectual Autobiography" in Schilp, p. 94.

22. *The Open Society*, vol. 1, p. 43.

23. *The Open Society*, vol. 1, pp. 39, 40; also pp. 56, 148.

Popper's prescription for the evolution from a closed society to an open one. This was the way social evolution was supposed to work in Popper's view; yet Plato's degenerative prediction was the more accurate, for the Weimar Republic degenerated into the most brutal tyranny imaginable. Further, the Weimar Republic did exhibit the weaknesses and faults that Plato attributed to democracy—bullying, immorality, mob action, and extravagant forms of art and music.

How does Popper deal with this? Subconsciously, I believe, he simply identified Plato with the hideous regime whose rise he had characterized 2,300 years earlier. That he did this consciously is easily enough seen in his attempt to label Plato a racist. But before he attached such labels in *The Open Society,* Popper had already identified the enemies in his mind. It is Plato's philosophy, far more than Hegel's or Marx's, that represents everything Popper hates. What fitter punishment for the arch-reactionary whose work challenges Popper's entire social philosophy than identifying him with the worst regime in human memory? What better way to blacken Plato's reputation? That is why those who have read Plato do not often recognize his thought in Popper's rigid caricature. Futhermore, Plato deals trenchantly with a problem of governance that Popper not incidentally neglects, namely, "Who shall guard the guardians?" Plato is the more easily forgiven his faults, not because, as Popper thinks, of some tradition of Plato's divinity,[24] but because he deals with something that Popper ignores, the ethical basis of self-government.

The doctrine that public values are a matter of construction or agreement only is historically given the name 'conventionalism'; hence my use of the word in describing this vital part of Popper's political philosophy. This doctrine was the one upheld by such Sophists as Isocrates and opposed by Plato; hence when Popper comes to discuss Plato in *The Open Society and Its Enemies,* he reverses the traditional assessment to praise the sophists while condemning Plato. This approach, however, fits well with the contemporary rejection of authority of any kind, including religion, the law, the state, and the family. The radical nature of Popper's approach to freedom has an epistemological basis as do most elements of his political philosophy, in this instance his analysis of "historicism." Popper defines 'historicism' as "an approach to the social sciences which assumes that historical prediction is their principal aim, and which assumes that this aim is attainable by discovering the 'rhythms' or the 'patterns,' the 'laws' and the 'trends' that underlie the evolution of history."[25] This modest definition enables Popper to label invalid any claim by a philosopher, historian, or social scientist about the essential nature or purpose of society and government. In short, no statement of purpose or ideals is allowed by Popper to justify the claim of any social whole. This is not the place to criticize Popper's concept of historicism in detail, but we should at least notice the likelihood that his modestly defined logical category cannot perform the critical tasks required of it, including the demolition of the political thought of such men as Plato, Marx, Mannheim, Toynbee, and Hegel. Of course, this task is greatly aided if you first reduce social philosophy to social science as Popper does, for then prediction becomes the

24. *The Open Society,* vol. 1, pp. 87, 88, 104.

25. *The Poverty of Historicism,* p. 3.

sole aim of social philosophy. The whole moral element of obligation, duties and obedience, dissent and responsiblity, morality and law, is completely excluded once the reduction of social philosophy to social science has taken place.

The popularity of Popper's conventionalism may have as much to do with concern about tyranny as with the logic of scientific discovery. Hitler gave authority a bad name. The concept of moral law as a reflection of an essential moral code is something that, being grounded in nature, we are called upon (though not compelled) to obey. Thus, obedience and moral order are correlative concepts—you cannot have one, seemingly, without the other. And indeed, the leaders who call upon their citizens to perform the misdeeds that scarify the historical record of this century appeal to an objective order of things as the basis of their commands. Pol Pot appeals to an equality so absolute that educated citizens must be liquidated and their children raised by the state; Hitler appeals to racial doctrines supposedly proven as a matter of scientific fact; Stalin appeals to an "inevitable" class struggle so pervasive that a full tenth of the Soviet population had to be purged of bourgeois infection.

It is useful and necessary to criticize Popper because his view of conventionalism is generally accepted by many people these days, albeit in a vaguer and less well defined form philosophically. That is, there is a general belief that any faith, any sense of conviction, especially including religious belief, any assumption of the existence of ideal standards of right and wrong, any notion of moral law, no matter how elevated, is a form of fanaticism that when carried out in public controversy is destructive of democratic process and individual freedoms. In view of the history of the twentieth century, the view is understandable. But how long can we expect self-government to survive in the absence of a public philosophy?

Popper conceives his "open society" in such a way as to eliminate all "essentialist" notions which he sees as grounded in the belief that men can have some knowledge of the nature of reality. Popper's position that there is no certitude in science has the a fortiori consequence that there is also none in politics. However, Popper gives up too much, for forgoing the objectivity of moral law in order to preserve freedom is an expensive and ultimately self-defeating strategy. The reality of totalitarianism is that it gains intellectual legitimacy not from a belief in an objective moral order, but in the revocation of all standards of order and morality. This is the insight of George Orwell and the meaning behind the famous scene in *1984* where O'Brien tortures Winston Smith into agreeing that 2 plus 2 is five. Once the objective order of reality is denied, then Big Brother—that is, the totalitarian state—may do what it wants, for it determines reality. (Thus, the "memory hole" that dispatches past historical events from the order of certain fact to the order of oblivion. This is how Oceana remakes social reality to its own ideological ends.) Lenin and Hitler explicitly proceeded by first denying the validity of what they call "bourgeois" values. But these values prohibit murder and theft, protect property and life, and place a limit on the legitimate role of the state. Popper's "open society" is based on values it refuses to validate, which makes it an easy prey for ideologues who justify their predations on the relativity of social values. Just as Popper's philosophy of science inhibits his view of how science describes the physical universe, so his conventionalism obscures the moral basis of democratic government.■

Popper's "open society" is based on values that it refuses to validate, which makes it an easy prey for ideologues who can justify their predations on the relativity of social values.

Counting and Recounting Plato

John Bremer

Plato is playful but he plays in many ways. In what may seem to us a most trivial way he plays with words. Wordplay and puns are as common in the dialogues as they are in the plays of Shakespeare, and they are often as labored. Scholars have tended to ignore this, merely remarking that Greek tastes obviously differed, and, by implication, differed from our more refined sensibilities. The Plato of the academics cannot be a punster, or if he is, then he should be excused and read as if he were not.

The objection to Plato's playfulness, however, especially on the grounds of some imagined cultural difference, may obscure a deeper meaning contained within the wordplay and puns.

Anybody who has ever heard anything at all about Plato must have heard that "he believed in ideas" or that "he had a doctrine of forms," and those who inquired further would perhaps have been told that these "ideas" or "forms" represented reality or were reality, the real, what is real, or simply (in Plato's usual terms) what is. These ideas or forms are, are real, and they must be contrasted with what is not fully real, with appearances which both are and are not.

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It has often been remarked (though not universally accepted) that Plato is careful not to devlop a technical vocabulary in the dialogues. If the ideas or forms are linguistically confusing to the modern reader without classical Greek, it may be observed that they are equally confusing to the reader with classical Greek. Plato varies his use of terms so that what often appears uniformly in English translation as "idea" may be one of several different Greek words Plato uses variously. This may be difficult at one level if the reader of the dialogues cannot develop the habit of looking for the meaning behind a word that is a member of a group of words. At another level, it suggests to the thoughtful listener or reader the need to see through a metaphorical matrix that Plato provides to the meaning lying beyond.

One of the words Plato is fond of using is the word *eidos,* usually translated as "idea" or "form." But Plato is playing with the words, with us, and with what is, because the word is derived from the Greek word *eidon,* which generally means "to see" and in the perfect tense means "to know." It also has a technical meaning in medicine as "symptom." Plato is paradoxically saying that the *eidos* of something, the form or idea of it, as the translators say, the "whatever it is that makes it what it is and not something else," is not an appearance, not something we see but an un-see-able symptom, an invisible appearance.

If Plato loads common words with paradox and places them with other words to form matrices that somehow provide the limits of meaning, or which together in the matrix embrace the requisite meaning, he is no less playful with names of gods and men.

A compound example from the *Phaedrus* will make this clear. At the beginning of that dialogue, Phaedrus reports to Socrates that Lysias is in town "staying with Epicrates, in the house where Morychus used to live, close to the temple of Olympian Zeus." Since there is no need for this to be the report of an actual historical event, Plato can choose names and places at will—or for reason. Now 'Epicrates' is the word for "superior" or "master," and we can readily understand why he and his house are near the temple of Olympian Zeus, the father of gods and men. But what is indicated by letting it be known that it used to belong to Morychus? The reference that gives meaning to this is a statue of Dionysus Morychus in Sicily, which was *outside* his temple and thus separated from the prayers and the pleasing smell of the sacrifices inside. This gave rise to a proverbial saying: "Sillier than Morychus, who neglects inside affairs and sits outside." All we need remember from the *Phaedrus* is the prayer to Pan at the end of the dialogue in which Socrates asks that he may be fair within and that outwardly he be compatible with what is inward. Presumably, Lysias (by staying where he does) shows that he thinks of himself as "superior" or "masterful" but that he is actually sillier than Morychus since he is concerned with power over externals instead of inwardly with his soul.

This play with names, however, has an added dimension in that it shows the paradoxical nature of humans. Here is Lysias, whose name means "freeing" or "loosing," playing power games with Phaedrus and attempting to control and capture him by the use of words. It is as if we should be true to our names, and Lysias is not. He is not, therefore, allowed to speak in his own

voice—because he is so dangerous and untrustworthy. Socrates, incidentally, can be trusted, and his name means "safe power." The dialogue distinguishes the Lysian rhetoric of domination from the Socratic rhetoric of freedom by laying bare the different conceptions of love, the different purposes of persuasion. Lysias uses speech to gain an unnamed gratification from the beloved and ultimately the control that would allow gratification on demand; Socrates uses speech to elevate the soul of the beloved so that it improves itself. If the contrast between name and character is present implicitly in the *Phaedrus,* it is quite explicit in the *Apology,* for one of the accusers is called Meletus. This name means "care" or "concern" and Socrates deals with his accusation publicly only by showing that Meletus is the man who doesn't care. He is a man who belies his own name, and we are reminded of the discussion in the *Cratylus* concerning whether names are natural.

The distance between the name and what is named is one region in which the soul moves as it learns. It is presented with the discrepancy, the gap, and if the soul can cross it, then it will have understood. The recognition of the

gap thus serves an educational function, perhaps the most important educational function, in that it provides the direction and definition of movement. Another educationally useful separation is that between word and deed, between name and action, between what we say and what we do.

Things are not what they seem, not what they are named. But instead of seeing this as a cosmic conspiracy that should drive us to cynicism, Plato sees it as a great opportunity for coming to understand what is. There is no deception in the universe. But there is deception in us if we take it for granted that what is named is what is, that the appearances are the reality; we then deceive ourselves, mistaking image for form, or convention for nature.

Plato enjoys the universe, delighting in the fact that the appearances will lead us to know what is, to know the ideas, the forms, the kinds, the types, the shapes, the species, the notions, and the natures —whatever matrix or metaphor we think it appropriate to create and name. The images are our great help.

The playfulness of Plato is now not just a happy (or, for some, an inelegant) quirk of character. It is a reflection of the universe itself. The universe itself is playful, and to approach it with a straight, unequivocal Aristotelian face is to restrict the possibility of understanding—as well as to lose the joy of learning in it. But if the cosmic is comic (to imitate Plato's playfulness), it is also tragic, or at least serious. Meletus may be the man who belies his own name, but the hemlock Socrates drank killed him. Or made him immortal.

In short, if the cosmos is to be understood as being structured of forms or ideas (which are always what they are) and of names, words, actions, and objects that are *not* always what they are (collectively known as "images"), then this metaphysical ambiguity requires a similar ambiguity on the part of whoever wants to understand it (and especially, of course, on the part of whoever wants to understand himself in it). If the universe is the interplay between forms and images, between "what is what it is" and "what is what it is not," then the thoughtful student must participate in the interplay.

This is the metaphysical origin of the so-called Socratic irony and of the equally well-known Platonic irony. The philosopher must be ironical because the cosmos he is trying to understand is ironical, or, more concisely, the psychological and the epistemological must reflect the ontological (which, incidentally, they do naturally since the soul is a part of the realm of being; thus a major part of the educational task is to recover one's nature). For many of Socrates' contemporaries (and, later, for Aristotle), irony is one of a number of "characters"—and one of the less pleasant ones at that. For them, to be ironical is to say one thing and to mean another (usually its opposite). This is what we call sarcasm, and it was as offensive in Athens as it is now. But in Plato, at least, irony is to say one thing and to mean it and its opposite at one and the same time. The truth both is and is not in the words. The logical counterpart of this is that (contrary to Aristotle) every statement is both true and false. Words are a very special kind of image, different from actions, different from physical objects. All speech is metaphorical, with one thing standing for another, with one sign signifying something significant or some significant things, with some collection of signs signifying some seg-

Plato moves between the image and what is imaged as gracefully as a dancer in a dialectical dance.

ment of the universe.

Signs, too, are images in that they are not what they are. The dog may well be, as Socrates asserts, a philosophical animal, but the word 'dog' is not a dog, nor is the family pet the archetype or form Dog. They are related as image to imaged through a process called "participation" although, as has been said, to have a name is not to have the named. But if some special place must be accorded speech, the language, an even more special place must be given to numerals and the numbers for which they stand, for these show more clearly than anything else the relationship between form and image. They are the paradigm of the cosmic structure, and hence of the soul's structure.

DIALECTICAL DANCE

Plato's writings are images. Perhaps no one has ever understood that better than Plato himself for he moves between the image and what is imaged as surely and as gracefully as a dancer in a dialectical dance. This dialectical dance is itself an image of the dance of the birds sacred to Apollo, the cranes. As Theseus and his companions were returning to Athens, they performed the crane dance on the island of Apollo's birth, Delos.

Danced with measured tread and to the accompaniment of harps, the dance of the cranes was an image of the maze on the dancing-floor which Daedalus built for Ariadne in Knossos. This maze, in turn, was supposedly an image of the Egyptian labyrinth, which, being Egyptian, was so old that no origin could be found; but it too was an image.

The dancing-floor image, with its fixed lines and geometrical patterns, suggests that what might be called the choreography of the dialectical dance is already composed, the movements already established, but that the particular style and interpretation are due to the individual dancer. The relationship might be considered an image of that between the soul, the common nature all humans possess, and the particular and partial ordering and disordering of the soul in this person or that. If this thought were pursued, it would lead to the conclusion that the Platonic dialogues collectively constitute the matrix within which the human soul can be defined. They show the soul's limits.

But if the choreography of the dialectical dance is already composed, then it must be inherent in the nature of the logos itself, otherwise it would not be a suitable dance for any and all dialecticians. The dialectical dance is measured.

There is, then, a circle of image-to-imaged relationships—of logos to labyrinth to dancing floor to dance to dancer to logos-in-dancer to logos to labyrinth . . . . Thus, the relationship of image to imaged is, in a way, biconditional or symmetrical, and we can move in either direction, as it were. It is well to remember that if the image needs that which is imaged, then that which is imaged equally needs the image. In terms of knowing, this might not need much argument to support it, but it is equally true in terms of being. And this would always be the case if, to recall Socrates in the *Meno,* all nature is akin.

The hearer of the dialogue called *Polity* (or "Republic," as it is usually and somewhat misleadingly named) is in fact reminded, at the end of the discussion about politics in the city (St. 595–608), that all writing is image-making, that all poetry is imitative. It may be more of a warning than a reminder, a warning to Glaucon and others that words alone are not enough, not even the words of Socrates, and that to acquire a definition is not necessarily to acquire what is defined, that to articulate acquisitions is not to be.

The *Polity,* as we have it, is an image. To simplify the image-to-imaged relationship considerably, we have an English translation of Plato's Greek text that claims to be the written account of Socrates' spoken report of a conversation that took place "yesterday" among a small group of young men about justice and in which, therefore, justice was to be found. If justice (the idea or form of justice, that is) were not somehow in the conversation, then it would not be about justice. If Plato is both correct and successful, leaving out the middle terms would mean that the image we call the *Polity* participates in the form of justice.

The *Polity,* then, is an image. And it is also full of images. If these images could be placed, at least tentatively, in some kind of order or pattern, if from an original an image could be realized, or if, from an image, the original could be seen as that which is playfulness, then the dialectical dance of the logos, of the soul, would have begun. The simplest way to attempt this is to regard the *Polity* as a complete universe, as a universe of discourse, so that the internal images it contains must refer either to themselves, or to other contained images, or to the dialogue as a whole.

Now, the *Polity* concludes with an image, a most vivid and detailed image, the story of Er, which recounts the journey of a "valiant man" who came to an end in battle. Traveling through but in some sense outside the universe, Er not only witnesses the final judgment upon souls after their various life spans but he also sees the fundamental structure of the universe itself. He sees the rims of the spheres that contain the unnamed planets, and he sees and hears the eight Sirens on the rims whose sounds produce a complete scale. Around are seated the three Fates, daughters of Necessity. Their names are given—Lachesis, Clotho, and Atropos—and they sing respectively of the past, the present, and the future.

Not only are the Fates seated around but they are situated at equal intervals, and they provide the motive power for the circular rims of the planets by touching them. Clotho uses her right hand on the outside rim only (which certainly suggests the clockwise motion of the Same to be found in the *Timaeus*), and Atropos uses her left hand for the inner rims (which suggests Timaeus's counter-clockwise motion of the Other), although Clotho ceases from time to time. Lachesis, who is the only one who communicates with the souls, albeit through a spokesman, puts "one hand to one and the other hand to the other, each in turn." Upon drawing the diagram, as it were, it becomes apparent that the motive forces of the universe are at the three vertices of an equilateral triangle that circumscribes the outermost circle of the universe.

Since the whole universe is suspended on a spindle from the lap of Necessity, the geometrical diagram images not a circle inscribed within an equilateral triangle but a sphere circumscribed by a tetrahedron. If we were to go outside the dialogue, then the picture resembles a woman using a drop spindle in spinning wool, with the spindle being turned by the fingers from time to time and the momentum of the spindle (looking like Er's whorls from the top) carrying it round. It is possible, however, to relate the geometrical solid image, the geometrical diagram, to the *Polity* itself, bearing in mind that the sphere enclosed by a tetrahedron was a well-known Pythagorean device or image.

The dance of the cranes was an image of the maze on the dancing-floor which Daedalus built for Ariadne in Knossos.

Since the image is a geometrical one, a way is needed to image the *Polity* geometrically or, perhaps, arithmetically, since it is usually possible to translate arithmetic into geometry. Various figures suggest themselves —the circles of Er's universe, for example, or the Divided Line—but for a number of reasons, some of which will become apparent, more advantage can be gained if the *Polity* is first numbered.

MEASURING THE *POLITY*

The task of numbering the *Polity* may seem quite daunting, not least because a unit would be needed in terms of which to count the dialogue and no such unit is immediately apparent or available. And yet the question whether Plato had a unit of composition has not been pursued although it is almost inevitable that he did. If he did, what was it?

The technological and social processes of writing and "publishing" were such that Plato must at least have been aware of a physical unit of composition. Presumably, the dialogue was initially composed on wax tablets, which would lend themselves to corruption, expansion, and amendment. We know that Philip of Opus was said to have transcribed the *Laws* "from the wax," which lends credence to this view. In addition, the *Polity* is so intricate in its self-referring that for passages to be considered and revised side by side, as Adam, for example, in his authoritative edition of the text, requires, some system of indexing, storage, and retrieval must have been employed. Cross-referencing a work of the *Polity*'s length would have required extensive organization, although we do not know how many tablets there were, how they were stored, or how they were retrieved.

The simplest method would surely be, first, to have a standard-size tablet —of standard physical size, thus making storage easier, and, consequently, of standard-text size—and, second, to have them numbered. Thus, quite apart from any wish on Plato's part to give an arithmetical structure to the *Polity*, his attention would inevitably have been drawn to the relation between the substance of his text and the number of the tablet upon which it was written.

It would not be surprising if the numbers were, in fact, part of Plato's original plan from the beginning, forming an important and integral part of the substance of the dialogue. Even if the numbers had not been within his original conception, Plato would have undoubtedly become aware of them simply in the course of using the technological processes available to him.

Setting on one side the question of the size of the tablet, whether in terms of physical dimensions or in terms of amount of text, further light is thrown on the problem by the mode of what we would call "publishing."

That texts of various works circulated is well-attested, and, for example, Socrates points out in the *Apology* the commonness and cheapness of Anaxagoras' writings. But although texts circulated in copy form and were presumably to be read, it must be remembered that "to be read" meant to be read aloud, there being no such thing as what the modern world calls "silent reading."

Thus the writer of any work must have been conscious of the time that it took to read, that is, to read his text aloud to a circle of friends, of students, of people with some common interest, or in some common place.

What we call "reading" is, in fact, "silent reading," and this obscures the necessity for the "measured tread" of the crane dance. As we read to ourselves, we have greater control—perhaps greater latitude would be a better

description—over the rate of reading, and we speed up or slow down according to a variety of factors, some of which are totally irrelevant to the subject-matter of the text and may even be hostile to it. But being read to changes the distribution of power in the situation—after all, the reader is reading and presumably chooses or is given a reading rate, and the hearer has to adapt accordingly. The experience is much more like attending a musical concert than anything else, for there the conductor sets the temporal limits for the interpretation—establishing the "measured tread"—and the hearer listens.

This, in turn, means that the writer of texts, the composer, can and probably must bear in mind the length of time that his work will take to perform, to be read aloud. There is the well-known story of Herodotus' reading at far too great a length at the Olympian games and giving rise to the proverbial expression "in the shadow of Herodotus."

Plato must have been aware of the length of time it would take to read aloud each of his works, and especially the *Polity*. In the absence of any tradition or instructions, one way to get an idea of the length of time it takes to read the *Polity* out loud is simply to do it. This, of course, does not prove the amount of time required but it does establish what might be called an order of magnitude, the "measure" of the total tread. Even granted that we are not native speakers of classical Greek, and even granted that we do not know the customs for public speaking nearly well enough to be sure, and that we know even less about the habits and skills of listening, the fact remains that the time it takes to read the *Polity* aloud in Greek tends to approximate twelve hours. It can be done in slightly more or less time—and it is incidentally surprising how quickly we can adapt to various rates of speaking and listening—and yet deviations from the twelve hours tend to produce a loss in clarity of argument, with a corresponding loss in the continuity of the dialogue. The dance stops.

If we assume that Plato wrote the *Polity* with the intent of its taking twelve hours to be read—to be read aloud—then we have at our disposal another way of numbering the units of the dialogue simply by reference to the units of time.

Before embarking on such a venture it should be noted that the dialogue tells us, in St. 621b, that for the souls in Er's story it was midnight. Since this is virtually at the end of the dialogue, its starting point would have been noon. This is both dramatically plausible and organizationally convenient. Dramatically, it allows time for Socrates and Glaucon to rise (near dawn), to descend to the Piraeus, to see the processions, and to say their prayers to the initially nameless goddess, who later turns out to be Bendis, the Thracian goddess of the Moon. By the time Socrates and Glaucon are setting out for the city, Polemarchus and Adeimantus have seen and captured them and together they go off to Polemarchus' house, which can only be a few minutes' walk away. Thus the dramatic conversation could easily be seen as starting at noon.

If the conversation being repeated took place "yesterday," then its rehearsal must take place "today" and the question arises as to when the recounting began. Organizationally, having noon as the starting point is undoubtedly convenient for it not only mirrors the dramatic events of the

The *Polity* concludes with an image, a most vivid and detailed image, the story of Er, which recounts the journey of a "valiant man" who came to an end in battle.

previous day but it also provides the time that could be most easily determined. Noon was a well-established meeting time, and in the absence of clocks it could be determined fairly accurately even without a special gnomon set up in the Athenian agora.

According to Proclus, an admittedly late authority, the feast of Bendis was held on 19 Thargelion, which would correspond to our June 5/6. If this is taken as the likely date and the latitude of the Piraeus is taken to be 38 degrees North, then the sun would have set at approximately 7:24 that evening. By a simple computation, it can be determined that at that time the following passage was being read (at the end of the 444th minute):

> "Which of the gods in heaven can you point to as the lord responsible for this, whose light makes our sight see in the finest way and the seen things seen?"
> "The very one you and the others would also point to," [Glaucon] said. "For it is plain your question refers to the sun."
> "Is sight, then, naturally related to this god in the following way?"
> "How?"
> "Neither sight itself nor that in which it comes to be—what we call the eye—is the sun."
> "Surely not."
> "But I suppose it is the most sun-like of the organs of the senses."
> "Yes, by far."
> "Doesn't it get the power it has as a sort of overflow from the sun's treasury?"
> "Most certainly."
> "And the sun isn't sight either, is it, but as its cause is seen by sight itself?"
> "That's so," he said.
> "Well, then," I said, "say that the sun is the offspring of the good I mean—an offspring the good begot in a proportion with itself: as the good is in the intelligible region with respect to intelligence and what is intellected, so the sun is in the visible region with respect to sight and what is seen."
> "How?" he said. "Explain it to me still further."
> "You know," I said, "that eyes, when one no longer turns them to those things over whose colors the light of day extends but to those over which the gleams of night extend, are dimmed and appear nearly blind as though pure sight were not in them."
> "Quite so," he said. (St. 508)

On the supposition of a twelve-hour reading time, beginning at noon, it appears that as the sun sets on the reader and hearers their attention is drawn to that of which it is an image.

The other notable time in the ephemerides for the day would, of course, be the end of twilight, the onset of absolute darkness—dark especially because the feast of the Moon goddess would take place at new moon. Twilight ends on June 5/6 in the Piraeus at 9:14 at which time the reader was reciting the following passage: "Then, democracy must, as it seems, be considered next—in what way it comes into being and, once come into being, what it is like—so that when we know the character of such a man in his turn, we can bring him forward for judgment." (St. 555b)

Is democracy best discussed after dark? Does its advent mark the extinction of all light?

There is incidentally an isolated anecdote in Athenaeus to the effect that Plato invented a clock to tell the time at night. Perhaps it told *polity* time.

If these two passages, coinciding with sunset and the end of twilight, are taken as giving some plausibility to the

general thesis of a twelve-hour reading span, it is possible to assign some numbers to the *Polity*. Since in twelve hours there are 720 minutes it is possible to divide the dialogue into that number of equal units. Experience shows that such a unit is quite small, and for the present purpose it is sufficient to adopt the unit of time employed, at least on occasion, in the legal proceedings in Athens, namely, three minutes. Thus, the dialogue can be divided up into 240 units of three minutes each.

THE STORY OF ER

It is now possible to address the problem of dividing up the text. Since the syllable is the unit of time in speech it is only necessary to count the total number of syllables in the *Polity* and to divide that number by 240 in order to determine the number of syllables in each three-minute unit of reading time. It is curious that this has not been done previously simply because the process of syllable counting, known as stichometry, was well-established in the ancient world, both as a check for authenticity of the copied text and also as a measure for paying the scribe. It should, however, be noted that if, for whatever reason, the letters of the text were used—converting the time of syllables to the space of letters—no appreciable difference from the results of using syllables would emerge.

The use of the syllable as a stichometric unit may throw some light on the significance of the well-known anecdote concerning the opening eight words of the *Polity*. It is recounted that among Plato's possessions after he died there was found a table upon which were written the opening eight words of the dialogue in several different ways. At one level, this story must be an acknowledgment of the care Plato took over his writing and of the fact that the way the words were actually "published" was the right way. At another level, however, it simply affirms the eight words themselves—there being no hint or suggestion that the alternatives contained different words—and so there is reason to look for what is invariant in the eight words themselves. Obviously, one invariant, no matter what the preferred order of the words, is the number of syllables they contain, namely, eighteen. If the unit line of the *Polity* is taken to contain eighteen syllables, then it emerges that the dialogue contains 10,000 lines.

If the physical unit of composition were the focus of attention, then the tablet might be imagined to be of a width suitable to contain eighteen syllables. The height or length would then be of forty-two lines, and each tablet would contain eighteen times forty-two or 756 syllables. (These numbers, like all other numbers in this exposition, are well within a one-percentage accuracy.) From what is known of Greek writing on papyrus, a section of text eighteen syllables wide is by no means impossible or even unlikely; after all, Homer's lines are hexameters. But the length of forty-two lines is much less likely and it might turn out that there were 720 units after all, each with a height of fourteen lines. Other possibilities suggest themselves, most obviously 1,000 units, each with ten lines of eighteen syllables.

However, for the present purpose of analyzing the *Polity* text, it has been found convenient to divide it into 240 equal units, and for ease of reference these have been called Bremer units. These Bremer units (or Br. units) must be sharply distinguished from the well-established and time-honored Stephan-

Even granted that we are not native speakers of classical Greek, the fact remains that the time it takes to read the *Polity* aloud in Greek tends to approximate twelve hours.

os numbers, since the latter are not of equal length, nor are they numbered consecutively, nor do they start from unity. Thus, whatever patterns the numbering of the dialogue would disclose are frustrated by the incomplete, erratic, and arbitrary nature of the Stephanos pagination.

To give one simple example, it emerges from the use of Br. units that the objections of Glaucon and Adeimantus are contained in Br. 26 through 35. The symmetrically placed Br. units would obviously be Br. 206 through 215 and it need only be pointed out that in Br. 206 Socrates says, "Shall we hire a herald, then, or shall I myself announce that Ariston's son has decided that the best and most just man is happiest, and he is that man who is kingliest and is king of himself; while the worst and most unjust man is most wretched and he, in his turn, happens to be the one who, being most tyrannic, is most tyrant of himself and of the city?"

This passage begins the series of proofs in which the objections of Glaucon and Adeimantus are finally acknowledged to have been met.

The end of the passage symmetrical with the objections is marked at the beginning of Br. 216 by the following:

> "Then in what way, Glaucon, and on the basis of what argument, will we affirm that it is profitable to do injustice, or be licentious, or do anything base, when as a result of these things one will be worse, even though one acquires more money or more of some other power?"
> "In no way," he said. (St. 591a)

Thus the objections themselves and the acknowledgment that they have been met are exactly symmetrical with each other in position and they are also equal in magnitude.

Once the *Polity* has been numbered in terms of Bremer units, or in any other suitable way, a wide range of symmetries and other patternings become apparent. However, to remain with the example of the objections of the two brothers, an examination of the objections reveals that they themselves are subject to symmetry, being equally divided between Glaucon and Adeimantus. Glaucon's objections occupy Br. units 26 through 30, and are followed by those of Adeimantus in Br. units 31 through 35.

This equality between the two brothers is carefully maintained and is also emphasized when Socrates, after hearing the two sets of objections, quotes the poem "Sons of Ariston, divine offspring of a famous man . . ." and continues by saying that something divine must have happened to them both. The feeling of equality is tempered somewhat by the facts that Glaucon is mentioned first and that it is Glaucon's lover who has written the poem, but Socrates does not draw attention to any inequality although it is undoubtedly there.

After Socrates' offer of help to meet the objections, it is Adeimantus who takes over the primacy by answering the questions of Socrates, but the period is brief and after only 4 Br. units (Br. 36 through 39) Glaucon resumes the answering role and for exactly the same number of Br. units (Br. 40 through 43).

In Br. 44 Adeimantus takes over the argument because he anticipates that the discussion of education will be useful, and he pursues education for between sixteen and seventeen Br. units until in Br. 60 Glaucon resumes with the discussion of song and melody because, as Socrates says, he is musical. (This remark of Socrates' occurs exactly one quarter of the way through the dialogue.)

Glaucon continues with the discus-

sion of "musical" education and then explores gymnastic, concluding with an agreement that the guardians must get the right education, "whatever that is." This suggests that what has been described, even the purged forms of music and gymnastic, are not "right." Socrates and Glaucon agree further that the guardians must have houses, but just as the length of their conversation equals the preceding conversation of Socrates with Adeimantus, the latter interrupts. Had he been keeping count? Plato certainly had.

Adeimantus' interruption concludes with Br. 83 as Socrates says, at the beginning of Br. 84, "So then, son of Ariston, your city would now be founded. In the next place, get yourself an adequate light somewhere; and look yourself—and call in your brother and the others—whether we can somehow see where the justice might be and where the injustice . . . ." The "son of Ariston" is obviously Glaucon, although the previous answer had been given by Adeimantus. Thus, from the end of the conversation with Thrasymachus, the "prelude," Plato has scrupulously observed an equality between the two brothers in the following pattern:

1. Glaucon Br. 26–30
2. Adeimantus Br. 31–35

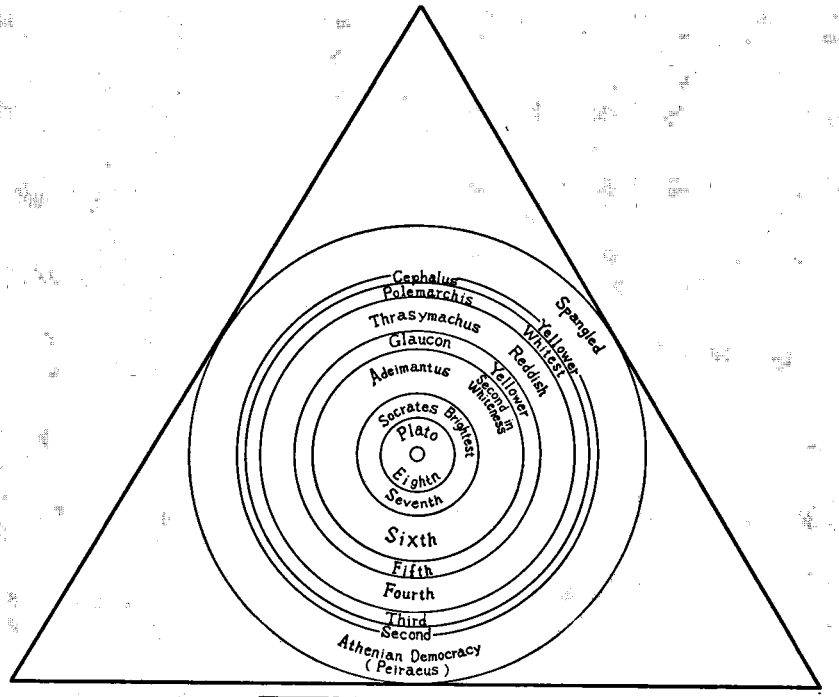
Alternation of primacy as the initiative passes from the brothers to Socrates.

3. Adeimantus Br. 36–39
4. Glaucon Br. 40–43
5. Adeimantus Br. 44–60
6. Glaucon Br. 61–76
7. Adeimantus Br. 77–83

The equality and alternation of the first six sections is apparent, and the only minor restriction to note is that in Br. 36 Socrates carries out the brief transition from the brothers' objections to the construction of the city in words. It is not very significant, but it would reduce the span of Adeimantus by something less than one Br. unit. Also, the final third of Br. 60 belongs to Glaucon and not to Adeimantus. The general picture is quite clear, however, and the question arises whether the structure will continue.

At first glance, the pattern of equality is shattered in what follows. The following responsive contribution of Glaucon is very long and Adeimantus does not respond again until the end of Br. 130, a span of almost forty-seven Br. units, occupying two hours and twenty minutes. An exception to the absolute silence of Adeimantus should be noted, however, and it is found in Br. 100/101 when Polemarchus, by taking hold of Adeimantus' cloak, initiates the digression. Adeimantus is named in Br. 100 and speaks only briefly in Br. 101 when he helps to capture Socrates for the second time. The transition occupies one Br. unit and Glaucon acts as respondent both before and after. Prior to the beginning of the digression Glaucon has spoken with Socrates for seventeen Br. units and subsequent to its beginning he speaks for thirty Br. units.

The last contribution of Adeimantus had been only seven Br. units, and this is clearly not balanced by seventeen Br. units (Br. 84–100), nor by thirty (Br. 101–130), nor by the whole forty-seven (Br. 84–130). And yet Plato seems to have taken considerable care to indicate both the equality of the two brothers and where that equality ceased. The equality or balance can, of course, be restored, by marking off from the end of Adeimantus' last conversation in Br. 83 an equal section of seven Br. units. This means that Br. 84 through



THE UNIVERSE OF ER AS SEEN IN THE LAST BOOK OF THE *POLITY*

90 is that section of Glaucon's conversation that balances with Adeimantus' last talk. In other words, from Br. 26 through Br. 90, the two brothers balance each other exactly and have equal shares in the three hours and fifteen minutes it takes to read those sixty-five Br. units. The tabulation would then be amended as follows:

1. Glaucon Br. 26–30
2. Adeimantus Br. 31–35
Alternation of primacy
3. Adeimantus Br. 36-39
4. Glaucon Br. 40–43
5. Adeimantus Br. 44–60
6. Glaucon Br. 61–76
7. Adeimantus Br. 77–83
8. Glaucon Br. 84–90

If we make Glaucon's contribution equal in this way and turn to Br. 91 to discover what topic is being discussed, we find Socrates saying, "Now, it's a slight question about the soul we have stumbled upon, you surprising man. Does it have three forms or not?"

This identifies for us the superiority of Glaucon. The souls of the brothers are the same, up to a certain point, as it were, and then it is only Glaucon who is able to face, in the conversation, the nature of the soul. Glaucon's soul is worthy of the question in principle, if not in fact, for Socrates immediately says, "But know well, Glaucon, that in my opinion we will never get a precise grasp of it on the basis of the procedures such as we are now using in the argument. There is another longer and further road leading to it. But perhaps we can do it in a way worthy of what has been said and considered before."

This most important remark is addressed specifically to Glaucon, not to Adeimantus and not to the others, and there seems to be the hint that although Glaucon expresses content with the present inferior method, he is about to embark on a longer journey, which,

if it does not give a complete account of the soul, is nevertheless beyond his elder brother. The question of the soul's nature in Br. 91 marks the divergence of the brothers, and beyond this point it appears they are not equal and balanced. To change the metaphor, at this point their paths separate, and while Glaucon pursues the upward path, Adeimantus can go no higher. This may possibly be too harsh a judgment on Adeimantus, but two things are clear. One is that even if he can go higher, in the *Polity* he does not do so, and the other is that after raising the question about the soul there remain one hundred and fifty Br. units, of which Adeimantus shares only forty with Socrates. These forty Br. units occupy only two hours of the remaining seven hours and thirty minutes.

The fact that Adeimantus does not go further on the upward path is evidenced in the content of the two passages after Br. 91 in which he acts as respondent. The first of these is made up of seventeen Br. units, exactly in the middle of the digression. The pattern of the digression is made up of twenty-nine Br. units of Socrates' talking with Glaucon, followed by seventeen Br. units with Adeimantus, followed by another twenty-nine Br. units with Glaucon. An examination of the content does not reveal any new and higher levels of understanding. It is true that there are some magnificent passages—the image of the shipowner, for example—but the whole section is essentially negative, even beginning with an objection. While it is right and even necessary to raise objections, Adeimantus seems to have a preference for them, and his character seems opposite and almost pessimistic. At the end of this middle section of the digression, Socrates points out to Adeimantus that the rulers, the philosophers, "must go the longer way round" (which implies that Adeimantus has not done it), and that unless he does so, he will "never come to the end of the greatest and most fitting study." He then refuses to discuss it any further with Adeimantus but does continue with Glaucon.

The other section in which Adeimantus talks with Socrates is of twenty-three Br. units, from Br. 180 through Br. 202 (corresponding approximately to St. 549 to St. 576), in which the degeneration of the best city and of the best man are gone through. This confirms Adeimantus as the expert in the worse, and the section ends with a summing up of the worst man, and, since he is the worst, Adeimantus can go no further. Glaucon relieves him, taking up the argument, and begins the comparison between the best and the worst which leads, as mentioned above, to the judgment beginning in Br. 206 about the original objections of the brothers. But here Adeimantus seems to have vanished, and when Socrates dramatically asks if he should hire a herald to announce "that Ariston's son has decided that the best and most just man is happiest . . .," it appears that Ariston has only one son.

And yet, we know that Ariston had not one, not two, but three sons, and the question arises whether Plato shows himself in the *Polity*. It appears that he does.

From a consideration of the Br. units, confirmed more exactly by a direct syllable count, it turns out that Glaucon speaks with Socrates for twice the amount of time that Adeimantus speaks with Socrates. In all, Glaucon speaks with Socrates for 108,000 syllables, and Adeimantus speaks with him for 54,000, for a grand total of

Plato must have been aware of the length of time it would take to read aloud each of his works, and especially the *Polity*.

162,000 syllables or very slightly more than nine-tenths of the whole dialogue. Even a casual reader of the dialogue would have some strong impression of the primacy of Glaucon, but it is useful to have that primacy quantified. It is not only useful but also striking.

It is striking because the exactitude suggests deliberate intent, although it is hard to say why Glaucon should be portrayed as deserving exactly twice as much of Socrates' time as Adeimantus. It is, perhaps, curious that after an elaborate and systematic attempt to keep the two brothers equal (that is, until Br. 91), the final outcome shows the double value of Glaucon. What is more curious is that the breakdown of the equality should come just at that point in the conversation when one of the cardinal doctrines of Plato—the tripartite nature of the soul—is about to be stated and argued. There is not only the question of its being Plato's own original view, but there is also the difficulty of attributing such an original view to someone else, even if that someone else is a favorite brother. Rather than giving Glaucon the responsibility for the three-part soul (and much else besides), it would make much more sense to assume the responsibility oneself, and Plato's problem would then be to devise a way of doing that without becoming a named participant in the dialogue (which would cause all sorts of other complications).

Together with this question of intellectual responsibility there is also a simple arithmetical question. If we take the section of the *Polity* from Br. 91 where the soul's nature is first mentioned to the point at which Adeimantus offers Glaucon as a model for the timocratic man (Br. 179), it turns out that the section contains eighty-nine Br. units. Of these, seventeen Br. units belong to Adeimantus and the remaining seventy-two Br. units contain the discussions of the tripartite nature of the soul, the idea of the good, the divided line, the image of the cave, the mathematical studies and dialectic —all the philosophical contributions that have been regarded as Plato at his most characteristic. Conversely, although there are some excellent things said in the other parts of the dialogue, there is nothing the real Adeimantus and the real Glaucon might not have said. It should also be observed that the seventy-one Br. units neatly bisect the contribution of Glaucon, so that he does not have double of Adeimantus' talk with Socrates, but rather the three brothers each have an equal share of that precious relationship. On the whole, this is a much more gracious and satisfying outcome.

Once having seen the possibility of there being, as it were, two Glaucons, a real Glaucon and a Plato-Glaucon, it is not hard to find a hint or two in the words (as opposed to the numbers) of the text to mark the transition. In Br. 91, the following exchange takes place between Socrates and Glaucon:

> "Then it is in this way, my friend, that we will claim that the single man—with these same forms in his soul—thanks to the same affections as those in the city, rightly lays claim to the same names."
> "Quite necessarily," he said.
> "Now it is a slight question about the soul we have stumbled upon, you surprising man," I said. "Does it have these three forms in it or not?"
> "In my opinion, it is hardly a slight question," he said.
> "Perhaps, Socrates, the saying that fine things are hard is true." (St. 435)

There are three forms of the soul and three sons of Ariston, there is the question of same names, and suddenly Glaucon becomes "you surprising man"

when in the previous speech he had been "my friend." What was so surprising? That he had become Plato-Glaucon?

The transitional passage at the conclusion of Plato-Glaucon's section is also suggestive—if we know what we are looking for:

> "Then," I said, "this is the way this polity would come into being and what it would be like—given the fact that we are only outlining a polity's figure in speech and not working out its details precisely, since even the outline is sufficient for seeing the justest man and the unjustest one, and it is an impractically long job to go through all polities and all dispositions and leave nothing out."
> "Right," he [Glaucon] said.
> "Who, then, is the man corresponding to this polity? How did he come into being and what sort of man is he?"
> "I suppose," said Adeimantus, "that as far as love of victory goes, he'd be somewhere near to Glaucon here."
> "Perhaps in that," I said, "but in these other respects his nature does not, in my opinion, correspond to his." (St. 548)

Of course, it does not correspond to Glaucon's nature for Glaucon isn't Glaucon. This would also make some sense of the fact that, unlike the other discussions of the kinds of man, in this case of the timocratic man his character is discussed before his genesis. He does not need to have a genesis for he is already before the group, but he does need to be reestablished as the original Glaucon who went down to the Piraeus with Socrates and not the Plato-Glaucon of the preceding eighty-nine Br. units. It seems likely that it was well understood by Plato's contemporaries which sections of the *Polity* were Plato's own, especially his own.

Although this discussion may have some merit in itself, its purpose here has been to illustrate what can be explored if a way is found to quantify the *Polity*. Without the numbering of the dialogue it is hard, if not impossible, to grasp the symmetries and other patterns that are built into it. For example, it has not been mentioned thus far, but the discussion of the soul in Br. 91 is arithmetically symmetrical with Br. 150, which, it emerges, contains the beginning of the Divided Line. The symmetry is satisfying, but it still remains to elucidate its meaning. That cannot be done until the symmetry is recognized, and the value of Bremer units (or any similar numbering) is precisely that it makes such patterns clear for the first time.

It is now possible to return to the original supposition of this exposition, namely, that the story Er relates is an image of the dialogue itself. That the planets are numbered but are not given their well-established names suggests that for the purposes of the *Polity* they are to be seen not only as themselves but also as standing for others.

In fact, it is obvious that the order of the unnamed planets represents the order in which those who make a constructive contribution to the dialogue speak. Thus, to use the Latin names familiar to us, Saturn is played by Cephalus; Jupiter, Saturn's son, by Polemarchus, Cephalus' son; Thrasymachus takes over from the god of war, Mars; Mercury is imaged by Glaucon, while Adeimantus plays Venus. The allocation of the Sun to Socrates seems particularly appropriate. The Moon must then represent Plato, getting its

Since in twelve hours there are 720 minutes, it is possible to divide the dialogue into that number of equal units.

light from the Socratic sun, and the sphere of fixed stars (the field of planetary movements) is the Athenian democracy, which provides the background for the events in the Piraeus and for Plato's writing of the *Polity*.

The original image in this discussion was a geometrical diagram of a sphere inscribed in a tetrahedron, a regular pyramid. The apex of the tetrahedron is the location of Necessity, from whose lap the spindle of the sphere (or spheres) is suspended. The three daughters of Necessity define the circumscribing equilateral triangle, which is a section of the tetrahedron, and, moreover, they provide the motive power for the rotation of the spheres about their axis, the spindle. Since the rims which are revealed as the section through the spheres represent the planetary orbits in some way (and the Sirens their heavenly music), the geometrical diagram is, at one level, an image or model of the universe, of the cosmos.

It has been suggested above that, at another level, the geometrical diagram is an image or model of the *Polity* itself. If this suggestion is pursued and another level of interpretation is attempted, then it seems highly likely that the daughters of Necessity are replaced by the sons of Ariston who share equally in the dialogue and are, therefore, located at the vertices of an equilateral triangle. Since Necessity is the mother of Lachesis, Clotho, and Atropos, her place in the diagram must be taken by Ariston, the father of Plato, Glaucon and Adeimantus.

The identification of the three daughters with the three sons is not at all impossible, but what is more immediately significant is the replacement of Necessity by Ariston. In the philosophical content of the *Polity* the role of Necessity is not emphasized and, indeed, preeminence is given not to Ariston ("best") but to his verbal relative Agathon ("good"). It is the Good that is the cause of all being and of all knowing and it is therefore appropriate that the Good take its place at the apex of the tetrahedron.

To make this substitution is to represent the cosmos in a new way, and it would be tempting to interpret the spindle as the Divided Line and to ascertain whether the geometrical diagram fits the dialogue as quantified. However, in terms of the dialogue itself, the three sons of Ariston are suspended from their father, but in another way they are suspended from their intellectual father, Socrates. While it is true that the Sun is presented in the *Polity* as the offspring of the Good in the visible world, it is equally true that Socrates is the offspring of the Good in the human world. Most fundamentally, as the Good is the source of all being and knowing, so Socrates is the source of the being and knowing of the *Polity* itself, for without him it would never have existed and without his recounting of the conversation it would not now be known.

Insofar as the conversation took place "yesterday," it is under the authority of Lachesis the measurer, who sings of the past. As it is recounted "today," the conversation falls under the authority of Clotho the spinster or spinner of the thread of life, who sings of what is, of the present; it is well to remember the widespread use of spinning as a metaphor for story-telling —witness our word "yarn." Finally, the dialogue is subject to Atropos, who rules over what will be, over the future, and although she cannot be turned or avoided, nevertheless her terrible power is mitigated by the message from Lachesis, which falls exactly at the arithmetic center of Er's story: "Virtue is without a master: as he honors or dishonors her, each will have more or less of her. The responsibility is the chooser's; god is not responsible."

While the shears of Atropos will snip Clotho's thread of life, as measured by the rod of Lachesis, the kind of life that is led depends on whether we learn from the dialogue and whether we are persuaded by Er's tale and always keep to the upper path.

Although in one sense Socrates takes the place of Necessity, in another sense he is subject to a kind of necessity in that he must tell his tale, he must recount the story. Although his story-telling may change what is, in a certain sense it may have "results," those "results" are not the outcome of Socrates as cause, and he does not tell his story with a purpose beyond the story itself. He tells it because he must and in that sense he operates like and under Necessity. He cannot take from hearers their responsibility to choose and he cannot control what they make of the story they hear. Indeed, he cannot even control whether they hear it or not. Cephalus leaves before the tale is told and there is no indication that Polemarchus, for example, hears it to the end although apparently he does not leave. The reader or hearer of the dialogue does not know whether Polemarchus heard it or not. But possibly neither does Socrates. Although this may well be so, the three sons of Ariston do perform the same function as the Fates, namely, as movers. In different ways, the sons of Ariston, admittedly suspended from Socrates, make the circles of the dialectical discourse revolve—and Adeimantus, of course, in the opposite direction, the Other.

Returning to the replacement of the mother and her three daughters by the father (Ariston/Agathon/Socrates) and his three sons, it become immediately obvious that the female is supplanted by the male. We are reminded that the *Polity* takes place on the feast of the Moon goddess and during the course of the discussion the power of the Sun and Apollo is given priority. How this is to be understood is far from clear. It would be easy to apply the principles of Robert Graves (in *The White Goddess* and elsewhere) and to see in this the intellectual account and myth of the supposed social transference of power as the matrilinear is replaced by the patrilinear. But this view does justice neither to Graves nor to Plato. The fact is that in the *Polity* itself the equality of men and women is strongly asserted —same nature, same education, same function—and it appears that a whole new relationship between the sexes is adumbrated, a relationship that is not immediately and obviously acceptable either to the Sun or to the Moon, to Apollo, or to Bendis. It should be remembered, moreover, that, according to the received myth, when Theseus introduced the crane dance at Knossos, it was the first time that men and women danced together.

It would be illuminating to know the choreography of that dance, to know the measure of its tread. It would be equally helpful to know the song or scale that Er's Sirens sang, to know the ratios of the string lengths necessitated by the planetary distances of the cosmos. But if Er's story is an image not only of the cosmos but also of the *Polity* itself, then those ratios should be built into the dialogue. That those ratios are built into the dialogue, together with the measure of the dance's tread, will only be apparent to those who are willing, with Socrates, to count and to recount "today" the conversation that took place "yesterday" down in the Piraeus.■

The Parabolic Kafka

William Kluback

Among Franz Kafka's parables and paradoxes, we discover meanings that move past one another going in different directions. These are not mutually exclusive meanings but ones that belong to different levels of meaning. There is a communication, but it is not communicable to the one to whom we believe we are communicating. There is a noncommunicating communication. There is a questioning that is not heard as questioning. The questioner questions and the hearer fails to comprehend what he hears. In other words, he hears but does not hear. The vagueness of these remarks bears within it a concreteness, but this latter is realized only if we move from our preliminary observations to parables where the abstractions find literary concreteness. Kafka exemplified a reality that is significant for our study of questioning in his parables. In the parable "My Destination," the master gives orders that his horse be brought from the stable. He says: "The servant did not understand me. I myself went to the stable, saddled my horse, and mounted. In the distance I heard a bugle call. I asked him what this meant. He knew nothing and had heard nothing."[1] The opening descriptions are at first difficult to

1. Franz Kafka, *Parables and Paradoxes* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), p. 189.

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Men speak with each other but they speak paradoxically, that is, they pass each other by.

unveil. The servant does not understand why the master should have saddled his own horse; he hears a bugle call but it is not heard by the servant. Why does the servant not understand, and why has he not heard? Does the servant understand only when the conditions are suitable for his understanding; does he hear only that reality that his conditions have made it possible for him to hear? The master commands only those who are capable of being commanded by him and who hear only because they have been prepared to hear what the others cannot. The master knows that only some can hear those whose hearing has been prepared by his command.

The first remarks lead to the serious question:

> "Where are you riding to, master?" "I don't know," I said, "only away from here, away from here. Always away from here, only in doing so can I reach my destination." "And you know your destination?" he asked. "Yes," I answered, "Didn't I say so? Away-from-Here, that is my destination."

The master knows his destination but it is not like the destination the servant could grasp. This is an Abrahamic destination that demands a vision the ordinary man cannot share. But it is a destiny the master also knows little about. For him the destiny is the command: Away-from-Here. Questions are asked but they do not tie the servant to the master; they reveal a gap that is so radical that what one says has no meaning for the other. The servant has a more immediate problem. He is concerned with the provisions his master should have for the journey.

> "You have no provisions with you," he said; "I need none," I said, "the journey is so long that I must die of hunger if I don't get anything on the way. No provisions can save me. For it is, fortunately, a truly immense journey."

The master is speaking about a metaphysical journey that puts aside the needs of our physical one. In that journey we need provisions, and this the servant understood, but he does not comprehend the metaphysical one. His master's activity no longer belongs to those he knows. He is cut off from his master. They speak to one another but they speak in different directions, to unrelated realities. We find this absurd. We call it nihilistic, but we are aware that two realities confront each other, speak to each other, and yet are silent to each other. Men question each other, but if they have lost that *sensus communis*, their words run past each other. If we call this absurdity, we reveal to ourselves how deeply alienated man can be from man. Suddenly we are aware that this alienation is not from our fellow man but from that transcendence which we, for generations, have believed has penetrated our reason and filled us with the Word, the *Logos*.

The master spoke to the servant but they did not hear each other. In "Imperial Message," the emperor spoke to a humble subject but he could not reveal the message that the emperor gave him. The emperor "had commanded the messenger to kneel down by the bed and whispered the message to him; so much store did he lay on it that he ordered the messenger to whisper it back into his ear again. Then, by a nod of the head, he confirmed that it is right."[2] The message is unknown but very significant.

2. Kafka, *Parables*, pp. 13-15.

It is a truth to be given to "the humble subject, the insigificant shadow cowering in the remotest distance before the imperial sun; the emperor, from his deathbed, has sent a message to you alone." This is not a vague message to an abstract mankind but to a humble subject, a message to be known by the lowliest in the empire, one that goes from the highest to the lowest to link them in truth, and with this link all the others are embraced. The truth is given to the humblest. In him it finds its vehicle, but does it? The messenger faces the multitude of barriers, the unending distance filled with indifference, confusion, and disinterestedness. "If he could reach the open fields, how fast he would fly, and soon, doubtless, you would hear the welcoming hammer of his fists on your door."

The open fields are a hope never to be realized. Man waits for what does not come because there is the unbridgeable gulf between what man dreams and what is man's reality. When man questions what belongs beyond his immediate reality, his questions fade into the oblivion of meaninglessness and absurdity. For thousands of years, man awaits a message that does not come, and if the messenger "should burst through the outermost gate—but never, never can that happen—the imperial capital would be before him, the center of the world, crammed to bursting with its own refuse. Nobody could fight his way through here, least of all one with a message from a dead man. But you sit at your window when evening falls and dream it to yourself."

The distance is too vast, mankind too indifferent to hear a message from a dead man. It belongs to our dreams. Melancholy and painfulness fill the vision of the messenger with a message from a dead man. The truth man pretends to eagerly crave he has no capacity to receive, no preparation to bring within his midst to incarnate in his life. Man's questioning of truth is futile and vague. His visions have given him dreams of redemption, but he knows they do not belong to his life here. They begin in a new direction: "Away-from-Here." But how does the man who knows this speak with the man who does not? They question each other but do not hear each other. They speak in absurdities. They bear witness to that disappearance of the common sense that for so long made every man depend upon the other.

It was early in the morning, Kafka writes, and "I was on my way to the station. As I compared the tower clock with my watch, I realized it was much later than I thought . . .; the shock of this discovery made me feel uncertain of the way . . .; fortunately there was a policeman at hand; I ran to him and breathlessly asked him the way."[3] The beginning description of this parable titled "Give It Up" entices us by its simplicity. We are relieved to find moments of simplicity, the travel to the station, the early morning hour, the policeman and the tower clock. Suddenly we are aware of a contradiction: differences in time and the ensuing uncertainty of the way.

> The policeman said: "You asking me the way?" "Yes," I said, "since I can't find it myself." "Give it up!" said he, and turned with a sudden jerk, like someone who wanted to be alone with his laughter.

3. Franz Kafka, *The Complete Stories* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), p. 456.

Man waits for what does not come because there is the unbridgeable gulf between what man dreams and what is man's reality.

Again we are questioning what has become the absurd. The word that strikes us as deeply significant is: the way. We need to search for a way, we need to pose questions concerning how we discover the way. Here the policeman laughed, shocked at the notion that he should be asked the way. But we are always asking about the way. We seek the way in knowledge, in morality, in politics. Are we asking the proper questions? Can a way be found in any human activity that depends upon another being? We know that it is possible to follow the dictates of others, to imitate a given model or form, but we also know that the way cannot be given by another. Momentarily a way can be understood but this is laughable because it means little and yet it means much. We would prefer to be given the way and we know that we should not be given it. We question others about the way, and we know that the questions are absurd because there are questions that must be addressed to the self that also does not comprehend them. The self becomes conscious that the path lies within the freedom of self-consciousness, but is there a self-consciousness? The path that depends upon another is no path. It is slavery. The path cannot be given; it is possible that it can be discovered. But if it can only be discovered, then it must already be there within consciousness. The questions must be those of discovery posed by the man who knows that there are ways to discovery. The questions that are posed to another so that we can be given a way are absurd. From the self a way can be found, but it is possible that the self no longer has a way.

There are many ways to express absurdity. Kafka is humorous, serious, bewildering, and melancholy. In the parable "Rejection,"[4] the simple encounter of a man and a woman reveals the absurdity of a human relationship and the questioning speech that accompanies it. How intimately the situation and the language belong together becomes amazingly clear as we move from parable to parable. It is in this movement that we realize that the parable is not simply an aspect of life but that it is the form in which life emerges. A new reality has appeared to us in the parabolic form that overcomes and puts aside that simplicity of meaning that accompanies life when it is moving along the singular path and when naively it asks for the direction. The absurdity of the question that reaches for direction is shown in the parable. There the direction is both yes and no, upward and downward, forward and backward. The parabolic reality introduces multiple dimensions, and to comprehend these in their mutual contradiction demands questions for which answers are no longer possible. The old questions are absurd because they were posed by the nonparabolic man. The parabolic man has new questions that bear within them the multiple movements of what he knows to be experience: the nonanswering questions that defy the reasonable discourse.

In our parable "Rejection" the man, when he meets a pretty girl, makes a simple request, "Be so good as to come with me," and she seems to say: "You are no Duke with a famous name, no broad American with a Red Indian figure, level, brooding eyes, and a skin tempered by the air of the prairies and the river that flows through them . . . . So why, pray, should a pretty girl like myself go with you?" One is struck by the peculiar feeling that each individual is borne along by

4. Kafka, *Complete Stories*, pp. 383–84.

a life that has little to do with the other and yet there are relationships between them that are established by physical expressions. But deeper than these are the feelings of separability and strangeness that give to each person a distinct and hostile world. We are not linked to each other by a universal *Logos* that fills each of us and unites us through that common sense which makes communication possible. The philosopher Kant remarked that we were "suitors for agreement from everyone because we are fortified with a ground common to all."[5] He observed that a "universal communicability of a feeling presupposes a common sense." With this assumption of universality, man can depend upon his ability to convince his fellowman that reasonable behavior, in all forms of activity that cannot and should not be given propositional forms, depends upon the common sense. He can also affirm the historical changes in attitudes, but in doing this he again confirms the fact that universal communicability is the source of the inquisitiveness that constantly attempts to free us from the limiting effects of those judgments which we assume to be the bearers of unconditioned necessity. In Kafka's view, this Kantian observation has philosophical validity but is experientially absurd. The condition for universal communicability exists theoretically, but the human condition reveals its folly. In the parabolic architecture of this reality both man and society reveal the coincidence of opposites no longer as a logical principle but as a personal experience. The conflictual character of human nature and society reflects the deeper truths of man's personal and social reality. In his language—that is, in his questioning—he shows that he both communicates and refuses communication at the same time. He speaks to his fellowman and denies him meaning. We confront a communicating noncommunicability.

Our parable has just begun and the man now speaks to the woman. "You forget that no automobile swings you through the street in long thrusts; I see no gentlemen escorting you in a close half-circle, pressing on your skirts from behind and murmuring blessings on your head . . . ." The description of her body, of her dress, invite pleasure and distaste. We then listen to the final remarks. "Yes, we're both in the right, and to keep me from being irrevocably aware of it, hadn't we better go our separate ways home?"

Two apparent truths emerge. Whatever we say about the one we say about the other. We are returned to ourselves knowing that we cannot say much about the other because we have become relative only to our own self. What is this self that speaks from within us, that attempts to bring the other toward us? Is this self any longer that moment of the *Logos* that is shared by every being, which lends each the dignity of his being and which is the foundation for the Ideal of Humanity? Each self is now only a relative, haphazard expression of immediate pleasure or fear, desire or repulsion. We have been reduced to going our separate ways, thinking our separate thoughts, and acting our separate deeds. We communicate more easily with our dogs than with our fellowmen. In our fellowman we do not perceive the source of healing philosophers have mentioned, but in him we find another transient being held together by his individual existence. In it we find her safety and his antagonism toward his fellowman. What is deeply lost is that communality of feeling that makes it possible

5. Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Judgement*, trans. J.C. Meredith (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), #19.

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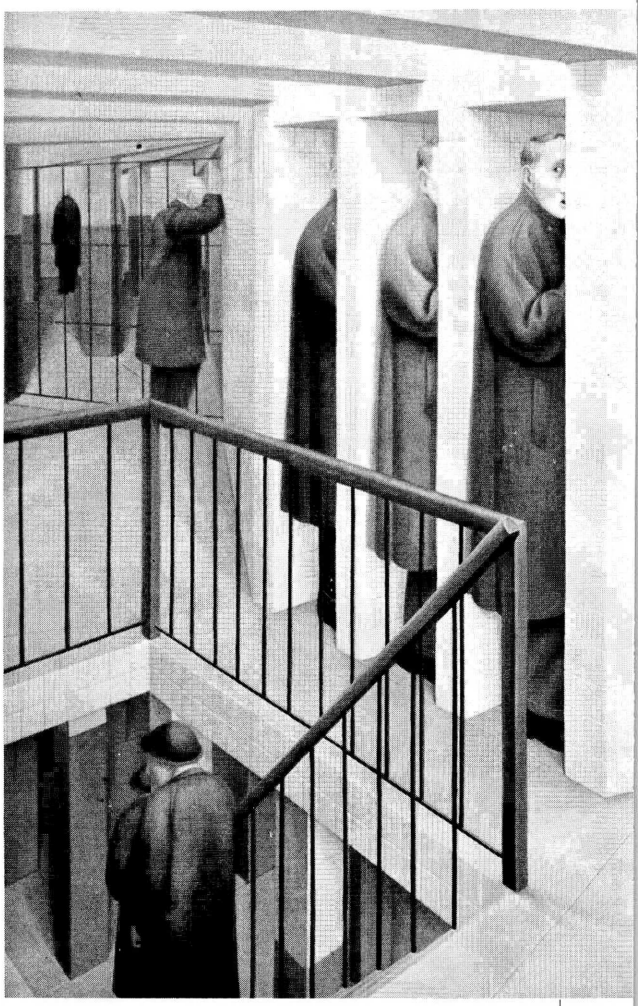

for man to question his fellowman in search for truth. The reality of the *common sense* has been lost.

In the beginning chapters of Isaiah, the prophet is commanded to speak to the people: "You may listen and listen, but you will not understand. You may look and look again, but you will never know. Thus peoples' wits are dulled, their ears are deafened, and their eyes blinded so they cannot see with their eyes nor listen with their ears nor understand with their wits, so that they may turn and be healed."[6]

If we go beyond the explanation of human waywardness, we can find in this description another reality. We discover an insight into the parable and the paradox. In them the Bible offered us some of its deepest insights, and it is in these forms that we can follow the tradition from text to text. Hearing, seeing, understanding are parabolic terms. They reveal dimensions and levels of reality in which the conflicting, contrary, and contradicting experience of life emerges in greater complexity, and the less complex and nonparadoxical fade away into the unreal but easily definable perspectives where the absurd is no longer alive and the kingdom of evil has no validity. But as we question, searching for meaning, what appears as the clear and dis-

6. Isaiah 6:9–11, *The New English Bible* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

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tinct fades into the contrary and paradoxical. Here our questioning confronts the parabolic and must move along different roads of meaning that seemingly contradict each other, but at the same time reflect an experience where the definable is useless and we are forced to follow paths that lead us in directions from which we will turn and retrace our steps finding in our new direction meanings we could not otherwise grasp. Again and again we will question but also from a new level of meaning, knowing how inadequate our thought is and how deeply the need is for that reversal and the new direction. The parable and paradox are realities that no society interested in the "falsification of the good" is willing to propagate. Kafka's long and forced silence in the Soviet Union makes us aware of the dangers that lie in these literary forces and the unique questions they bring forth from themselves.

As we move from one parable to another attempting to discover the nature of the parabolic discourse of forward and backward movement, we come to the realization that this discourse also implies action and that we can speak of parabolic action, that is, the creativity of the imagination, the comprehension of the act of freedom. Each parable has a discourse and an action. Since these Kafka parables have no intention of teaching a religious message, they do not

The parabolic man has new questions, which bear within them the multiple movements of what he knows to be experience: the non-answering questions that defy reasonable discourse.

go beyond human possibilities. This means that in and through the parable we come to the realization that the human situation is founded in the mutuality of contradictions. In this the individual chooses one path and forsakes the other knowing that the other is viable and necessary. He is able to take only one, knowing the other is equally necessary for the truth. In other words, man questions the path he takes to justify the choice he has made. The questions he poses are meaningful for the way he goes but become absurd for the way he does not follow. Let us for the moment consider the "Test." In this parable a servant is out of work. He is timid and does not even stand in the unemployment line. We are told that the "main thing is that I am not called upon to serve, others have been called yet they have not tried harder than I, indeed perhaps they have not even felt the desire to be called; whereas I, at least sometimes, have felt it very strongly."[7] The servant questions the meaning of his last occupation. He wants and needs to serve and yet he is not called, others have been but there is no apparent reason why they are called and he is not. Here lies the incomprehensibility of the human situation. Throughout the ages men have attempted to give it meaning, to find the justice and injustice embodied in the inequality of human life. They have invented all types of philosophies, economic theories, social structures to explain what is fundamentally inexplicable: the salvation and damnation of individuals and societies. They have tried to question, knowing that there are no answers, and they have invented answers for questions they knew would remain unanswerable if not invented.

The servant is pensive and we are told that occasionally he walked over to the tavern, where they sell a sour beer; "Occasionally I have poured away a glass in disgust, but at other times, I drink it. I like sitting there because from behind the closed little window, without the possibility of being discovered, I can see across to the windows of our house." There is a melancholy that hangs over his attitude and feelings. He observes the servants of the house. He does not know them, but he watches those whose work he should be doing and yet he is not called upon to do it. Is his work no longer needed? Does he do what the other cannot do, does he do the *old* work and these servants do the new work? Are there such discrepancies between man and society that they do not have a place for each other? The feeling of alienation, of inadequacy, can lie deep in the minds of those who believe in values that are no longer valued and discarded. These are the questions of the parabolic man. Questions are posed to realities that no longer exist, and in those that do exist questions induce doubts.

The servant arrived at the tavern but found another servant in his usual place. He was about to leave but the servant called to him and they sat down to have a drink. In fact, they recognized each other but had never spoken. Their conversation began with questions.

> "I did not even understand his questions. So I said: Perhaps you are sorry now that you invited me, so I'd better go, and I was about to get up. But he stretched his hand out over the table and pressed me down. "Stay," he said, "that was only a test. He who does not answer the questions has passed the test."

7. Kafka, *Complete Stories*, pp. 441–42.

There are questions that should not be answered because they are not addressing the reality that could awaken the possibility of answers. These are questions of silence. Questions evoke silence when they presuppose the interrogative and at the same time deny it. There are questions that are not questions as there are answers that are not answers; there is an interrogation of pretense. But what constitutes the nonquestion in the form of the question? Again we return to the *sensus communis*, to the question Kant posed: "But does such a common sense in fact exist as a constitutive principle of the possibility of experience, or is it formed for us as a regulative principle by a still higher principle of reason, that for higher ends first seeks to beget in us a common sense?"[8]

Whether we assume it to be constitutive or regulative, it forms a natural reasonable community among men that makes reasonable discourse possible and valid. The community of discourse, as it changes through time, is treated as a community in which reason discovers its history—that is, autobiography. This community is the foundation of rational and reasonable communication, the structure in which the question and the answer constitute the developing discourse. In the parable, this discourse becomes silence; in silence, man recognizes the absurdity of language which no longer is formed in the common sense that joins man to man and society to society. Silence is the statement of the unbridgeable gap that tears apart the Idea of Humanity that our reason believed was the expression of man's rational condition. The parabolic truth reveals the irreconcilability of the dualism of truth.

In the *City of God,* Augustine spoke of the differences that separated men from one another. He remarked that "where they cannot communicate their views to one another merely because they speak different languages, so little good does it do them to be alike by endowment of nature —*similitudo naturae*—so far as social unity is concerned, that a man would rather have his dog for company than a foreigner."[9] We understand that in the *similitudo naturae* the bonds that had been forged by reason have weakened and with this condition our language no longer makes possible the understanding of our fellowman; it mocks the I-Thou relationship, it finds its truth in the parabolical and paradoxical. From Augustine's faith, this is the consequence of original sin; the Tower of Babel has reformed itself within us. We use more reasonable explanations to avoid what we consider to be a "dead" theological language. Philosophy has accepted the insight of Nietzsche that, where God exists, human creativity has ended. Whether philosophy has benefited from its proudly claimed autonomy is yet to be decided, but like Augustine, it must explain the absurdity that afflicts our reality and its consequences in communication. Kafka had no intention of seeking the origins of the absurdity he describes. He understood it and needed only to give it literary form. This form he made very clear to us in his "Letter to His Father." "My writing was all about you," the son needed to tell the father,

8. Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Judgement*, #22.

9. Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), XIX, VII.

We are not linked to each other by a universal *Logos* that fills each of us and unites us through that common sense that makes communication possible.

"All I did then, after all, was to bemoan what I could not bemoan upon your breast."[10] There are silently spoken words that utter the experience of estrangement, the loss of communication, the incommunicable feeling. Language had few words for this pain and melancholy. Its few words bring with them abysmal silence. We are beyond the question, because we are beyond estrangement, we entered the strange world of non-communication, the flight of the ego to the unreachable depths of the self, to the painful refusal and end of that much praised I-Thou relationship that our philosophers hold before us as salvation, forgetting that there never was such a relationship, but only an I created by a Thou.

In the last parable, the parable of parables, according to Kafka, "The Vulture," the gap between human and animal behavior is startling and frightening. The question that arises is whether the difference is truly between man and animal or whether the animal is not another form of man, the man we have seen emerging in totalitarianism, the *non*-man. The parable begins with a shocking description:

> A vulture was hacking at my feet . . . . Again and again it struck at them, then circled several times restlessly around me, then returned to continue its work. A gentleman passed by, looked on for a while, then asked me why I suffered the vulture. I am helpless, I said. When it came and began to attack me, I of course tried to drive it away, even to strangle it, but these animals are very strong, it was about to spring at my face but I preferred to sacrifice my feet. Now they are almost torn to bits.[11]

Here we wonder and are amazed by the helplessness of the man's situation—being attacked by a vulture, which usually eats from the dead. Has the bird the foreknowledge that the man in his weakness will die, that his fellowman will see him die and do nothing? Has the vulture the power and courage to do his work because these are the transfigured weaknesses and cowardice of the human community? We ask whether the law of life has become the fight between man and the non-man and whether there is any mediation between them. Humanity seems to be at an end. But these are only preliminary questions which demand that we continue with the parable.

> "Fancy letting yourself be tortured like that," said the gentleman. "One shot and that's the end of the vulture." "Really?" I said, "and would you do that?" "With pleasure" said the gentleman, "I've only got to go home and get my gun. Could you wait another half hour?"

The situation arouses three reactions. Why is this suffering allowed when the solution is clear but demands time when there is no time? The suffering seems senseless when it can be easily ended, but it can be ended only in a time when the victim is destroyed. Time is in conflict with time. The paradox is striking. The vulture can be killed in a half hour but in this time the victim will be killed by the vulture. The situation has become absurd. In the half hour the man will die, but the gentleman cannot bring help before the half hour. The time quantity for one rejects the time quantity of the other. What one hu-

10. Franz Kafka, *Letter to His Father* (New York: Schocken Books, 1966), p. 87.

11. Franz Kafka, *The Complete Stories*, pp. 442-43.

man requires at the particular moment, the other cannot give at that moment, but only at another. Men speak with each other but they speak paradoxically, that is, they pass each other by. Their words and their meanings have no relevancy for each other. They speak simply and clearly but not to each other. Their comprehension of the situation does not reflect a mutuality. In other words they comprehend, but it is a comprehensibility that bears within it incomprehensibility. This is enunciated in the conclusion of the parable. It is enunciated in the announcement of the end of humanity.

The conclusion of the parable belongs to the thought of the vulture. We are told that during the conversation between the victim and the gentleman, the vulture had been listening.

> Now I realize that it had understood everything, it took wing, leaned far back to gain impetus, and then, like a javelin thrower, thrust its beak through my mouth, deep into me. Falling back, I was relieved to feel him drawing irretrievably in my blood, which was filling every depth, flooding every shore.

There is a first reaction of repulsion; the manner of death fills us with despair and pain and we ask questions that do not seem to touch the absurdity and horror of the situation, the helplessness and the inadequacy of the gentleman's behavior and the necessity of the consequence. Was the help so necessarily futile? Was the vulture so convincingly powerful? Was the immediacy of the situation so inadequately judged and acted upon that the vulture became invincible? Was the blood so plentiful that it cried out to the world and buried within itself the predator and the prey? The questions reveal a futility that we must give utterance to, but they preserve what is human in the situation. However paradoxical and parabolic the situation is, we yield to it only when we refuse to question, when we maintain that interrogative stance that loosens the domination of the paradox. Our questions indicate that the parable remains the subject of deepest human inquiry; it forces from us questions that remain without answers, of explanations and definitions awaiting the reformulation of the question. But above all the questions stir the imagination by refusing answers of definition and explanation because they indicate a falsification of the question that cannot be explained and defined. "The Vulture," like the other parables, refuses to be limited by the explanation it attempts to bring to our imagination and to the impressions that terrify and yet enlighten us. It forces us to think because it denies us the possibility of knowing. It teaches that in the realm of thinking we can no longer have objects of knowledge, no adequation between mind and object. We are forced into the arena of argumentation, into the realm of possibilities and probabilities, into the unexpected.

In conclusion, there are things that should be observed about parables in the parable. "On Parables" speaks of parables and says:

> All these parables really set out to say merely that the incomprehensible is incomprehensible, and we know that already. But the cares we have to struggle with every

The condition for universal communicability exists theoretically, but the human condition reveals its folly.

> day: that is a different matter. Concerning this a man once said: Why such reluctance? If you only followed the parables you yourselves would become parables and with that rid of all your daily cares. Another said: I bet that is also a parable. The first said: You have won. The second said: But unfortunately only in parable. The first said: No, in reality: in parable you have lost.[12]

Here we read again to decipher a meaning, but now we understand that meaning is beyond every particular meaning because the latter implies the explanation and the definition. The need for meaning is significant, but in the parabolic and paradoxical form meaning reverses explanation, which assumes that *something* can be known and argues that the reality is only thinkable in multiple possibilities. One does win in reality because here the parable can be set aside through the proposition. Where the proposition resides, the parable resigns; where the definition seeks domination, the paradox retreats; and where the parable understands itself as parable, it is no longer parable. The parable and the paradox create a distinct and rich source of questioning. The latter is intimately tied to the imagination, which it stimulates and excites and at the same time informs with understanding. The power of interrogation becomes critique because it opens to us the realm of the thinkable in its parabolic and paradoxic nature. In telling the parable, thinking its form, we are made aware of a new dimension of thought and not merely a peculiarity that has its own modal possibilities. Argumentation in its parabolic and paradoxical form is the dimension of thinking we have forcefully discovered in our times. It stands in sharp contrast to the mode of the time: Dissolve everything into a problem and bring forth for each one a solution. It reveals the end of civilization that had believed in the unity of thought and truth. The duality it postulates forces upon us a new form of thinking: the paradoxical. Truth is not singular; it is duality and beyond duality. Radically different truths have emerged that can be placed alongside each other with relationship to each other. We can think them, but we cannot reconcile them. Our philosopher of reconciliation is dead. We ask ourselves how is it possible to think opposites even in coincidence. We think because we question. In the question we find the argumentation of the paradox and the parable, in the question we bring the forms to consciousness, but can we act from consciousness?■

12. Kafka, *Complete Stories*, p. 457.

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Soren Kierkegaard

THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

Kierkegaard and the Romantic Soul, Then and Now

Vincent A. McCarthy

In the early 1940s, at the time when Soren Kierkegaard's writings were becoming available in English, the American theologian Reinhold Niebuhr commented that Kierkegaard (1813–1855) had emerged as the most profound psychologist of the soul since St. Augustine (354–430). In an age that increasingly seeks to break free of cultural narrowness, Niebuhr's remark should be reformulated to say that Kierkegaard is the most profound psychologist of the Western, or Western Christian, soul since Augustine. Kierkegaard would have no difficulty with this qualification, for he was neither culturally nor religiously naive. His is a self-conscious analysis of the Western soul and the problems that arise in the Western experience of non-selfhood in nineteenth-century Germanic Lutheran culture. His presuppositions may be culturally conditioned, and this may ultimately affect his diagnosis of spiritual malady. But, if conditioned by culture, they are not limited by time. Thus even if it is the romantic nineteenth century that Kierkegaard addresses, I suspect that Bishop Augustine, author of the *Confessions,* would recognize in Kierkegaard's young aesthetes elements of the young Augustine himself, an intellectual romantic if there ever was one. Moreover, Kierkegaard's nineteenth-century poets and spiritual patients have their counterparts

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today in the fashionable culture of sensitivity and self-actualization that constitute the new romanticism of California and, by extension, contemporary American culture. Kierkegaard knew nothing, of course, of sensitivity groups, self-fulfillment groups, and the like. But nineteenth-century Denmark and Germany had their cultural equivalents. Kierkegaard fully granted the alienation that such groups pointed to and agreed about the self-alienating quality of modern society. But, having himself experimented with the alternative life-views celebrated by such groups, he came up against their limits and came to regard proposed novel cures as worse than the disease —worse, since they did not cure the disease but had the effect of either distracting one from it or else rendering one spiritually suicidal.

Kierkegaard is thus an analyst and undisguised critic of modernity. At the same time, he is very much a man of his century, who accepts certain insights of his age but considers them not radical enough and suggests that the analysis of an earlier age—early Christianity—was much closer to the mark. Moreover, he is not fixated on the externals of early Christianity and allows the insights of early Christianity to be "translated" into the discourse of his age. Thus, for example, he conducted a thoroughgoing reconsideration of the meaning of original sin that broke free of the mythology of inherited guilt from a deed of Adam and Eve and in its place offered a deep deliberation on the meaning of our own incontestable fall.[1] For Kierkegaard, sin is a real and unhappy fact. But it need not be spoken of in Roman legalistic terminology, nor must our God-relationship be described as a medieval balance sheet of debts and credits. 'Sin' and 'forgiveness' are terms that can even be discarded if necessary, but the process they point to takes place, he would hold, in the living, struggling spirit of every person, whether in the fourth century, the nineteenth, or the late twentieth.

What Kierkegaard criticizes in modernity is, on the one hand, the smug self-confidence of the scientific worldview that was still on the ascent in the nineteenth century (and did not begin to erode until almost the mid-twentieth) and, on the other hand, the fanciful notion that moderns, by virtue of their increased knowledge and mastery of the planet, are somehow essentially different from the human species in ages past. The consequence of a fanciful notion of a new humanity was that moderns began to believe that by experimenting with themselves and with society they could radically and essentially change things and themselves.

Kierkegaard held this to be dangerous nonsense. And a prime example of this sort of thinking was Jean-Jacques Rousseau then (or Karl Marx later), who emphatically denied anything like original sin and blamed the evils of the world on wicked societies. It ought to be pointed out here that Kierkegaard was personally a political conservative, perhaps even a reactionary. However, his philosophical thought is by no means incompatible with economic, social, and political progress. He was a harsh critic of bourgeois Danish society and equally of self-designated reformers whom he viewed as dangerously superficial. While he did not need to hold to

1. He does the equivalent with faith in *Fear and Trembling*.

ancient phrases, he clearly believed that the meaning of "the Kingdom of God" could not be achieved simply by proclaiming a new constitution or economic order. Kierkegaard's "radical" Christianity was in a direct line with the late Hebrew prophets who had articulated a notion of justification that was individual in its emphasis and only cumulatively social. Thus "the individual" is a primary category in Kierkegaard's thought, while "the crowd" or "the masses" are held to be the enemy of authentic individuality.

It should be noted that Kierkegaard's thought does not outline any ideal social order made up of authentic individuals. Unfortunately, perhaps, he never went that far, and he never tried to be a political thinker as such. He was far too engaged in the battle against mass society on the one hand and false individualism on the other. Thus while he stands against the self-described social reformers of his age, he also stands against the self-proclaimed individualists—the poets, literati, intellectuals, and aesthetes of every stripe who set themselves up as models of modern self-fulfillment.

Kierkegaard believed that the malaise of his age was, at root, a very old malady indeed. He recognized that the true modern medicine was really a very old one and that this would be very hard swallowing for an age that considered the past as nothing less than surpassed. How was one to persuade the heirs of the Enlightenment, who were convinced that they had advanced from darkness to light not only in natural knowledge (the sciences) but in supernatural knowledge as well, that the "old truths" were still true? Kierkegaard would have to call for a break with the lingering naive optimism of the Enlightenment and subsequent Romanticism in order to point to the humbling truth of humanity circumscribed not only by its nature but also by its own deeds of self-impairment (="sin"). He knew too that he was breaking with the modern notion of history, and of historical social progress, for the sake of the higher history of the individual soul. Indeed, Kierkegaard saw that the essence of the modern fall away from God was ahistorical and in another sense "prehistoric." It had been expressed, after all, in the story of the fall of Lucifer (taken as either fact or myth). For it was Lucifer who had wished to be God, had desired to be his own creator, and had preferred the proud "autonomy" of hellfire to a humbler heaven ruled by an Other. For his part, Kierkegaard saw the poets and would-be geniuses of his age as doing the equivalent: refusing the humble status of creature in favor of the attempt at self-creation, but in addition projecting an endearing image of sensitivity and creative suffering that frequently disguised a diabolical willfulness and an inner hell.

In Kierkegaard's view, the poets (and intellectuals too)—the cultural heroes and models of nineteenth-century self-fulfillment—were seducing the age by celebrating feeling and imagination, by holding up various attractive versions of an imaginary self. The young Kierkegaard had made his own personal experiment and then reverted to unglamorous older ways described in such "outdated" terms as 'sin' and 'forgiveness.' But having caught himself in time, as he thought, he could not rest content to let the age go the path it seemed to have sketched for itself. For he saw clearly that the imaginary "new" self so celebrated by his age could never be actualized and that those who pursued such fancies of the imagination never moved a step closer to overcoming the alienation that had

Kierkegaard is an analyst and undisguised critic of modernity.

been their starting point.

To repeat, Kierkegaard did not at all dispute their alienation. What he did dispute was their analysis of it, which he held to be superficial. In his view, the root problem was that of a human being coming to peace with itself and with its Ground and this was not a matter of poetry or sheer feeling. The nineteenth-century therapies of art and literature were not effective beyond the moment, any more than massaging and various forms of soaking are today. What was needed, in his view, was an "eternal" cure, based on a correct understanding of the "eternal nature" of the self in relation to its Eternal Ground.

Kierkegaard's authorship points repeatedly to just such a cure as it engages in a profound analysis of forms of alienation that transcend any particular generation or age. The "patients" he selects are modeled on nineteenth-century types, but he quickly penetrates beneath the nineteenth-century surface to reveal souls whose restlessness and *dis*-ease Augustine in the fourth century and we in the twentieth have little trouble recognizing. And it is because of his penetration to a problem that transcends (but is not unconnected with) any particular age and society that Kierkegaard can seem very contemporary indeed, that he can appear a contemporary of Freud and Maslow and not just of Brahms and Liszt.

Beyond the romantics and before both existentialism and psychoanalysis, Kierkegaard was a first-rate psychologist or doctor of the soul.[2] Kierkegaard restricted his psychologizing to the religious—a theme area that permeates all his writings—and I confine myself here to his analysis of the stormy emotional life of the potentially religious subject as an inner dynamism tries to compel him from false paths to the true or, put another way, as the human spirit weathers the internal storms involved in reaching Infinite Spirit.

The romantics celebrated feeling, sensitivity, and moods. Kierkegaard took their attention to such phenomena very seriously indeed, but not their interpretation and attitude. He believed that they should be approached with a serious and discerning mind and not be treated merely as a means of emotional ventilation. Thus, in Kierkegaard's analysis, moods play a vitally important role. Kierkegaard is interested principally in moods related to reflection and self-consciousness, moods that intensify the experience of subjectivity and call one's identity into question. The four moods of religious subjectivity that Kierkegaard examines —irony, anxiety, melancholy, and despair—have no external object and are essentially about the self, as indicated by their intensification of subjectivity. These moods, for Kierkegaard, make one more conscious of oneself, of the problem of the self in two senses: the self as shattered and a burden and the self as task to be accomplished. The moods thus throw one back upon oneself and reveal the task and destiny of becoming an authentic self: whole and grounded once again in the One Possible Source who is by degrees recognized as such.

The moods and dialectic of moods that Kierkegaard sketches occur only in the religiously sensitive personality. But this is no privileged sphere;

2. It is significant in this connection that his theological/psychological treatise *The Concept of Anxiety* remains important and influential in the understanding of anxiety and related psychic disorders.

all are religiously conditioned, even if apparently to different degrees. (However, individuals, and cultures too, may deaden, if never entirely kill, religious sensitivity.) Each of the moods is in a sense already there: its message is implicitly present in the personality until "explicitation" begins in an awakening, setting-into-motion of spirit in which the consciousness and task of religious subjectivity emerge. Accepting and going through the moods with their purging and revelatory effect constitute a passageway for finite human spirit advancing toward the Infinite.

The "solution" to a mood is, in choosing it, to choose oneself. This is somewhat different in each of the four, as will be noted below. Each for Kierkegaard comes and goes, but each also builds to a crisis stage demanding resolution. However, there is no assurance that the crisis will be resolved, no assurance that one will arrive where the moods ever more clearly direct one. This is true in two senses: first, in that each step requires an act of the will that one is not compelled to make (even if one is emotionally punished for not making it); second, in that the final resolution—reconciliation of God and man, re-fusion of the self—results from a divine grace that, although promised, cannot be presumed. As a spiritually qualified being, one is equally free to become oneself or to destroy oneself; and Kierkegaard's writings portray characters who rather clearly will *not* go the whole way, most notably Johannes of *Either/Or,* who is thereby considered "diabolical."[3]

IRONY: THE MOOD OF REBELLION AGAINST FINITUDE

Kierkegaard began his modal analysis of nonreligious existence on the verge of the religious in his doctoral dissertation, "The Concept of Irony, with Constant Reference to Socrates." But a concern with irony permeates his subsequent literary, pseudonymous writings.

Irony is the first crisis mood in an aesthetic existence on the verge of demolition—that is, an existence lived on the level of pleasure (sensual and intellectual) and centered exclusively in oneself. As Kierkegaard's pseudonym Johannes Climacus remarks:

> Irony is an existential determination, and nothing is more ridiculous than to suppose that it consists in the use of certain phraseology .... Whoever has essential irony has it all day long, not bound to any specific form, because it is the infinite within him.[4]

Irony represents a decisive *prise de conscience* about the world (finitude) and about oneself in the world. It begins in the first moment of reflection in which one realizes that one is unsatisfied and uncompleted by the world. Kierkegaard speaks of ironic consciousness, which raises one out of immediate (nonreflective) existence and, having raised one, leaves one in midair.[5] The ironist is suspended in the air between the magnets of finitude and infinitude.

One ironizes, according to Kierkegaard, because the world has lost its validity.[6] The implicit promise of the

The consequence of a fanciful notion of a new humanity was that moderns began to believe that by experimenting with themselves and with society they could radically and essentially change things and themselves.

3. In *Purity of Heart,* Kierkegaard, in his own name, writes: "Alas, it is horrible to see a man rush toward his own destruction. It is horrible to see him dance on the rim of the abyss without any intimation of it. But this clarity about himself and about his own destruction is even more horrible. It is horrible to see a man seek comfort by hurling himself into the whirlpool of despair. But this coolness is still more horrible ... that he should quietly choose to be a witness of his own destruction!" (trans. D.V. Steere [New York: Harper and Row, 1956], p. 65).

4. *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* [1846], trans. D. Swenson and W. Lowrie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 450.

5. *The Concept of Irony* [1841], trans. L.M. Capel (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968), p. 85 n.

6. *Concept of Irony,* p. 276.

world to satisfy man's higher need is experienced as broken and, in reflection, is increasingly recognized as unfulfillable. Here Kierkegaard means in particular the needs of man as a spiritually qualified being. Kierkegaard's insight is psychological but also metaphysical—based on an understanding of the person as tied to and ultimately grounded in a higher Spirit, God. Disappointment breeds resentment, and the ironist turns increasingly against the world and his fellows, and sometimes against himself.

Irony is denunciation of the illusions of the world and rebellion against the world. It is a break with one's contemporaries and the satisfaction of watching others continue in their illusions. As such, this irony cannot be confused with prophecy, which, while often denouncing the illusions of the world, maintains solidarity with others.

For Kierkegaard, irony is negativity itself—"infinite absolute negativity," as he terms it. Irony as negativity means quite simply that it *only* negates. Herein lies its contribution to subjectivity—freeing from the hold of finitude in nonreflective existence—but also its limitation. For irony does not provide content to the existence that it has severed from the world. The ironist is cut off from the world, or so he experiences himself in what is really only but another illusion. He no longer looks to the world for the sustenance of his spiritual life, yet he still requires sustenance. He becomes alienated from others. Even a relationship to other ironic subjects proves illusory since irony, while sometimes seductive and even an incitement to love, cannot provide the positive bond that establishes a relationship, the positive third element that makes love or friendship possible. In Kierkegaard's view, the German romantics of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries illustrate the dangers of irony. For, cut off from the finite, they sought new moorings in the infinite founded on fantasy. Kierkegaard would be the first to stress the Infinite that alone can ground subjectivity but rejects the false infinity that is approached only in and through imagination. The ironist, having broken with the finite, seeks to soar to the infinite. The danger of irony is that it may succumb to the illusion that it can accomplish what it now desires. Irony breaks other illusions but must catch itself before it plunges into an empty infinity of fantasy. For having realized the unworthiness of former objects of desire, it may seek to satisfy itself through the creation—and destruction—of imaginative objects of desire.

Without a source of genuine content for his life, the ironist by degrees moves into a new crisis. He has rejected the world but cannot reach the Infinite, and certainly not an Infinite outside the finite. He lives "hypothetically and subjunctively"; he lapses under the sway of moods and feelings.[7] And the only unity in the discontinuity of his life is the "hungry satiety of boredom."

The reflection that initially freed him now traps him. For he finds it impossible to act spontaneously. He is always the spectator-actor, watching from out of the tiny window of the isolated ego. And incapable of satisfying the deeper spiritual needs of subjectivity, the life of irony, if not tran-

7. *Concept of Irony*, pp. 300-301

scended, leads finally to despair.

The life of irony may be schematized as follows: an initial moment of immersion in a finitude which in and of itself cannot satisfy the infinite longing of the human spirit; a moment of opposition between the finite self and the finite world that culminates in rejection of the world and in the requirement of reconciliation; finally, a moment of reconciliation and revolution that resolves the crisis of the rebellious mood of irony.

Reconciliation with finitude (and a reacceptance of the world) takes place only after the finite subject, in an increasing self-consciousness, moves on to acquaintance with the Infinite—that is, to discovery of the presence of the divine life of Infinite Spirit within individual human spirit. Here one chooses oneself in one's eternal validity, based on a relationship to the divine. This is "mastered irony" and entry into the sphere of the religious. But it does not occur before passing through other crisis moods and their ever more explicit revelation of the religious depths of the self.

ANXIETY: THE MOOD OF POSSIBILITY

The second critical mood of the collapsing aesthetic way of life is anxiety. Human being—for Kierkegaard a synthesis of body, mind, and spirit—always has possibility. And having possibility is precisely what is experienced in the mood of anxiety. But since possibility is unactualized, Kierkegaard (and subsequent existential writers) term it the "nothing" of anxiety. The experience of possibility ultimately means the experience of one essential possibility—God-relationship. Moreover, the resolution of the essential anxiety crisis is also for Kierkegaard the resolution of the negativity of irony—that is, the choice of the self in relation to the Infinite. The seriousness of the mood is reflected in the alarm and fascination that attend it and that constitute the ambiguous aspect of the experience. Kierkegaard speaks of it as the "sympathetic antipathy" and "antipathetic sympathy" of anxiety.

Kierkegaard's treatise on anxiety was published in 1844, under the pseudonym of Vigilius Haufniensis ("Watchman of Copenhagen"). It is a self-consciously serious work that begins as a consideration of sin and proposes not to think about sin with metaphysical indifference or observe it with psychological curiosity but to engage sin with religious seriousness so that the dynamism of overcoming sin may be discerned.

Sin arose from human possibility. It did so for Adam and does so for every man. Kierkegaard-Haufniensis is essentially concerned with the possibility of continuing in sin or else of overcoming it and devotes one-fourth of his treatise to this concern under the category "anxiety for the good." Here he examines the attempt to flee from the good and from the consciousness of oneself as sinner—a flight that he terms "demoniacal."[8]

The decisive and religiously qualified anxiety crisis revolves around the essential possibility confronting the fallen individual. Sin is not overcome in one single step, but the shattering experience and recovery of possibility in anxiety represent a decisive break from its hold. Passing into and through anxiety, and thus in some sense overcoming it by accepting its revelation of religious possibility, occurs in the first choice of self as a self in relationship to God. But since one is fallen, the choice of self also means taking on the consciousness that the relationship is at present one of separation and that one is oneself respon-

8. The parallel category—"anxiety for the evil"—would be the inauthentic attempt, through fake remorse, to escape from sin-consciousness through some bargain-priced salvation.

The "individual" is a primary category in Kierkegaard's thought, while "the crowd" or "the masses" are held to be the enemy of authentic individuality.

sible for this. (In the higher crisis of despair, one reaches the distressing consciousness that one is unable to reconstitute the original divine-human unity as it existed before the fall.)

So long as a subject lives he has possibilities. Hence anxiety is never annihilated. Choice of self in God-relationship is the actualization of possibility, a kind of giving positive content to the "nothing" of anxiety. But further possibility remains and thus anxiety with it. Anxiety is most decisively—but still not completely—overcome in the mood of despair, with which Kierkegaard links anxiety in several places.

Kierkegaard-Haufniensis' upbuilding teaching in *The Concept of Anxiety* culminates in chapter 5: "Anxiety as Saving through Faith." The emphasis is upon both saving experience and faith. For only faith properly identifies the possibility that will restore the fallen self—that is, a relationship as repentant sinner to the God who appeared in time. It "saves" insofar as it delivers one from the finite over to the Infinite, in the *prise de conscience* of a God-relationship. The experience of anxiety is also held to be the final purging from the finitude from which the ironist was already in flight but which he can only imaginatively escape. There is no leaving finitude. Instead, anxiety brings the revelation of the possibility of an authentic finitude restored to relationship with the Infinite. It is the break with the old, the first step into the new and the positivity that is sought.

"RELIGIOUS MELANCHOLY": THE MOOD OF LONGING FOR THE INFINITE

"Religious melancholy" (my contextual translation of Kierkegaard's use of the Danish *Tungsind*[9]) is already a second moment of melancholy. It is the melancholy of a subject become reflective in the wake of the failure of all finite objects to satisfy an unquenchable longing. "Melancholi," the first moment and cognate of the sole English-language term, is (merely) the longing of poets and young men, the sweet and seductive pain of not possessing an object of desire. *Tungsind* is an advanced case of the same spiritual malady. For it is indeed as a spiritual condition that Kierkegaard understands it: the search and longing of an evolving finite human spirit for a worthy and attainable object of desire. In the second and reflective moment of melancholy, the possible object of desire is becoming increasingly and unavoidably clear to the subject's consciousness. This occurs for Kierkegaard's several melancholic aesthetes in an experimentation with finite objects of desire until awareness of need for the Infinite itself becomes undeniable.

Tungsind is a reflective and critical stage of melancholy. Etymologically it means "heavy-spirited" and refers to the increasingly heavy burden of a subjectivity no longer nourished by the finite and as yet not positively linked to the Infinite. In Kierkegaard's aesthetes, it is also a melancholy of gloom, reserve, and empty isolation.

Kierkegaard depicts *Tungsind* as the natural development of *Melancholi* and would imply that any melancholy cured by romantic love is not the genuine article. Kierkegaard analyzes melancholy in three works. *Either/Or*, part 1, is the auto-

9. German: 'Schwermut'.

presentation of an engaging melancholic literary character; part 2 is the analysis of his melancholy by an older, married friend, who embodies an ethical life-view and has essentially overcome melancholy. The aesthete of part 1 is well on his way to becoming reflective about his melancholy and knows that his attempt to live in aesthetic categories—sensual and intellectual—cannot succeed. But he refuses to make the act of will required —that is, to affirm himself in a relationship to the Infinite. One of the reasons for his defiant stance seems to be a pride offended by the idea of salvation from any source other than himself. The theologian might comment that he simply refuses to accept the fact of "creaturehood" vis-à-vis the Creator, that he would be his own god and creator or perish in the attempt rather than fulfill some spiritual destiny he himself had not ordained. His only real choice is to accept his God-given spiritual destiny or to refuse it. Both refusal and nonchoice are choices against the life of spirit, and the chaos and eruption in the aesthete's inner life are interpreted by Judge William in part 2 as spirit's revenge: "The spirit will not let itself be mocked, it revenges itself upon you, it binds you with the chain of melancholy [*Tungsind*]."[10] However, the judge also tries to console the suffering aesthete with the positivity of melancholy. For melancholy reveals movement of finite spirit toward the Infinite. Hence what appears as present bad fortune may appear someday in retrospect as good fortune[11]—if only the aesthete will advance as inner dynamism presses him.

Repetition, by the pseudonymous psychologist Constantine Constantius, aims to be a literary-psychological examination of a young man whose melancholy has not been cured by romantic love, despite all the old adages to the contrary. "Such a melancholy *[Melancholi]* has never before presented itself in my practice,"[12] remarks the surprised analyst and he ultimately withdraws from the case. For when he begins to see that the religious is the basis of the problem, he confesses to having reached the limits of his competence. Constantine and the young man (whom Constantine later admits is a poetic fiction) simultaneously discover the religious nature of melancholy, the latter through reflection, the former through observation.

The young man, described as at the age when maturity of spirit announces itself,[13] was melancholy, has fallen in love, and comes to his friend-psychologist more melancholy than ever. His is *Melancholi.* But prompted to reflection by his romance and the crisis of an engagement he feels he cannot carry through to marriage, he is well on his way to *Tungsind.* The young girl was not the object of his longing after all. She was merely the efficient cause of his melancholy, bringing it to crisis and need for resolution, beyond herself.

In *Stages on Life's Way,* another but more advanced melancholic has a similar problem. But there the religious ground of the lover's melancholy is stated:

> His reserve is essentially a form of melancholy *[Tungsind]* and again this melancholy in his case is the condensed possibility which must be gone through with the experience of a crisis if he is to become

Kierkegaard clearly believed that the meaing of "the Kingdom of God" could not be achieved simply by proclaiming a new constitution or economic order.

10. *Either/Or* [1843], part 2, trans. D. and L. Swenson with revisions by H. A. Johnson (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959), p. 208.
11. *Either/Or,* part 2, p. 194.
12. *Repetition* [1843], trans. W. Lowrie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 38.
13. *Repetition,* p. 36.

> clear to himself in the experience of the religious.[14]

And the author remarks further: "So the melancholy of this lay figure of mine is a crisis anticipatory of the religious experience."[15]

Religious melancholy is the moment of crisis when the separation of the finite from the Infinite reaches a point of unendurable sin. The starting-point and presupposition of melancholy is religious sensitivity, and the religious is the sole solution. But the religious resolution, choosing to be a self in relationship to God, is not enough to effect a restored God-relationship.

DESPAIR: THE MOOD OF SIN-CONSCIOUSNESS

Kierkegaard terms the state of not being the self "despair." To the extent that one is not the self, one is in despair. The sinner is in utter despair, but the saint is never wholly cured of it. It is a condition of disequilibrium in the human synthesis comprised of infinite and finite, eternal and temporal, possibility (freedom) and necessity.

The first moment of despair is the choice of self in relationship to the Eternal. It is the taking consciousness of a God-relationship, but it is a relationship of separation. Sin-consciousness is the second crisis moment of the mood of despair, the kairos of a shattered self seeking reconstitution. In the resolution of this mood, God assumes an indispensable role in *re*-fusing the self. The second moment is still one of separation, but at the point at which finite spirit recognizes its need for reunion with the Infinite and wills it, at the same time agonizing in the consciousness of inability to reestablish what it requires.

Despair is in a true sense also a mood of possibility—the highest natural possibility available to man—sin-consciousness. And sin-consciousness brings with it consciousness of a yet higher possibility beyond the reach of the natural: forgiveness and reconciliation. As a mood of higher possibility, the second moment of despair is an intensified form of anxiety.

As an act, to despair means first a choice of the self in relationship to the Eternal. This first choice will amount to taking on guilt-consciousness. For the choice of self in relationship to the Eternal will involve the consciousness that the relationship has been ruptured and that one is oneself responsible for it. This consciousness is heightened in sin-consciousness when the acute need of restoration combines with the pained consciousness of inability to restore it.

There are other nuanced forms of despair that Kierkegaard explores. But all forms of despair represent a misrelationship to the Constituting Power of the human synthesis. Man is spirit and inescapably in relationship to eternal spirit, whether it be a relationship of separation or of unity. There is no severing oneself completely from the Eternal: "But the eternal he cannot get rid of, no, not to all eternity; he cannot cast it from him once for all, nothing is more impossible."[16]

The issue in despair is staying in sin or overcoming it. No one is forced

14. *Stages on Life's Way* [1845], trans. W. Lowrie (New York: Schocken Books, 1967), p. 388.
15. *Stages on Life's Way*, p. 389.
16. *Sickness unto Death* [1849], trans. W. Lowrie (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1954), p. 150.

to overcome misrelationship to God and to enter a restored God-relationship. And Kierkegaard portrays aesthetic characters who will not, in defiance and willful self-destruction. The despair of defiance even seeks to prove from its own misery the wretchedness of all existence:

> Revolting against the whole of existence, it thinks it has hold of a proof against it, against its goodness. This proof the despairer thinks he himself is, and that is what he wills to be. Therefore he wills to be rid of himself, himself with his torment, in order with this torment to protest against the whole of existence.[17]

Despair understood as sin-consciousness situates Kierkegaard's thinking within a Christian, Lutheran, and even somewhat pietist framework. For the mood of sin-consciousness is a mood of helplessness in sin before the Divine, in the anxious expectation of forgiveness. But because this mood of helplessness is not a passive mood of weakness but rather a crisis moment attained only after an arduous effort of self-recovery, it does not finally fit into the pietist mold. It therefore invites theological speculation about the nature and degree of the human contribution to the process, and with that risks the Western theological shibboleths 'Pelagian' and 'semi-Pelagian'. For is human inability to attain reunion with the Constituting Power, and thereby to restore equilibrium to the human synthesis, merely a fact swept away in some lightning-swift grace of forgiveness appearing on cue when the proper consciousness has been attained, or is it a moment to be suffered through? Clearly the latter is Kierkegaard's sense. The mood of sin-consciousness is an existential moment brought to an end by a *free* grace.

CONCLUSION

Kierkegaard's religious psychology is self-consciously incomplete. It can thus never be normative, nor would it pretend to be. It was intended as a corrective to nineteenth-century romantics and romantic Christianity. It fulfills this aim and continues to do so face-to-face with new forms of romanticism and vintage forms of alienation from God and self.

While not a fully developed psychology in the twentieth-century sense and while not even a full religious psychology, Kierkegaard's is more than a mere corrective. For Kierkegaard's psychology is a retained chart of Western forms of non-selfhood, and particularly forms of non-selfhood in tension with a dawning consciousness of or reawakening to authentic selfhood.

Kierkegaard's writings stop short abruptly at the moment of "salvation." He does not speak in equivalent terms of the life of attainment. In fact he maintains a veritable Aryan silence about it, except for poetic allusions and "spiritual exercises" in the form of edifying discourses on New Testament themes.

His exclusive base in Western Christianity is both the tie that connects him to a rich source of insight and the tie that binds him. For Kierkegaard evidences no appreciation of how the task of religious subjectivity might be carried out in religious traditions not founded on the confession of Jesus of Nazareth as Christ of God, nor *to what extent* it might be carried out in them. Notwithstanding Kierkegaard's distinction between "religiousness A" (non-Christian religious-

What was needed, in Kierkegaard's view, was an "eternal" cure, based on a correct understanding of the "eternal nature" of the self in relation to its Eternal Ground.

17. *Sickness unto Death*, p. 207.

ness) and "religiousness B" (Christian religiousness) and the affirmation of personal religious completion in the latter, even the Westerner well-grounded in his own tradition need not, and ought not, be deaf to the exquisite silence of the Buddha.

And interesting questions arise for a late twentieth century increasingly interested in intercultural interreligious dialogue. Is Kierkegaard's analysis genuinely insightful and meaningful to those outside the center of Western thinking? How literally shall we take his analysis? On the one hand abstract, on the other poetic, how differently is it to be regarded, for example, from Asvaghosha's *Awakening of Faith*? And if there is a psyche or self that is finally neither Western nor Eastern, will it one day be possible to articulate an understanding of it in meaningful terms that transcend particular historical traditions and cultural thought patterns, to offer a diagnosis and prescribe a cure that will be understood and applied by restless, searching "non-selves" of both West and East?

As self-consciously provincial or culturally rooted as Kierkegaard may be, his probing of the nineteenth-century Christian non-selfhood clearly transcends both his age and his culture, as worldwide twentieth-century interest in his thought amply testifies. For twentieth-century modern man, he continues to offer insightful analysis and a warning—analysis of an inner dynamism that will not let the human spirit idle in alienation and warning against fanciful modern pseudo-cures for what is a very old malady indeed. ■

The true way goes over a rope which is not stretched at any great height but just above the ground. It seems more designed to make people stumble than to be walked upon.

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THE COMPLEX CASE OF ABORTION

The debate about abortion lends nothing that would recommend itself to the history of either moral thought or the interpretation of the Constitution. Moral reasoning cannot be detached from the actual conditions of life. In the extreme case, the life or sanity of the mother may be at stake if an abortion does not occur. If it does, the fetus has been killed. Either outcome is an evil. Life sometimes confronts us with genuine dilemmas in which the available choices are evil. I made this argument in two books—*Justice, Human Nature, and Political Obligation* and *Science, Language, and the Human Condition*—and will not attempt to defend it in this brief letter.

The absolute opponents of abortion ignore the rights of mothers in difficult cases. The absolute advocates of abortion deny the rights of the fetus. They tend to argue either that the fetus is not a person (a legal category), or that it is merely a part of the mother's body over which she has full control. It is easy to show that the latter argument—the only one that is morally relevant—is unacceptable.

In principle, the fertilized egg is separable from the mother's body at any stage without interfering with its development. True, this is not the case today, although fertilized eggs can be removed from one womb and placed in another. But this is a matter of technology, not of principle. The state of technology, however, is not without some constitutional significance to the respective rights of the mother and the fetus.

This claim to rights derived from existence for the fetus does not entail the Catholic position on contraception (which in any case is based upon different theological grounds) because the fertilized egg is an actual organism, whereas the result of completion of coitus is an abstract possibility rather than an actual being. A plausible argument can be made that future generations have claims upon us. But a claim on behalf of all possible humans would soon produce logistically impossible as well as brutal limitations on human freedom.

But let us see to what absurd conclusions, at least in principle, the argument that the fetus is merely part of the mother's body, and therefore without rights, would carry us. Suppose that a mother ordered a surgeon, during the first trimester, to injure the fetus in such a way that it would develop without vision or the power of locomotion. I cannot believe that any sane society would permit this. This admittedly extreme example nonetheless demonstrates in principle the absurdity of the argument that the fetus is entirely without rights that society has an obligation to protect.

No individual has either a moral or a legal right to complete control of his own body, let alone of a fetus. There are some relationships between the individual and

the physician that society should leave untouched—removal of a wart, for instance —and I can see how the Fourteenth Amendment might be asserted if a state legislature tried to interfere. If it is a matter of removal of a kidney stone by lithontripy or surgery, it would be constitutionally appropriate for the legislature to mandate that the surgeon explain the risks of the respective procedures. Certain operations for beautification might fall into one class or the other depending upon the possible consequences.

But suppose that a woman (or a man) wants to start a new fashion by having her left eye extracted and her right hand amputated. A surgeon who performed such surgery in the absence of convincing medical reasons would surely lose his license and be subject to criminal penalties. In short, on both moral and legal grounds, there are compelling reasons to place at least some limits on the right of the individual to dispose of his body.

In *Roe v. Wade,* the Supreme Court declared abortions to be a constitutional right within the first trimester, thus recognizing no rights in the fetus, at least in this early stage, and justified this on the grounds of privacy. I agree that privacy is a moral good—although one to be balanced against other moral goods—and that some recognition is given to it in the Constitution. The Fourth Amendment is witness to this. And presumably the Fourteenth Amendment can be so interpreted, at least within limits.

There is, however, no reasonable application of Fourteenth Amendment rights, or of the implied value of privacy in the Constitution, in the court's decision in *Roe v. Wade.* The court in the past has extended Fourteenth Amendment rights in ways that have reinforced the values of liberty and privacy in some cases and that can be accommodated in other cases. But, eventually, extensions of a concept begin to undermine it; for when its use becomes ubiquitous or offensive, then the important purposes once served are blurred or called into question. The court may yet succeed in doing this to the values of liberty and privacy if it continues in its unconstrained activity.

Millions of abortions, abortion clinics, advertisements of abortions—and particularly the public circumstances that attend abortion—have long ceased to be private events in any constitutionally recognizable sense. And although it would be unfair to compare any heads of abortion clinics to Dr. Mengele, it is public knowledge that many of them recognize no rights whatsoever in the fetus and that they are advocates of abortion who cannot be depended upon to advise properly with respect to the equities.

The court has made no plausible argument for an extension of the Fourteenth Amendment rights that denies any rights of the fetus and the existence of a social interest in informing pregnant women of moral or medical problems inherent in the abortion, as the most recent Supreme Court ruling held. Therein lies not interpretation of a document but the substitution of a private agenda for the constitutional or the legislative one.

I believe there are circumstances in which abortion is morally permissible, although an evil. And I believe there are other circumstances in which it should be proscribed on both moral and legal grounds. But the Constitution can be read in many ways.

Although I agree that the Supreme Court should give extremely important weight to the text of the Constitution and great weight to the intentions of the Founders, the gap, to which Justice Holmes called attention, between principles and their application to particular cases is large.

Furthermore, new conditions and circumstances arise and affect contextually even the meaning of common words. In many cases, reasonable people can disagree on the application of the Constitution to a case.

In this sense, the Constitution does not

have a narrow meaning. But the fact that at least some reasonable alternate readings of the Constitution often are justifiable makes suspect the selection of one feasible reading as the only authoritative one. Where a legislature has not spoken, perhaps this cannot be avoided. But where it has, judicial self-restraint becomes a constitutional duty.

We are fortunate to have a federal political system that in principle can provide the time to resolve highly contentious issues in which there are important equities on the opposing sides in ways that are not destructive of the polity, if only the court will permit it to function. Until the Supreme Court got into the process, state law determined whether, and under what conditions, the rights of mothers or fetuses would take precedence. If a principle lost in one jurisdiction, it could win in another. In the process, one could hope that eventually we would see the power and the defect in each line of argument and achieve a reasonable and agreed-upon public standard.

The court could play a constructive role in this process by invalidating only those state laws so extreme that they failed to recognize minimal rights either in mothers or fetuses. The fear of Justice Stevens that, in the absence of narrow Supreme Court standards, the states either could forbid all abortions or mandate compulsory abortions as part of a population policy would only be a chimera if the court were to play its proper role. And his argument, even if counterfactually it were valid, is a poor justification for the statement of a rule on abortion that is not even within the range of reasonable disagreement over the interpretation of the Constitution.

There may be issues so important that the court can defend the values and institutions enshrined by the Constitution only by inventing new principles or extending old ones in ways that would be indefensible in the absence of the unstated constitutional premise that applies to all branches of government that their chief duty is to defend the American system even against the letter of the law. But by no stretch of the imagination was this the case in *Roe v. Wade,* or its most recent decision. Whatever the correct balance of rights between the mother and the fetus may be, the outrageous treatment of this matter by the Supreme Court, as if it were merely a matter of wart removal, threatens the civic tolerance that supports our constitutional system and diminishes our sense of common humanity.

The court should remember that it is neither elected nor removable. Thus, it is not accountable. It is but a short step from such circumstances, even for a well-intentioned court, to judicial tyranny. Only self-restraint can avoid that destructive result.

Unfortunately, the court apparently sees itself as a platonic guardian of the American political system. This role, contrary to what Karl Popper believed, was primarily a heuristic device for Plato's Socrates, even though his proposed guardians would have been accomplished and prudential philosophers.

The assumption of this role by the court already has produced extremism and violence in the aftermath of the court's rulings on abortion. I certainly do not condone the bombing of abortion clinics. But if one believes abortion to be murder—and surely there is at least a debatable warrant for this belief—then it is no wonder that moral outrage produces violence if political options have been closed off by arbitrary judicial fiat. (Would we not have thought better of them if good Germans had stormed the extermination camps?) If this practice of the Supreme Court is continued, the court may become, unintentionally of course, a threat to our democracy as well as to our civic virtue.

My next letter will discuss the constitutional implications of the Supreme Court decision on the Georgia law on sodomy.

—Morton A. Kaplan
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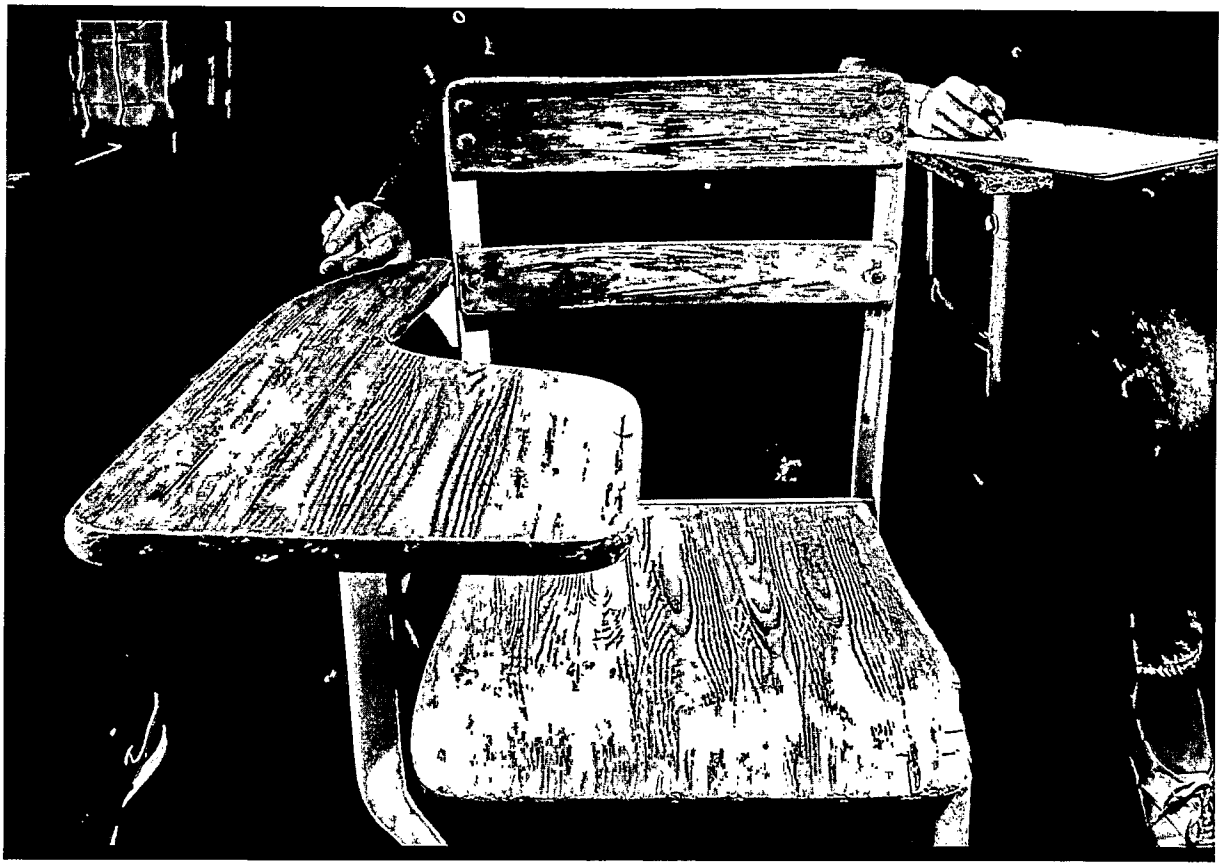

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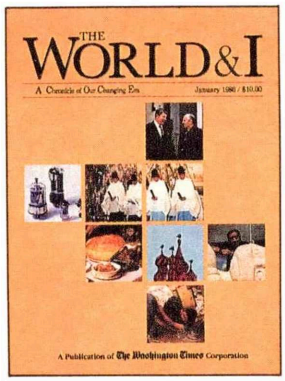

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